

**The Ramakrishna Mission  
Institute of Culture Library**

**Presented by**

**Dr. Baridbaran Mukerji**

**RMICL-8**

**17147**





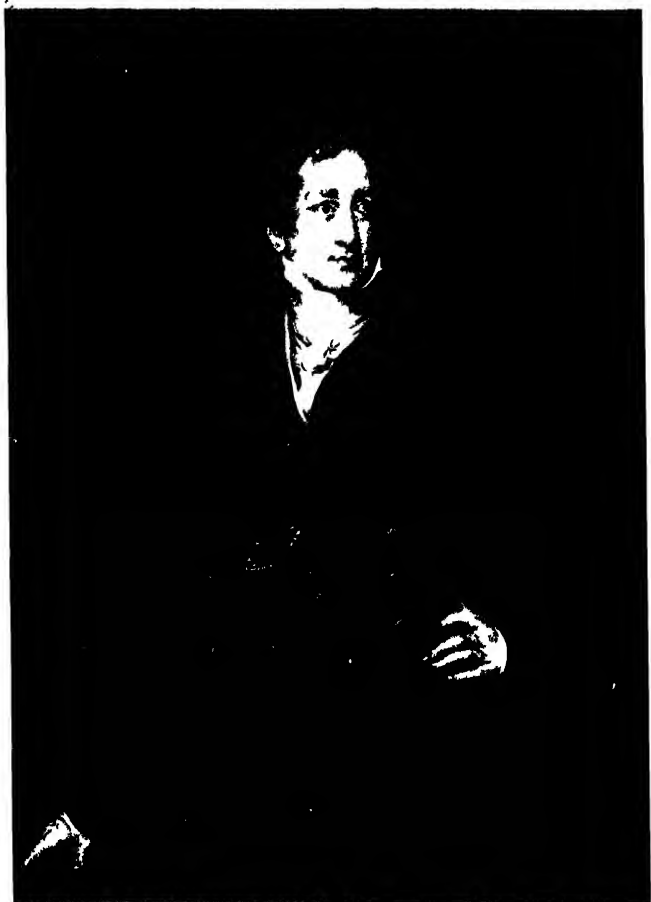






■

■



THE LIBRARY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Robert Schumann





*David Barclay Hay*  
*of College Row, Calcutta*  
**LIFE AND CAMPAIGNS**

OF

**A R T H U R,**

**DUKE OF WELLINGTON, K.G.**

**MARQUESS OF DOURO, DUKE OF CIUDAD RODRIGO,  
A GRANDEE OF THE FIRST CLASS IN SPAIN, DUKE OF VITTORIA, COUNT OF VIMEIRA,  
MARQUESS OF TORRES VEDRAS, FIELD-MARSHAL IN THE ARMY,  
KNIGHT GRAND CROSS OF THE BATH, CONSTABLE OF THE TOWER,  
WARDEN OF THE CINQUE PORTS, CHANCELLOR OF THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD,  
A KNIGHT OF ALL THE MOST DISTINGUISHED FOREIGN ORDERS, AND  
PRINCE OF WATERLOO.**

BY THE

**REV. G. N. WRIGHT, M. A.**

**AUTHOR OF "THE LIFE AND REIGN OF WILLIAM THE FOURTH."**

**VOL. III.**

**FISHER, SON, & CO.  
NEWGATE STREET, LONDON; RUE ST. HONORE, PARIS.**



✓

✓

✓

RMIC LIBRARY	
Acc. No. 17147	
Class No.	
Date	
St. Card	
Class.	Am
Cat.	✓
Blk. Card	✓
Checked	ar

## CONTENTS OF VOL. III.

### CHAP. I.

Violent conduct of the Patriarch—Regency in England—State of the war in Spain—Total abandonment of Portugal by Massena and his army—Progress of the French arms—Preparations for the siege of Badajos—Battle of Barossa—Battle of Fuentes d'Honor—Evacuation of Almeida by the French—Badajos besieged by Marshal Beresford, and Soult advances to its relief—Battle of Albuera—1811 . . . . . P. 1

### CHAP. II.

Lord Wellington arrives at Elvas, and views the field of battle—Second siege of Badajos raised by Marmont and Soult—Wellington retires upon the Gaya—The French Marshals separate—Blake sent against Seville—Wellington moves towards the Tagus and blockades Ciudad Rodrigo—Marmont advances to its relief—Combat of El Bodon—Girard surprised and defeated by Hill at Arroyo Molinos—Gallant defence of Tarifa—Siege and capture of Ciudad Rodrigo—Blake's army surrenders at Valencia—Siege and fall of Badajos—Marmont advances into Portugal, but falls back upon the approach of Wellington—1811—12 . . . . . P. 214

### CHAP. III.

Marquis Wellesley resigns the foreign secretaryship—Napoleon proposes peace and the settlement of Peninsular affairs—The prince-regent invites lords Grey and Grenville to join the Perceval administration—The Prince's views of the Peninsular war—Lords Grey and Grenville refuse to join the ministry—Lord Boringdon's motion for the formation of a new ministry—Earl Grey's opinion of the war in Spain and Portugal—Assassination of Mr. Perceval—Marquis Wellesley and Mr. Canning invited to join the Liverpool cabinet—They refuse—Lord Wellesley's opinion of the war in Spain—Mr. Stuart Wortley's address for a new ministry—Marquis Wellesley commissioned to

## CONTENTS.

form one—Invites Lord Liverpool to join him—His invitation rejected—Applies to Earl Grey and Lord Grenville, who decline to co-operate with him—Commissioned a second time to form an administration—Lords Grey and Grenville again requested to become members of the cabinet, but refuse—Lord Moira's unsuccessful attempt to form a ministry—The Earl of Liverpool appointed premier—Reasons for regretting that Lord Wellesley was not in office—Destruction of the bridge and forts of Almaraz by Sir Rowland Hill—Soult and Marmont advance to attack Hill, but return without overtaking him—Defeat of Slade by Lallemande—Hill and Drouet opposed at Albuera, but do not fight—Bridge of Alcantara repaired—Allied army advances to the Tormes—Besiege the forts of Salamanca—Assault on San Vincente—Storming of Cajetano—Marmont retires, followed by Wellington—Sir Home Popham's operations on the coast of Biscay—Combat of Castrejon—Allies retire to San Christoval—Marmont passes the Tormes—Battle of Salamanca—Additional honours conferred on Lord Wellington—Biography of Marmont—Wellington drives Clauzel across the Douro—Takes Valladolid—Allies march to Madrid—Surrender of the Retiro—Occurrences at Madrid. . . . . P. 244

## CHAP. IV.

Soult retires from before Cadiz—Colonel Skerrett and General Crux save Seville from being plundered—Gallant conduct of General Downie—Assistance afforded by an English squadron to the Guerillas—Consequent evacuation by the French of Torrelavega and Santander, and capture of Bilbao by the allies—An army arrives from Sicily—Lands at Alicante—The French General Harispe retreats before it—Allies return to Alicante on learning Joseph Buonaparte's junction with Suchet—Elio proposes drawing Roche's Spanish division from Alicante—Spirited letter from Lord Wellington on the subject—His lordship advances from Madrid—Is joined by the Galician army—Reaches Burgos—Account of that city—Description of its castle which is unsuccessfully besieged—Personal danger of Lord Wellington—Death of the Honourable Major Cocks—Lord Wellington's opinion on the sale of crown and church lands in Portugal—Comparative strength of the opposed armies—Ballasteros refuses to serve under the marquis—Is exiled to Ceuta—Skilful retreat over the bridges of Burgos—Allied army takes post on the Carrion—Intemperance of the troops—Bold stratagem of a French trooper—Allies return over the Douro—Gallant capture of the castle of Tordesillas by a French detachment—General Hill's division joins the main

## CONTENTS.

army—Evacuation of Madrid by the allies—Disturbances there—Joseph Buonaparte re-enters, but leaves it again after four days—The capital occupied by Guerillas, who are expelled by Joseph—Comparative strength of Wellington's and Soult's armies—Lord Wellington's hope of being attacked by Marshal Soult disappointed—Sir Edward Paget made prisoner—Anecdote of Lord Wellington's forbearance—Allies enter into winter-quarters—The Marquis of Wellington's summary of the campaign—Sufferings of the army during the retreat—Consequent relaxation of discipline—Severe letter of Lord Wellington on this subject—Parliamentary proceedings relating to the Marquis of Wellington.—1812 . . . . . P. 279

### CHAP. V.

Lord Wellington visits Cadiz—His speech to the cortes—Obtains authority from the Spanish government to re-organize the Spanish armies—Grand banquet in compliment to his lordship—Change in the regency at Cadiz—Lord Wellington's views of Spanish politics—His remedy for the political evils of Spain—Appointed colonel of the royal horse-guards, blues—Visits Lisbon—His reception there—Returns to head-quarters—Brilliant enterprise of one of Mina's officers—Operations of the Anglo-Sicilian army—Unsuccessful attempt to surprise the French at Alcoy—Allies driven from Biar—Battle of Castalla—Captain Waldron's spirited conduct—Suchet allowed to escape—General Foy captures Castro de Udales—Cruelty of the French—Lord Wellington's opinion on the war in Canada, and on insurrectionizing Italy—French attack on General Hill's outpost at Bejar—Lord Wellington made a knight of the garter—Strength of the allied armies and of the French corps—Commencement of the campaign of 1813—Lord Wellington withdraws from Portugal—French driven out of Salamanca—Evacuate Madrid—Lord Wellington complains of the neglect of the Spanish government—French abandon Burgos, and blow up its castle—Allies cross the Ebro—King Joseph retreats to Vittoria—Complete defeat of the French there—Death of Colonel Cadogan—Narrow escape of Joseph Buonaparte—Results of the victory—The Marquis of Wellington created a field-marshal—Public rejoicings in London, 1812—1813 . . . . . P. 313

### CHAP. VI.

Retreat of the French army to the Pyrenees—Lord Wellington marches against Clauzel, who retires into France—All the French armies, except that of

## CONTENTS.

Suchet, expelled from the Peninsula—Remonstrance of Lord Wellington on the removal of Castanos from his command—His lordship offered a command in Germany—The Anglo-Sicilian army captures Fort San Felipe—Sir John Murray lays siege to Tarragona, but on a report of Suchet's approach, raises it hastily, abandoning his cannon and stores—Tarragona invested by Lord William Bentinck, who retires on Suchet's approach—Affair at Ordal—Lord William Bentinck proposes to withdraw the Anglo-Sicilian army from Spain—Lord Wellington's reply—Unsuccessful attack on San Sebastian—Marshal Soult appointed commander-in-chief of the French armies in Spain—His address to the troops—Positions of the allies near the Pyrenees—Soult drives back Picton to Zubiri—Drouet obliges Hill to retire to Iturita—Lord Wellington rejoins the army near Pamplona,—defeats Soult on the Spanish Pyrenees, and again drives the French out of Spain—His general order upon encamping on the French frontier—The town of San Sebastian carried by storm—Libels on the Marquis of Wellington—His opinion of the newspaper press—Gallant conduct of the Spaniards at San Marcial—Defeat of the French at Vera—Surrender of the castle of San Sebastian—Surrender of Pamplona—Fortification of the allies' positions on the Pyrenees—1813. . . . . P. 351

## CHAP. VII.

Lord Wellington crosses the Bidassou, and establishes his left wing in France—The French driven from the camp at Sarre—Thirty thousand conscripts ordered for the reinforcement of Soult's army—General order and proclamation by Lord Wellington on entering France—Speeches in Parliament connected with the Peninsular war—Marquis Wellesley, Lord Liverpool—Messrs. Grant, Whitbread, and Canning—Positions of the French army on the Pyrenees—Battle of the French Pyrenees, or of the Nivelle—Soult retreats to Bayonne—Wellington sends back the Spanish troops, to save France from being plundered—Address to him from the communes of St. Jean de Luz and Siboure—Misconduct of the Spanish government—The Marquis of Wellington proposed as king of Spain—His opinion of the restoration of the Bourbons—Negociations for restoring Ferdinand VII. to the throne of Spain—Lord Wellington's opinion of them—Passage of the Nive—Change of regency in Spain—Battles near Bayonne—The Duc D'Angouleme joins the allied army—Suchet's movements in Catalonia—Passage of the Adour—Battle of Orthez—Lord Wellington sends a corps to Bourdeaux. . . . . P. 367

## CONTENTS,

### CHAP. VIII.

Battle of Toulouse—Abdication of Napoleon and restoration of Louis XVIII.—Convention between the Marquis of Wellington and Marshals Soult and Suchet—The marquis appointed ambassador at Paris—Created Marquis of Douro and Duke of Wellington—Parliament votes £300,000 for the purchase of an estate, and increases the duke's parliamentary income to £17,000 per annum—He visits Madrid—Despotism of Ferdinand—Proposal to make the Duke of Wellington king of Spain—His views of Ferdinand's policy—The duke takes leave of the army at Bourdeaux and returns to England—Takes his seat in the house of lords—The lord chancellor's address on the occasion—His grace returns thanks to the House of Commons—Is sent to Paris to negotiate on the slave trade—Inspects the fortresses in the Netherlands, and attends the congress at Vienna—Napoleon escapes from Elba, and returns to France—The Duke of Wellington assumes the command in the Netherlands—1814. . . . . P. 431

### CHAP. IX.

Immediate consequences of Napoleon's return to France—He proceeds to Lyons, and there discloses his real objects—Defection of the garrison of Grenoble—Treachery of Marshal Ney—Advance of Napoleon to Paris, from which Louis XVIII. and his court withdraw—Declaration of the congress of Vienna—Napoleon's circular letter to the reigning sovereigns of Europe who had entered into a solemn treaty of alliance on the twenty-fifth of March—Champ de Mai—Napoleon sets out to join the army—1815. . . . . P. 467

### CHAP. X.

The allies prepare for war—The Duke of Wellington accepts the command of the army of the Netherlands—The French forces are put in motion towards the northern frontiers—Napoleon leaves Paris, joins the army, and publishes his famous declaration at Avesnes—The battle of Ligny, and the retreat of the Prussians—Action at Les Quatres Bras—Wellington takes up a position at Waterloo—The battle—Fall of Sir Thomas Picton and Sir W. Ponsonby—Flight of Napoleon—1815. . . . . P. 502

# LIST OF PLATES.

## VOL. III.

	Page
1. THE RIGHT HONOURABLE ROBERT PEEL . . . . .	Frontispiece
2. APSLEY HOUSE . . . . .	Vignette
3. EARL OF HARROWBY . . . . .	138
4. THE RIGHT HONOURABLE GEORGE CANNING . . . . .	151
5. SIR ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL . . . . .	212
6. EARL OF ABERDEEN . . . . .	215
7. LORD HOLLAND . . . . .	250
8. SEAT OF WAR, CADIZ, 1812 . . . . .	280
9. SIR FRANCIS BURDETT . . . . .	303
10. LORD MELVILLE . . . . .	376
11. RICHARD BRINSLEY SHERIDAN . . . . .	488
12. DUKE OF KENT . . . . .	507
13. PLAN OF THE BATTLE OF WATERLOO . . . . .	554
14. SIR THOMAS PICTON . . . . .	559

*David Baron Munksgaard*  
*1 College Row, Calcutta*

LIFE AND CAMPAIGNS  
OF  
THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON.

---

CHAP. I.

VIOLENT CONDUCT OF THE PATRIARCH—REGENCY IN ENGLAND—STATE OF THE WAR IN SPAIN—TOTAL ABANDONMENT OF PORTUGAL BY MASSENA AND HIS ARMY—PROGRESS OF THE FRENCH ARMS—PREPARATIONS FOR THE SIEGE OF BADAJOS—BATTLE OF BAHOSNA—BATTLE OF FUENTES DE HONOR—EVACUATION OF ALMEIDA BY THE FRENCH—BADAJOS BESIEGED BY MARSHAL BERRSFORD, AND SOULT ADVANCES TO ITS RELIEF—BATTLE OF ALBUERA—1811.

IN sullenness and silence "the spoiled child of victory" brooded over his reverses in the battle-field, and impatiently awaited the arrival of reinforcements, sufficient to win by physical force what mental powers had proved unequal to achieve. His great antagonist, so long confined within the redoubts of his embattled mountain, came forth, without rejoicing, to indulge in that liberty which his wisdom had won, and, advancing cautiously, assumed, a second time, an attitude adapted either to attack or defence. Like two skilful gladiators in the days of old, they watched each motion with ready arm and quickened glance; fate, inevitable fate, hung upon the issue of a single blow; and, as if inhaling breath after the exhaustion of protracted strife, both waited for the invigoration of renovated strength. In this state of rest the opposing warriors continued, during the first months of the year 1811, each comprehending



the design of the other, each distrustful of his own ability to renew the mortal struggle.

It was while the great powers of England and France were thus in equilibrio, that the intriguing members of the Portuguese government agitated their country, insulted the commander of the allied armies, committed numerous acts of injustice, rapacity, and cruelty, and aggravated, sensibly, the national suffering. The Patriarch and De Souza had always been jealous of English interference, entertained an antipathy to the British nation, and their animosity was not diminished by the fame which the British arms had acquired under Wellington's command, nor by the splendid political talents which the hero displayed, when invited to share in the national councils. Circumstances having demanded to remodel and increase the taxes, and to introduce various economical reforms into the different departments of the government, the Bishop and Souza took that opportunity of manifesting their dissent, by designed absence, stating, that they never would be consenting parties to the imposition of fresh burdens on their impoverished country. This humane and patriotic pretext would have obtained some respect, even from their political opponents, if they had not previously disgraced themselves by underhand conduct, by anonymous slanderous publications, which had been traced home to them, and, by paying persons in England to prostitute their talents in composing studied libels upon the character, conduct, and opinions of Lord Wellington, in connection with the government of Portugal, and command of the army. Even the powers of ridicule were enlisted, to hold up the actions of the British hero to contempt; and his having dined on the banquet from which Soult had been compelled to fly at Oporto, and the festivities he held in honour of Marshal Beresford's high distinction, at Mafra, were made the subject of disgusting lampoons, of coarse and unmeaning jests. These facts having been traced, and confirmed, Lord Wellington was in a condition to unfold and explain the mystery of their disappearance from the public council, and he thus fully details the real grounds in a letter

to Mr. Charles Stuart, written from Cattaxo, on the fifth of January: "The Bishop and Souza, and the anti-Anglican party, will take advantage of the discontent created by the imposition of a new tax, to point out their own differences with us upon military and other measures. They desire to prevent us from having the exclusive control over the national army; and their absence from the council, after they found that we were determined to increase the burdens of the people, and to dismiss the old servants of the government,—all this will go to the ruin of the country, I acknowledge; but what is there, that ambition and folly will not meditate and undertake? Now, I recommend you, first, to have a letter written to the Patriarch and to the Principal, drawing their attention to the different orders from the prince, directing improvements in the revenue, and reforms in the expenditure, and pointing out the existing state of the finances, with the large deficit, and informing them that the regency were employed in deliberating on the means of increasing the revenue and diminishing the expenditure, and inviting them, in the name of their colleagues, to assist in the deliberations upon these subjects."

"Secondly, adverting to the discontent which always follows reforms of expenditure, I recommend to you to proceed with caution in the reform of the different juntas and boards. Let no man, or at all events a number of men, be discharged from the service, without having some visible means of a livelihood left. There are, I believe, some members of these juntas and boards, who have fortunes besides their salaries, of which last they may be deprived, and still continue members of the junta. In the inferior departments of the customs, also, from which it may be necessary to discharge many officers, either the half or one-third of the salary should be continued to those not otherwise provided for. If these measures be not adopted, there will be serious discontent in Lisbon, which will be encouraged by these people; and it will be worse than the addition of twenty thousand men to the enemy." If this noble production had no other connection with the memoirs of Wellington, than as contributing to move the generosity of his nature, it

would be deserving of a conspicuous position ; but it is fraught with wisdom, and indicates a power of thought, an ability of reflecting upon a variety of subjects almost at the same instant, which have been before adverted to as amongst the causes of this great man's pre-eminence. That he had not causelessly attributed unworthy motives to the Patriarch and Souza, or vainly deprecated the policy of their party, will appear from the fact, that, although at the head of the allied army, an army collected with the immediate view of repelling the invasion of Portugal—although, also, a member of the council of state—his orders to Colonel Fava and General Rosa were met by the point-blank disobedience of those officers : the objects of the orders were the preparing of ammunition, and the formation of portable magazines for the redoubt in the Lines ; and, notwithstanding that the powder and stores had been supplied by British generosity, so much had the feelings of these officers been worked upon, and distorted, by the artifices of the anti-Anglican party, that they declined to execute Lord Wellington's commands until they should be informed who was to defray the expense of the labour that would be employed in the task. The conduct of Rosa and Fava, being open and decided, could be met with more ease and certainty than the concealed and cowardly machinations of the Patriarch ; and, as their refusal had brought the difference to a crisis, Lord Wellington was at length enabled to see his way clearly, and to apply an infallible remedy to the disease. This he did by the following spirited exprobatation, which not only asserted his right, but reminded his opponents, that the power to maintain that right was placed unconditionally in his hands. " It is necessary, Sir, (Mr. Charles Stuart), that I should draw your attention, and that of the Portuguese government, upon the earliest occasion, to the sentiments which have dropped from the Patriarch, in recent discussions at the meetings of the regency. It appears that his eminence has expatiated on " the inutility of laying fresh burdens on the people, which were evidently for no other purpose than to nourish a war in the heart of the kingdom." I have now recollected, that these discussions are not those of

a popular assembly : they can scarcely be deemed of the nature of those of a ministerial council ; but they are those of the persons whom his royal highness the prince regent has called to govern his kingdom, in the existing crisis of his affairs. I have always been in the habit of considering his eminence, the Patriarch, as one of those in Portugal, who are of opinion that all sacrifices ought to be made, provided the kingdom could preserve its independence ; and I think it most important that the British government, and the government of the prince regent, and the world, should be undeceived, if we have been hitherto mistaken.

“ His eminence objects to the adoption of measures which have for their immediate object to procure funds for the maintenance of his royal highness’s armies, because a war may exist in the heart of the kingdom ; but I am apprehensive that the Patriarch forgets the manner in which the common enemy first entered the kingdom in the year 1807 ; that in which they were expelled from it, having had complete possession of it, in 1808 ; and that they were again in possession of the city of Oporto, and of the two most valuable provinces of the kingdom, in 1809 ; and the mode in which they were expelled from those provinces. He forgets that it was stated to him in the month of February 1810, in presence of the Marquez d’Olhao, of Senhor Dom. Miguel Forjaz, of Senhor Dom Joao Antonio Salter de Mendouça, and of Marshal Sir William Beresford, that it was probable that the enemy would invade this kingdom with such an army, as that it would be necessary to concentrate all our forces to oppose him with any chance of success ; and that this concentration could be made with safety in the neighbourhood of the capital only ; and that the general plan of the campaign was communicated to him, which went to bring the enemy into the heart of the kingdom ; and that he expressed before those persons his high approbation of it. If he recollected these circumstances, he would observe that nothing had occurred in this campaign that had not been foreseen and provided for, by measures of which he had before expressed his approbation, whose consequences he now disap-

proves. The Portuguese nation are involved in a war, not of aggression, nor even defence, on their part, not of alliance, not in consequence of their adherence to any political system; for they abandoned all alliances, and all political systems, in order to propitiate the enemy.

“The inhabitants of Portugal made war purely and simply to get rid of the yoke of the tyrant whose government was established in Portugal, and to save their lives and properties. They chose this lot for themselves, principally at the instigation of his eminence the Patriarch: and they called upon his majesty, the ancient ally of Portugal, (whose alliance had been relinquished at the instigation of the common enemy,) to aid them in the glorious effort which they wished to make to restore the independence of their country, and to secure the lives and properties of the inhabitants.

“I shall not state the manner in which his majesty has answered this call, nor enumerate the services rendered to this nation by his army. Whatever may be the result of the contest, nothing can make me believe that the Portuguese nation will ever forget them: but when the nation have adopted the line of resistance to the tyrant, under the circumstances under which it was unanimously adopted by the Portuguese nation in 1808, and has been persevered in, it cannot be believed that they intended to suffer none of the miseries of war, or that their government act consistently with their sentiments, when they expatiate on the inutility of laying fresh burdens on the people, “which were evidently for no other purpose than to nourish a war in the heart of the kingdom.” The Patriarch in particular forgets his old principles, his own actions, which have principally involved this country in this contest, when he talks of discontinuing it, because it has again, for the third time, “been brought into the heart of the kingdom.” Although the Patriarch particularly, and the majority of the existing government, approved of the plan which I explained to them in February 1810, according to which it was probable this kingdom would be made the seat of the war which has since occurred, I admit that his eminence, or any of those members, may fairly

disapprove of the operations of the campaign, and of the continuance of the enemy in Portugal. I have pointed out to the Portuguese government, in more than one despatch, the difficulties and risks which attended any attack upon the enemy's position in this country; and the probable success, not only to ourselves but to our allies, of our perseverance in the plan which I had adopted, and had hitherto followed so far successfully, as that the allies have literally sustained no loss of any description; and their army is at this moment more complete than it was at the opening of the campaign in April last. The inhabitants of one part of the country alone have suffered, and are continuing to suffer; but, without entering into discussions, which I wish to avoid upon this occasion, I repeat, that, if my counsel had been followed, those sufferings would at least have been alleviated; and I observe, that it is the first time that the sufferings of a part, and but a small part, of any nation have been deemed a reason for refusing to adopt a measure which has for its object the deliverance of the whole.

"The Patriarch may, however, disapprove of the system which I have followed, and I conceive that he is fully justified in desiring his majesty and the prince regent to remove me from the command of the armies. This would be a measure consistent with his former conduct in this contest, under the circumstances of my having unfortunately fallen in his opinion: but this measure is entirely distinct from his refusal to concur in laying those burdens on the people which are necessary to carry on and secure the objects of the war. It must be obvious to his eminence, and to every person acquainted with the affairs of Portugal, that unless a great effort be made by the government, to render the resources more adequate to the necessary expenditure, all plans and systems of operations will be alike; for the Portuguese army will be able to carry on none. At this moment although all the corps are concentrated in the neighbourhood of their magazines, with means of transport easy by the Tagus, the Portuguese troops are frequently in want of provisions, because there is no money to defray the expenses of transport; and all the departments of

the Portuguese army, including the hospitals, are equally destitute of funds to enable them to defray the necessary expenditure, and to perform their duty. These deficiencies and difficulties have existed ever since I have known the Portuguese army; and it is well known that it must have been disbanded more than once, if it had not been assisted by the provisions, stores, and funds destined for the maintenance of the British army.

"It may likewise occur to his eminence, that in proportion as operations of the armies would be more extended, the expense would increase; and the necessity for providing adequate funds to support it would become more urgent, unless indeed the course of those operations should annihilate at one blow both army and expenditure. The objections, then, to adopt measures to improve the resources of the government, go to decide the question whether the war shall be carried on, or not, in any manner. By desiring his majesty and the prince regent to remove me from the command of their armies, his eminence would endeavour to get rid of a person deemed incapable or unwilling to fulfil the duties of his situation. By objecting to improve the resources of the country, he betrays an alteration of opinion respecting the contest, and a desire to forfeit its advantages, and to give up the independence of his country, and the security of the lives and properties of the Portuguese nation. In my opinion the Patriarch is in such a situation in this country, that he ought to be called upon, on the part of his majesty, to state distinctly what he meant by refusing to concur in the measures which were necessary to insure the funds to enable this country to carry on the war.

"At all events, I request that this letter may be communicated to him in the regency; and that a copy of it may be forwarded to his royal highness the prince regent, in order that his royal highness may see that I have given his eminence an opportunity of explaining his motives, either by stating his personal objections to me, or the alteration of his opinions, his sentiments, and his wishes in respect to the independence of his country."

Lord Wellington's expectations from the preceding recapitulation of the services of the British, and the ingratitude of certain amongst the Portuguese, were, that it would place the Patriarch in a dilemma, which he would be glad to avoid, by supporting, in the regency, the measures necessary for carrying on the war: besides, it contained some truths, which ought, in some manner or other, to be brought to the recollection of all the ruling authorities in Portugal; and it placed the Patriarch's conduct, his lordship observed, "in such a light, that he will tremble when he shall see the lamp-post," This playful manner, in writing to his friend upon the subject of that "necessary evil," the Patriarch, was exchanged for one of more seriousness, in complaining of the conduct of Fava and Rosa. Their demands, he considered, should be set aside by authority at once, and the anti-Anglicans suppressed, or the army withdrawn from Portugal. These remonstrances produced a temporary benefit to the British portion of the army; but the neglect of their own forces by the regency, was in the highest degree culpable, and continued until necessity suggested a remedy which humanity ought to have anticipated, and the starving soldiers supplied themselves.

The campaign had been protracted to such a length, and continued during such cold, wet, and tempestuous weather, and the people, for whose most immediate benefit it was conducted, acted with such indifference to their benefactors, that many of the bravest spirits and hardiest frames in the British Lines became weary and weak, and wanted rest. General Hill had broken down, obtained leave of absence, and, having vainly tried the effects of change of air, and scene, and associations, at Cintra, and other places in Portugal, reluctantly returned to his native land, where he arrived on the fifth of February, 1811. Fane had also fallen sick; and, at the same moment almost, Sir Stapleton Cotton (Lord Combermere) applied for similar indulgence. This application startled the commander-in-chief, who promptly replied, that "he would wish General Cotton to remain until Foy's return from Paris, that he might see what effect it would have upon the state of affairs in Por-



tugal."—The next home-sick suppliant was Brigade-General R. Craufurd; and although his lordship's reply evinces a facility of composition, and the pen of a ready writer, it only conveys the same impressions—discontent and disappointment at the temporary desertion of those with whom he had so often and so long fought and conquered. Craufurd's application was met by the following remonstrance: "Our operations depend so much upon those of the enemy, that it is impossible for me to say at what period officers might with propriety go to England; but I should think that the enemy are now waiting for the result of the report of the emperor, sent by General Foy, and that the orders from Paris will decide what they are to do, and whether I can give leave with propriety to anybody. I shall be very happy to attend to your wishes; but I would beg of you to reflect whether, considering the situation in which you stand in the army, it is desirable that you should go home upon leave. Adverting to the number of general officers senior to you in the army, it has not been an easy task to keep you in your command: and, if you should go, I fear that I should not be able to appoint you to it again, or to one that would be so agreeable to you, or in which you could be so useful." This reply, so brief, yet so replete with arguments bearing upon the personal interest of the individual, and sufficient to convince a man of calculation, indicates very decidedly the strong anxiety which Lord Wellington felt upon this point, and shows how much his feelings were engaged under these trying circumstances. He had always enjoyed, not merely the respect, the confidence, but the affection of his army; and the number of applications for furlough, and emanating from those whom he considered as the most fortunate soldiers, as well as the most devoted to their profession, alarmed him as to the effect it might produce upon the spirits of the troops generally.

The next applicant, Major-General Leith, received a more formal, though not less kind response, in which some slight feeling of disappointment, at his unseasonable request, is mingled with the usual words of ceremony on such occasions. "I have received your letter of the 21st of December. I sin-

cerely wish that the war was over, that I might take leave myself, and give leave to all those that are desirous of taking it. But as that is not the case, I have been obliged to regulate my own discretion, and to make rules by which I am guided in the granting of leave of absence. Those who are obliged to go home for the recovery of their health are compelled to appear before a medical board; and I shall be very much obliged to you, if you will go through that ceremony, and I shall be happy to comply with your wishes." This inconvenience did not rest here. Of General Hill's indisposition, no doubt, unfortunately, existed; and Fane's illness was so serious, that the stern soldier, who required officers of rank, reputation, and regularity to appear before a medical inquisition, felt so acutely for those whose sufferings were real, that in this case he forgot the commander-in-chief, and appeared in the character of the kind and sorrowing friend. "I am exceedingly concerned that you have suffered, and are still suffering, so much; but I hope your voyage to England, with tranquillity, and the society of your friends, will re-establish your health in a much shorter period of time than you expect: you may stay in England for three months. I shall apply to the admiral to give you a passage in a ship of war; but I shall be much obliged to you not to mention that I do so, as others will require that I should make the same application for them, although their cases, fortunately for them, are not of a nature to require this accommodation, which involves the public in a sort of expense; and the admiralty are very particular in their inquiries respecting the causes for the application for a ship of war for a general officer." A second appeal from Sir Stapleton Cotton, whom Lord Wellington held in the highest esteem, and whose services he thought could not well be spared, was answered more briefly, coldly, pointedly. His lordship put the circumstances before him in that way, in which they would be most likely to make an impression on a man who had adopted the profession of arms for its nobleness solely. "You will have heard," observed Lord Wellington, "that a considerable reinforcement (it is said, the ninth corps,) is advancing by the road of Ponte de Murcella. It is certain that

the enemy will take a decided line, one way or the other, as soon as they join, which will be in a day or two. Under these circumstances, you will judge for yourself whether to go or to stay, without further reference to me, and will act accordingly. Let me know what you determine, and at all events send up Elly." In this cold, calm, but candid remonstrance, the highest possible compliment to Cotton's valour is conveyed : it told him of the enemy's augmented strength, as a stimulant to the ambition of a soldier whose gallantry he had often applauded.

In his answer to Brigadier-General Craufurd, Lord Wellington touched the same cord, but the tones that he hoped for were not returned ; and this remonstrance contains a recapitulation of those reasons on which he rested his plea of refusal, as well as an exposé of the alarming extent of the evil. "Although we were deceived," his lordship writes, "in the line of march stated to be followed by Mortier's corps, when I last saw you, I do not conceive that it is still clear that those troops will not enter Portugal at an early period. They have taken Olivença, and their next step will show what their design is. I cannot believe that, having twenty thousand men upon the Guadiana, and from seven thousand to ten thousand men upon the Coa, and the sources of the Mondego, which the French can draw in, they mean to leave Massena where he is, till death shall have swept away his whole army ; and, therefore, my opinion is, that they will attack us. However, you are as capable of forming an opinion upon this subject as I am : and as I have frequently told you, when an officer in your situation tells me that he has business to settle in England of paramount importance to him, I cannot object to his going there, if he thinks proper ; and you will therefore go, if you wish it, by the packet, and take Captain Cotton with you.

"I will just observe to you, however, that *seven generals* have gone, or are going, home from this army, and there is not now one remaining in it, who came out with the army, excepting General Alexander Campbell, who has been in England." Remonstrance, although supported and strengthened by a tacit reference to his own enduring firmness and courage, proved

vain ; this gallant officer renewed his unwelcome correspondence at an early date, and extorted a permission which it would have been more meritorious to have refused. "I see no reason," said Wellington, "why I should depart from the rule I have laid down for myself in these applications. Officers (general officers in particular) are the best judges of their own private concerns ; and although my opinion is, that there is no private concern that cannot be settled by instruction and power of attorney, and that, after all, is not settled in this manner, I cannot refuse leave of absence to those who come to say that their business is of a nature that requires their personal superintendence. But entertaining these opinions, it is rather too much, that I should not only give leave of absence, but approve of the absence of any, particularly a general officer, from the army. It is certainly the greatest inconvenience to the service, that officers should absent themselves as they do, each of them requiring, at the same time, that when it shall be convenient to return, he shall find himself in the same situation as when he left the army. In the mean time, who is to do the duty ? How am I to be responsible for the army ? Is Colonel —— a proper substitute for General Craufurd, in the command of our advanced posts ? or General —— for Sir Stapleton Cotton, in the command of the cavalry ? *"I may be obliged to consent to the absence of an officer, but I cannot approve of it.* I repeat, that you know the situation of affairs as well as I do, and you have my leave to go to England, *if you think proper ;* as also Captain Cotton."

While the commander-in-chief was thus remonstrating, in the double relation of friend and general, and demonstrating how sensibly alive he was to the injurious consequences that were likely to attend such a sudden and extensive desertion of duty by the superior officers, the "Morning Chronicle," newspaper, actually taunted him with fatuity in releasing his most valuable officers at a moment obviously fraught with peril, and, in the very front of his own public despatches, which complained of their untimely secession. That partial, but powerful political organ thus formally announced the arrival of the military

absentees: "A number of officers of distinction—Generals Hill, Leith, the Marquis of Tweeddale, Sir Stapleton Cotton, and others—have arrived in town from Portugal. Such is the state of security in which Lord Wellington appears to consider that country, that he has given leave of absence to a number of his officers. No apprehension seems to be entertained by him, of the early approach of the enemy, and therefore they think the reinforcements in the Channel (where they were detained for six weeks) will have ample time to join the army at Lisbon." This calumny has been already refuted by extracts from Lord Wellington's despatches, which are anterior in date, and of which the editor could not have been ignorant. The ministerial journals, in support of a cause, to which by interest, perhaps by principle also, they were devoted, spoke in loud and undisguised terms of disapprobation, of the return of so many general officers, and rendered their conduct so unpopular, that absence was no longer relaxation; and several of them, voluntarily curtailing their privilege, returned to the post of honour.

The secretary at war, alarmed by the repeated assertions of the opposition journals, "that Lord Wellington had sent home his generals at a most ill-judged time,"\* communicated his apprehensions to his lordship, and received the following answer, a document which is necessary to the completion of that chain of evidence by which the despondents and calumniators of that day were fettered: "I assure you, that the departure of the general officers from the army was as much against my inclination, as their arrival in England was injurious to the public interests. *I did every thing in my power to prevail upon them not to go—but in vain; and I acknowledge that it has given me satisfaction to find that they have been roughly handled in the newspapers.* The consequence of the absence of some of them has been, that in the late operations I have been obliged to be the general of cavalry, and of the advanced guard, and the leader of two or three columns, sometimes on

\* Gen. Fane, the Hon. Colonel Meade, Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell, Major Harvey, and several others, landed at Portsmouth, from the "*Cormorant*," on the 14th of January, 1811.

the same day. I have requested Colonel Torrens not to allow any general officer to come out, in future, who is not willing to declare that he has no private business to recall him to England, and that he will remain with the army as long as it shall stay in the Peninsula."

Finding the current of public feeling setting strongly against the flood of falsehood that flowed from their journals, the opposition abandoned the truant officers to that indignation which some few of them justly encountered, and, with a species of affinity for agitation, when one subject was dropped, began eagerly and instantly to act destructively upon a second. The great leader of our armies, being now about to throw off the mystery in which his vast plans were veiled, and to stand confessed before the world as a consummate general and politician, the despondents hastened to discharge the last poisoned shaft that lingered in the quiver; and the new species of venom, in which it was dipped before it flew, consisted in attributing Wellington's success solely to a series of unavoidable accidents, which marred the masterly plots of that experienced officer to whom he was opposed. The following extract, from the leading journal of the despondents, evinces their chagrin at the failure of the enemies of England, and, if quoted without a reference, might readily pass for a paragraph from the *Moniteur*. "Massena undoubtedly would have taken the capital if he could, but if his inadequate means deprived him of that glory, he acquired the credit of paralyzing the superior forces of Lord Wellington until he could bid defiance to their utmost efforts. *Lord Wellington awoke from his trance, to lapse into illusions, a less characteristic of unjustifiable want of intelligence, and erroneous judgment.* When the net is spread, Lord Wellington will find that material obstacles so situated are not inseparable; but even if the campaign does not close with catastrophe, military men will argue, that it has not been conducted with due regard to the relative means of the invading and defending armies, and, that the mere possession of Lisbon is not an object of sufficient worth, to justify the appropriation of near one hundred thousand men to its defence.

The arena chosen for the struggle, against the whole disposable power of France, has not been selected with due attention to the most essential principle of military positions."—Such a commentary, whether emanating from total ignorance, or wilful misrepresentation, reflects lasting discredit upon its fabricators, and presents a salutary warning to partisans in politics. The preceding memorable but insulting paragraph was the last bitter draught which the jealous, disappointed, desponding party were permitted to administer to the hero who saved their lives and their country; this was the dying twang that resounded from their relaxed bowstring; the arm that directed the weapon of wickedness suddenly lost its power; the monster to whom it belonged was, in a moment of surprise, shorn of his strength. The springs from which the poisoned river flowed, now received a correcting antidote, and poured forth sweet waters. The picture that had before been painted with colours both false and glaring, as if touched by a mystic wand, suddenly exhibited a tone more mild, subdued, and assimilated to truth. All these transformations were the immediate result of a dispensation of providence, the serious indisposition of King George the III. and the appointment of the Prince of Wales as regent, with restrictions as to the executive power at first, but, after the expiration of a year, in full sovereignty. The despondents had always looked with confidence to the friendship of the Prince of Wales; with him they had spent so many of those Attic nights, on which both parties reflected with proper pride; these accomplished scholars, statesmen, orators, poets, in fact, this galaxy of talent, that surrounded the heir-apparent, lent him the lustre of their learning, in return for that of his royal friendship; and when that prince ascended the throne, they beheld the bark of hope, with anchor weighed and sails unfurled, ready to bear the long-expected freight to the haven of happiness; but, while they looked, a strange boat approached, and reached the vessel's side, and the pilot, stretching out his hand, helped each passenger respectfully on board, then, taking his place at the helm, steered his bark away from the shore, and was soon out of sight. Like

Young Henry of Monmouth, the libertine prince exchanged the warmth of youth for the reserve and coldness of more matured years, and passing over all his early associates, snapping in an instant the strongest ties of friendship, he expressed his determination to retain those ministers and officers of state who then served his royal father, and thus, unceremoniously, dismissing from his favour that powerful party, with whose feelings he had so wantonly sported, expressed his approbation of the existing cabinet in the most unqualified terms. With this extraordinary, unforeseen, and almost unparalleled event, the hopes of the despondents, of attaining power, were given to the winds; their spirit was broken; those who possessed pecuniary independence and hereditary rank withdrew with disgust at such a violation of the claims of friendship: those who were deficient in such resources, now weighed more calmly the consequences of irritating a government which they could never hope to displace, by calumniating the greatest warrior and diplomatist England ever saw. This was an important event, a remarkable epoch in the life of Lord Wellington: had the despondents succeeded to power, which they might very naturally have expected, one of their first measures would have been his removal, and perhaps, to preserve consistency, with circumstances of disgrace: at all events, they could not possibly have dared to continue the war, after the denunciations they had uttered against the foreign policy of Lords Castlereagh, Liverpool, and Wellesley, so that the hero's career of glory would either have been suspended or stopped for ever. In this instance, certainly, fortune favoured the British chieftain, for the despondents were crushed by the silent working of a system which a wise Providence alone controlled.

It has frequently been observed, that a state of inaction is destructive to the discipline, and subversive of subordination, amongst large bodies of men assembled together on any occasion: numbers have always been found as impatient of rest as of restraint, hence it followed, that when the allied army were not on the march, or preparing prospective plans of attack or defence, the men lapsed into irregularity, or yielded to some new species of influence, calculated to weaken the ties that



bound them to their officers, and, in some instances, even to sap the foundations of their military allegiance. The state of rest in which the British continued in their cantonments of Cartaxo, was favourable to the introduction and extension of *Methodism* amongst the men—an event that caused much uneasiness to the commander-in-chief: had he been deficient in practical experience, history must have presented him with many memorable examples of equivocal sincerity, and of the gross abuse of the sacred ministry, by giving a specious pretext for the entrance of intrigues into the encampment of a numerous army, and for the dissemination of levelling, equalizing, and selfish doctrines. Lord Wellington attributed the assaults of sectarianism upon the protestant principles of his soldiers, to the inability, or rather insufficiency, of the military chaplains. He conceived that the stipend allowed to these useful men did not secure the services of the soundest scholars, or most pious persons. He believed that the income, while they were abroad, was sufficiently good, but that of retired chaplains after service, not so; and, that the period of service required of them was too long. His lordship conceived that a man could scarcely be eligible to be an army-chaplain till he was six or eight and twenty, after an expensive education; and it could not be asserted that the pay of a retired chaplain, at thirty-six years of age, was equivalent to what any respectable person would have acquired, had he followed any other line of the clerical profession besides the army. He thought, therefore, that the period of service should be reduced from ten to six years, without leave of absence, excepting on account of health, and that the pay of the retired chaplain ought to be augmented. These considerate views his lordship submitted to the adjutant-general of the forces, (Lieutenant-General Calvert) in an earnest and pressing communication, from which the following passage is extracted. “My reason for making these suggestions is, that really we do not get respectable men for the service. I have one excellent young man in this army, Mr. Briscall,\*

\* “This gentleman remained with the army till the end of the war; he was also with the army in the Low Countries and France from 1815 to 1818, and was afterwards curate at Strathfieldsaye.”—*Note, by Colonel Garwood, to the Wellington Despatches.*

who is attached to head-quarters, and who has never been one moment absent from his duty; but I have not seen another who has not applied, and made a pitiable case for leave of absence immediately after his arrival; and excepting Mr. Denis at Lisbon, who was absent all last year, I believe Mr. Briscall is the only chaplain doing duty. I am very anxious upon this subject, not only for the desire which every man must have, that so many persons as there are in the army, should have the advantage of religious instruction, but from a knowledge that it is the greatest support and aid to military discipline and order." It had likewise come to Lord Wellington's knowledge that there were two or three Methodist meetings in the town of Cartaxo, of which one was in the Guards. The men met in the evenings, sang psalms, and, occasionally, Sergeant Stephens gave them a sermon. Mr. Briscall kept his eye on these people, and would have given notice to the commander-in-chief, had he observed anything that demanded his interference; and such were the conduct and character of that gentleman, that his influence was materially instrumental in arresting the growth of enthusiasm amongst the soldiers. There was a Methodist meeting also in the ninth regiment, which two officers attended; and it was in vain that the commanding officer remonstrated with them upon the consequences of their example. "Here, and in similar instances," said Lord Wellington, "we want the assistance of a respectable clergyman. By his personal influence and advice, and by that of true religion, he would moderate the zeal and enthusiasm of these gentlemen, and prevent their meetings from being mischievous, if he did not prevail upon them to discontinue them entirely. This is the only mode by which, in my opinion, we can touch these things; the meetings of soldiers in their cantonments, to sing psalms, or hear a sermon read by one of their comrades, is, in the abstract, perfectly innocent, and it is a better way of spending their time than many others to which they are addicted; but it may become otherwise; and yet, till *the abuse* has made some progress, the commanding officer would have no knowledge of it, nor could he interfere. Even at last his interference must be

guided by discretion, otherwise he will do more harm than good ; and it can in no case be so effectual as that of a respectable clergyman. I wish, therefore, the number of respectable and efficient clergymen with the army to be increased."

Guided by that discretion, the value of which Lord Wellington so clearly demonstrates, in his commentary upon the scriptural instruction of the army, he prudently abstained from any open interference in controlling the religious sentiments of his soldiers ; he had always been an advocate for religious toleration, and uniformly evinced the most refined delicacy towards the religion and the clergy of every country in which it had been his lot to carry on war. Incapable, therefore, of exercising any severity towards his own countrymen, while he showed forbearance and liberality to the stranger, he allowed those enthusiastic feelings to expand, lose their elasticity, and fade away ; and Methodism in the army was nearly extinct, when the war was revived by the movements of Massena.

While sectarianism crept into the allied cantonments, treason was actively pursuing her loathsome office. The *Fidalgos*, at Lisbon, had succeeded in opening a systematic correspondence with the enemy's head-quarters, at Torres Novas. The whole of this secret correspondence was managed by General Pamplona, who himself communicated with individuals in Lisbon ; and the *Fidalgos*, in the French party at Torres Novas, also corresponded with their families and friends. The messengers on these occasions were vendors of coffee, sugar, and other goods, which they carried into the enemy's lines, and disposed of at exorbitant prices ; and, as a recommendation to their customers, they became the bearers of letters to and fro. Besides these small merchants, some of the inhabitants of Torres Novas had been employed by the enemy in the capacity of couriers, carriers, and spies ; but, being badly paid, and ill-treated, they did not perform their functions with alacrity or regularity, and seldom returned a second time.

Intercourse and traffic of such a dangerous character and tendency, demanded the most immediate notice of the commander-in-chief, who endeavoured to check them by means of the

outposts of the army ; by giving the inhabitants, on the several lines of road, rewards for stopping all strangers passing through their villages, and all persons engaged in such traffic as has just been described ; and, to quicken their zeal, the goods stopped were to be divided amongst the discoverers. Lord Wellington also solicited the co-operation of the police of Lisbon, in watching closely all persons related to, or connected with Pamplona and the Portuguese Fidalgos at Torres Novas, and noting carefully all arrivals from Torres Novas and Thomar, which were the only towns where the inhabitants had stayed, and from whom the enemy could get assistance of this description.—“It is astonishing,” observed Lord Wellington, “how accurately informed we find the enemy of every thing. The Marquess de la Romana’s death, the king’s illness (George III.) the prospect of the regency, and the probable change in the ministry, were well known to them : and these events were considered likely to be productive of great benefit to the French cause. They say they get the newspapers : but I rather doubted that, till I found out the traffic in sugar and coffee. If they can get these articles, they can get, not only newspapers, but anything else they please.” The commander-in-chief solicited the assistance of Mr. Charles Stuart in checking this monstrous inconvenience ; but the same remedy that cured the disease of religious enthusiasm amongst the soldiers, namely, renewal of hostilities, proved efficacious in removing this malady also. It cannot be said that Lord Wellington was, in this instance, taken by surprise, at the effrontery or baseness of the Fidalgos, whose character he had thus briefly sketched in a letter to Mr. Charles Stuart in the summer of 1810: “The Fidalgos in Portugal protect every vagabond, high or low ; and the government tremble at the very name of a Fidalgo. But we must force them to do their duty, if possible.”

For some time the cause of Spain, the conduct of its government, the operations of its armies, and success or failure of their arms, have been passed over, for the purpose of preserving a continuous chain in the memoirs of the great man, whose eventful life forms the subject of these pages, and of giving an

intentional preference to his individual thoughts, words, and actions, above the general history of the Spanish war ; but it is now, and in this place, necessary to present a brief retrospect of the proceedings of the national assembly of Spain, in whose decrees Lord Wellington took a personal part, and whose misconduct and cruelty had nearly occasioned the destruction of the liberties of the Peninsula.

At the most unpromising period of the Spanish war, when their bravest officers were without armies, the nation without pecuniary resources, and the guerilla bands alone maintaining any show of resistance to the enemy, the Spanish senate was called together at Cadiz, with all the form and ceremony customary in the best governed kingdoms, and at periods of the most profound peace. Lord Wellington, from the commencement, foresaw the monstrous stature which this national assembly would soon attain ; he was familiar with the boasting, indolent character of those who were eligible to become representatives, and well remembered the neglect of all former popular assemblies of Spain, in raising, disciplining, paying, or supporting an army. In many letters, of a public and private character, he expressed his apprehensions as to the future conduct of this body ; and the result of their deliberations fully justified his fears. Several years had been consumed by political leaders in fruitless efforts to convene a national assembly, and it was not until the close of 1810, and when the war in Portugal, through the genius and firmness of Wellington, began to assume a brighter aspect, that this long cherished object was effected. The supreme junta, assuming the prerogative of royalty, defined the qualifications of candidates, appointed the number of representatives, and the day of assemblage. They decided that all persons not under the age of twenty-five years, not enjoying a pension, or holding an office of emolument under government, not indebted to the state, and not labouring under any corporeal infirmity, or stained by the commission of crime, were eligible to seats in the assembly of the cortes. Each city retained its ancient privilege, undiminished, of returning representatives ; every provincial junta was to be represented

by a single deputy, and the provinces exercised the elective franchise to the extent of one member for every fifty thousand souls. In this popular parliament the colonies were entitled to representatives, and twenty-six natives of those dependencies, but then resident in Spain, were to represent the interests of those extensive possessions. As the greater part of Spain was virtually occupied by the enemy, the inhabitants could not exercise that freedom of choice to which they had been admitted; and many of those upon whom the selection fell, were either detained by fear of capture, or arrested by the French on their way to Cadiz. To compensate this deficiency, eighty-six supplementary members were chosen in Cadiz, and those districts in which freedom of election was practicable, and with which that city possessed an open communication; and from this number of associates, vacancies amongst the members were filled up. It formed part of the original plan of the new legislative assembly, to construct an upper house, and to model their system after that of England; but republican principles were more deeply rooted, even in Spain, than had been imagined, and not only was that idea abandoned, but the grandees and dignitaries of the church, in the general demolition of temporal distinctions, were placed upon the same footing as all other candidates, and, therefore, necessitated to rely on their popularity for the certainty of their return. Had secret emissaries from their enemies furnished the plan of the new assembly, its principles could not have been more in accordance with those of France; and the consequences of this unnatural form of government, which were foreseen by Lord Wellington, and against which he warned the nation, laid the foundation of a breach of friendship between Spain and England, that entailed years of suffering upon the Spanish people.

The first public meeting of this great popular assembly took place on the twenty-first of September, 1810, and its objects, its measures, its probable consequences, excited deep anxiety at every court in Europe. Their very first act was to declare the sovereignty of the people, by assuming to themselves the

title of majesty, while the regency was permitted to enjoy the inferior rank and style of highness. That the assembly of the cortes in 1810 originated in premature speculations on the extension of the liberties of the Spanish people, appears from the initial enactments of this body, and their worse than fruitless labours. Propriety, prudence, patriotism, dictated the acknowledgment of Ferdinand's indefeasible right to the throne\* as an opening declaration, and basis of future proceedings; but not many weeks after, the same assembly asserted that the right of Carlotta, princess of Brazil, was superior and hereditary, and they would have proceeded to govern the kingdom in her name, if Lord Wellington had not deterred them by ridiculing their folly, inconsistency, and falsehood. Having in one of their first decrees acknowledged allegiance to their

\* To this decree they bound themselves by the following spirited and patriotic proclamation. "The cortes, general and extraordinary, in conformity with their decree of the twenty-fourth of December of last year, 1810, in which they declare null and void the renunciations made at Bayonne by the legitimate king of Spain and the Indies, Sir. D. Fernando VII., not only from his want of liberty, but from want of the essential and indispensable circumstance, the consent of the nation, declare that they will not acknowledge, but will hold for null, and of no effect, every act, treaty, convention, or transaction, of whatever kind or nature they may have been, authorized by the king while he remains in the state of oppression and deprivation of liberty in which he now is, whether in the country of the enemy, or within Spain, while his royal person is surrounded by the arms, and under direct or indirect influence, of the usurper of his crown; as the nation will never consider him as free, nor render him obedience, until it shall see him in the midst of his faithful subjects, and in the bosom of the national congress which now exists, or hereafter may exist in the government formed by the cortes. They declare at the same time, that every contravention of this decree shall be considered by the nation an act hostile to the country, and the offender shall be amenable to all the rigour of the laws. And, finally, the cortes declare that the generous nation whom they represent will never lay down its arms, nor listen to any proposition for accommodation, of whatever kind it may be, which shall not be preceded by the total evacuation of Spain by the troops which have so unjustly invaded it; since the cortes, as well as the whole nation, are resolved to fight incessantly till they have secured the holy religion of their ancestors, the liberty of their beloved monarch, and the absolute independence and integrity of the monarchy. The council of regency, that this may be known and punctually observed throughout the whole extent of the Spanish dominions, shall cause this to be printed, published, and circulated.—ALONZO CANEDO, President: J. MARTINEZ, J. AZNAR, Secretaries."

sovereign, in their next they proclaimed unrestricted freedom in numerous points, and with resolutions that came recommended by wisdom and liberality, but which were not suited to the existing state of Spain, nor adhered to by the legislators themselves. It was, amongst other things, declared that the cession of the crown to a member of the family of Napoleon should be viewed with abhorrence; that any member of the cortes should be held infamous, and deprived of his seat, who accepted of pecuniary reward from the executive. The freedom of the press was one of their earliest boons to the nation, and Spanish eloquence never shone more brilliantly than in the beautiful pleadings of Arguelles for the admission of his countrymen to this inestimable benefit. These were not the only regulations of a tendency apparently beneficial to Spain, which this national council, in its republican spirit, enacted: committees were appointed also for expediting litigation, and delivering the jails; and numerous useful reforms were proposed, confessed to be called for by the necessities of the people, but entrusted to the conduct of public functionaries armed with too much authority—or to committees from the cortes, with too little interest in the cases, to be active.

Those to whom the exercise of power was a novelty, having played with the bauble, forgot the relish; those who had enjoyed its possession before, as members of local juntas, returned to those abuses of trust, and to those acts of injustice and cruelty, which had disgraced the national character, and disgusted their allies. No persons, or party, felt deeper indignation than the regency, which was in fact deposed by the privation of its superior title; and they watched every occasion, either to recover their rank, or retaliate upon their rivals. At this period, an exiled prince of France, the Duke of Orleans, afterwards Louis Philippe, king of the French, was resident at Palermo, where he occasionally employed his great talents in improving his very limited means of subsistence: to this illustrious man, the regency addressed themselves, invited him to enter Spain, assume the command of an army composed partly of French soldiers, and carry on a desultory warfare



on the French border. The duke accepted the invitation, and, sailing from Palermo, landed at Tarragona, where he met with an unfavourable reception; upon which he immediately re-embarked, and steered for Cadiz: here he was treated with much respect by Lieutenant-General Graham, and by the Spanish authorities over whom the regency had influence or control; and it was the design of this body to place the duke in such a position and command, that, with his assistance, they would have been enabled to suppress the local juntas, and overcome the cortes. But the national council, suspecting the object, in an abrupt and unworthy manner ordered the duke to quit the Spanish territories within twenty-four hours from the date of their decree; by which they unintentionally saved this excellent man from the pain of having invaded his native land; or most probably preserved him from a cruel death at the hands of the French authorities, for had he been taken prisoner, he would most assuredly have been destroyed. Lord Wellington disapproved of the invitation that was sent to the duke, anxiously hoped, for his own honour, that he would reject it, and regretted the difficulties in which his misfortunes and the intrigues of Spain had involved so amiable a person.\* In addition to the rejection of the Duke of Orleans' services as an act of the regency, the cortes proceeded to the dissolution of that body, and to the reconstruction of one analogous; substituting a triumvirate instead of a council of five. The new regency consisted of General Joachim Blake, Admiral Pedro Agar, and Gabriel Cisgar, the governor of Carthageua. Blake and Cisgar being absent at the time of the election, two substitutes *pro tempore* were appointed, one of whom, the Marquess de Palacio, having expressed some doubts as to the nature of the qualification oath, tendered to him on the occasion, and appearing to find a difficulty in reconciling its tenor with that of the pledge he had given to be faithful to his king, he was instantly denounced as

\* "J'ai souvent regretté le malheur qui est arrivé au Duc d'Orléans. C'est un prince estimable par son caractère, ses grands talens, et sa réputation: qui aurait pu faire beaucoup pour cette malheureuse contrée."—*Lord Wellington to General Dancowicz.*

one who was unworthy of a public trust, and deserving only of the contempt and hatred of his country. The new regency entered upon their duties with more alacrity and independence than was agreeable to the cortes, but they were so strenuously supported by the advice, example, and authority of Lord Wellington, that they carried on a successful and important opposition to that assembly. But the great political disgrace and error of this national council, was the exposure of their meditated tyranny towards their American dependencies. Instead of confessing their gratitude to those remote colonies for assistance, both pecuniary and personal, in the struggle with France, they professed openly, that those vast possessions, with their many millions of people, should not dare to think, speak, or act for themselves; that they should follow the fortunes of Spain, whatever those might be; and, if slavery was to be the lot of the mother-country, the Spanish Americans were thereby bound to accept of it as their portion also. This declaration plainly indicated the tyrannous character of the Spanish senate, and told the colonists what consideration and mercy were reserved for them. Its effect, therefore, was immediate, and the arrival of the intelligence in America was simultaneous with the bursting forth of one great and general insurrection, by which the yoke of Spain was shaken off for ever.

From this brief view of the early measures and conduct of the cortes, the justice of Lord Wellington's opinions is established: he prevented that rash, intriguing assembly from violating their oaths of Allegiance to their king—from exciting a war of succession—from withdrawing the Spanish army from Portugal—and advised them to cultivate new relations with the wisest and best men of their country, many of whom had fallen victims to their power and malignity.\* The factious

\* The proceedings of this notable assembly were attended with results ruinous to the cause of Spain, and deplorable as related to the fate of the most exemplary men of that period. Many of the most amiable, amongst the Spanish aristocracy, were doomed to perpetual solitude within the narrow boundaries of their private domains, during the Peninsular war, by the intrigues and viciousness of individuals in the cortes; but not being conspicuous as military leaders, their sorrows and their sufferings have found no place in history. There is little

and foolish proceedings of the regency, the growth of sectarianism among his soldiers, the mischievous exposure of the

or no doubt that the indisposition of the brave Romana was increased, and that a malady which, under ordinary circumstances, would have passed away after the infliction of some hours of pain, was heightened into an irremediable visitation, by the excitement which printed calumnies on his character produced. Spain was not sufficiently educated to derive advantage from the freedom of the press; and Romana felt that the unjust imputations thrown out by the press, not only endangered his life, and diminished his influence over his ignorant followers, but reached what was dearer to a great man than life—his honour. Lord Wellington perceived that the weapon was too sharp for such inexperienced hands, and would have withheld that gift of liberty of the press until the nation was better prepared for its acceptance and appreciation; but, before his warning voice was heard, the arrow had sped, and the best friend of Spain was counted amongst the first victims of the impolicy of the cortes. However the advocates of popular parliaments, without superior control, or any balancing-weight, may palliate the conduct of the cortes in the instance of Romana, and lay all the fortune of his early death to the account of his ruling destiny, the cruel fate of Albuquerque is all their own. This brave soldier, whose premature death has before been noticed, fell a victim to sensibility. In his honourable exile, as ambassador-extraordinary from Spain to the British court, he felt too acutely the ingratitude of his country, and the baseness of the provisional government. At first, this indignant hero and spirited patriot resolved upon drawing up a vindication of his conduct, and actually published a quarto volume on the subject, entitled "*Manifiesto del Duque de Albuquerque, acerca de su conducta con la Junta de Cadix, y Arribo del Ejercito de su Cargo a aquella Plaza.*" This defence was followed by a direct application to the vile authors of his grief, in these words: "I am extremely anxious to continue my services for the protection of my country in a military situation, being persuaded, that in resuming my duties in that profession, I can render myself more useful than in the circumstances I am now placed." While the treaty for the restoration of this injured man, to the rank he so much honoured, was in progress, a letter appeared in the public journals on the twelfth of January, 1811, addressed to the Duke of Albuquerque from the cortes of Spain, in which that able soldier and loyal subject is designated "an impudent calumniator, and an enemy to the well-being of his country." Although these painful falsehoods were retracted, and the same infamous assembly soon after voted "that Albuquerque had deserved well of his country, and that he should be sent for to resume his military command," the retraction came too late; a paroxysm of mental agony had seized on his too sensitive mind, and the glorious spirit of Albuquerque had fled, before the grovelling confession of his slanderers reached the shores of Britain.

The unmerited fate of so brave and true a spirit excited the universal regret of the British public, who made a becoming oblation to his memory by a stately funeral at the public cost. On the second of March, 1811, his remains

contents of his despatches by the public journals, the secret correspondence established between the enemy at Torres Novas and the disaffected in Lisbon—the abandonment of their duty by so many of his general officers at such a crisis—were all borne with equanimity by Lord Wellington, and all met with his usual firmness. He expected, however, that while he was engaged in keeping so many thousand enemies at bay, whom he had voluntarily drawn upon himself, the Spaniards, who had been relieved from their pressure, would have made efforts in proportion, to extricate themselves totally, act on the enemy's rear, and in time relieve the allies. But, the siege of Cadiz was maintained without a movement—O'Donnel sustained his reputation by a desperate, yet fruitless resistance to the enemy in Catalonia, which his bravery at Vich attests—the Spanish forces in Castile were motionless—Galicia had been released from the grasp of the French by Lord Wellington, yet neglected to repay the debt of gratitude by marching to his assistance at Torres Vedras. The garrison of Hostalrich, however, displayed a spirit of endurance and gallantry that entitled them to the admiration of their countrymen: besieged closely for four months, they submitted to the severest sufferings and most painful privations; and when their last ration was consumed, a body of fourteen hundred brave fellows, led on by the heroic governor Julian Estrada, made a sally from the walls, and boldly attempted to cut their way through the enemy; a large number succeeded, and reached to

were taken from Portman-place to the Chapel Royal of Spain, Spanish-place, Manchester-square, where they lay in state for some days, and were removed thence to Westminster Abbey, attended by one hundred carriages of the nobility, and a large body of military. Arrived at this mausoleum of kings, philosophers, statesmen, and soldiers, the body was carried into Henry the VIIIth's Chapel, and laid in the Ormond vault, at the east end, which was also the temporary depository of the remains of the great Duke of Marlborough, on the occasion of the state-funeral with which his remains were so justly honoured.—Victims of sensibility are also to be found in the history of our own country, amongst whom, perhaps, George Canning is the most recent public instance. He died of a painful disease, aggravated by *uneasiness of mind*, and the *over-excitement* consequent upon his elevation to the premiership.—This last prize of political ambition he did not long possess—and never, perhaps, for a moment enjoyed, through failing health, and the *bitterness of opponents*."

Vich in safety, but the noble Estrada, and about three hundred of his companions, were unfortunately made prisoners. This misfortune, which reflected the highest merit on the gallant governor and the garrison, was followed, on the ensuing day, by the seizure of Las Medas islands, where the Spaniards had a port and safe asylum for shipping, the loss of which was irreparable.

17147.

The conduct of the Arragonese contributed to increase the contempt in which the French had always held the Spanish forces: Lerida was taken by Marshal Suchet after five days cannonading, and that inhuman officer ordered an indiscriminate slaughter of the inhabitants found in the streets and houses; this system of terror, a system which Oliver Cromwell so inhumanly adopted to crush the Irish, hastened the fall of the fort of Mequinenza, seated on a lofty and precipitous rock, detached from all other objects, and protected on two sides by the Segre and Ebro rivers, whose confluence occurs at this place. The garrison of Mequinenza might have given an example of devotion to their country; but the sanguinary scenes that had so recently been enacted at Lerida, by Suchet's order, were so deeply graven on the governor's mind, that, after going through the forms of loyalty, he surrendered the fort, on the promise of more merciful treatment for himself and the garrison. The cruelty of Suchet on this occasion has been attributed to the most pitiful motives—passion, irritation, disappointment, at the disgrace inflicted on his corps by the Spaniards at Valencia in the preceding part of the year. There, Ventura Caro had so animated his followers by his example and eloquence, that they despised the best efforts of Suchet's army, that lay encamped before their walls in the rich vale called the Huesta. The French general, seated securely in the "garden of Valencia," resolved upon awaiting opportunity; this might be created by a rash sally of the garrison, by the unequal courage which Spanish armies had so often shown, or perhaps treason might come to his assistance. In the latter hope his calculation nearly proved correct, but the traitors were discovered, put to immediate

death by the infuriated populace, and Suchet, despairing of winning the place, either by stratagem or courage, abandoned the siege, and marched northward. One effort was made, at the close of 1810, by the governor of Cadiz, to dislodge or divert the enemy. This expedition consisted of four thousand men, including a battalion of the eighty-ninth, the Spanish imperial regiment of Toledo, and some foreign deserters, under the command of General Lord Blayney, who had been instructed to effect a descent on the coast of Malaga, and make a false attack upon Frangerola, in order to draw Sebastiani out of Malaga: the disembarkation was accomplished, and the demonstration successful, but the general continuing to cannonade a place with light guns, against which heavier metal had proved ineffectual, and mistaking two squadrons of the enemy's cavalry that were in the act of charging his line, for Spanish horse, he was unfortunately taken prisoner; part of his detachment recovered their ships, several officers and many men were killed, and "an expedition well-contrived, and adequate to its object, was ruined by misconduct, and terminated in disaster and disgrace."

The intelligence which Foy conveyed to Paris excited the emperor's displeasure against both Massena and Soult: the former was commanded to persevere in the chief, the only object, of his duty in Portugal; the latter, to march on the Tagus, assist in the construction of a bridge across that river, and co-operate with Massena "*in the destruction of the British.*"\*

The *fiat* of Napoleon communicated motion to the corps of Marshal Soult: and the advanced guard of his force under Mortier, about the close of one year and opening of the next, entered Estramadura, from the grand rendezvous at Seville, where thirteen thousand men were assembled. When the news

\* These were the words of Napoleon's despatch, and they are characteristic of the individual. His florid, pompous style, was well understood by the hero of the Nile, who thus comments on its character: "As I have Buonaparte's despatches now before me, I speak positively—he says, I am going to send off, to take Suez and Damietta: but there is such bombast in his letters, that it is difficult to get at the truth."—Clarke and M'Arthur's *Life of Nelson*, Vol. ii. p. 132, 8vo. edition.

of this operation reached Lord Wellington, he despatched Mendizabal to defend the Guadiana to the last, and destroy the bridges of Medellin and Merida. Both Ballasteros and Mendizabal acted with timidity, and retired, after little resistance, before the enemy; while Spanish obstinacy, and eternal perseverance in error, were illustrated by the report of the Spanish engineer, containing his reasons for the non-destruction of the bridges on the Guadiana: every argument put forward by that sapient officer carried on its front the stamp of folly, and in its structure its own refutation; his real ground of opposition was that the order emanated from a British general. Thus unobstructed in their march, the enemy reached Merida on the eighth, and appeared before Olivença on the eleventh of January. In this ill-constructed, indefensible fortress, four thousand Spanish troops had been inconsiderately left by Mendizabal, along with a brigade of artillery: not having any stores, being without a competent leader, and having no definite object in view, after ten days' resistance, the garrison of Olivença surrendered to General Girard on the twenty-second of January, and was immediately converted into a place of arms for the corps of Marshal Soult, which was then advancing to the investment of Badajos.

On the death of the Marquess de la Romana, the instructions which that general had received from Lord Wellington, relative to taking up and defending a position on the heights of San Christoval, behind the Gevora, were transferred to Mendizabal. Badajos was strongly garrisoned, but the supply of provisions was insufficient for a protracted siege. The force under Mendizabal amounted to ten thousand men, and the position which Lord Wellington had chosen for them, gave them the utmost advantage in harassing the enemy, and intercepting the progress of the siege; while, with some trifling entrenchments, their own ground became so secure that they need not have apprehended anything from the enemy. Unequal to the arduous duty, Mendizabal became alarmed at the fall of a few shells within his encampment; and, removing from his strong ground between the river and fort of San Christoval, he occupied a position, the weakness of which was instantly perceived by the

enemy. Aided by the mists of early morning, Mortier crossed the Guadiana by a flying bridge, while six thousand of his men forded the Gevora unperceived; and, when broad daylight was confessed, Mendizabal found his communication with San Christoval cut off by a squadron of the enemy, and his new position menaced on every side. He now, too late, remembered the advice of Wellington, for the torch was set to the funeral pile, and the inevitable conflict that followed was but a scene of flight and of slaughter. Upwards of three thousand Spaniards effected their escape to Badajos, and Don Carlos de Espana succeeded in making a well-ordered retreat, with nearly one thousand more, to the strong fortress of Elvas; but the cavalry, notwithstanding the meritorious efforts of Colonel Madden to rally them, and cover the retreat of the fugitives, imitated the ignoble example, became panic-struck, crossed the bridge at full gallop, and took shelter within the walls. This great shock annihilated the army of the once brave Romana, but a kind Providence had spared him the pain of witnessing its fall. The enemy now invested Badajos formally, and commenced the most vigorous measures; but the governor, Don Rafael Monacho, was a man whom neither terror nor artifice could overcome, so that the prospect of submission was still remote. This brave man, however, was cut off but too early in the siege, having met his death from a cannon-shot in one of the covered ways, during a sally from the walls: by this misfortune the hopes of Badajos were prematurely blighted, for the command devolved, from a brave and honest man, upon one Imas, an example of the lowest qualities of his species.

The unprosperous state of Spanish affairs occupied the serious attention of Lord Wellington, who communicated the result of his reflections on this subject to his brother, Lord Wellesley, at that period a member of the administration. This able document claims introduction on two grounds—as an evidence of the numerous difficulties by which the hero was encompassed, and of the calm, bold mood in which he encountered and finally conquered them. A few days previous



to the transmission of the clever and important letter, which shall presently be quoted, Lord Wellington called upon the secretary-at-war to remedy a grievance that had originated in his own country; this was, the publication of those parts of his despatches which were meant to be private. "I enclose a newspaper," said his lordship, "giving an account of our works, the number of guns and men in each, and for what purpose constructed. Surely it must be admitted, that those who carry on operations against an enemy, possessed of all the information which our newspapers give to the French, do so under singular disadvantages." This complaint was so well founded, and to such a length did the evil extend, that it was notorious the French government derived the most authentic information of Lord Wellington's intentions and circumstances, from the English newspapers. The misfortune was observed, but passed by as being without a remedy; however, the state of the Portuguese finances, and the incorrigible obstinacy of the Spaniards in resisting British interference, portending ruin to the Peninsular cause, were submitted to his brother's consideration, by Lord Wellington, in the following perspicuous communication: "I should not now trouble you with this letter, if the subject to which it relates did not appear to me to belong to your department, although its importance deserves the serious consideration of the whole government. The principal object to which I wish to draw your attention is, the state of the pecuniary resources of the government of Portugal, as they appear upon the face of what has lately passed in writing upon this subject. Although there are provisions in Lisbon, in sufficient quantities to last the inhabitants and the army for a year, about twelve or fourteen thousand Portuguese troops, which I have on the right of the Tagus, are literally starving. Even those in the cantonments on the Tagus cannot get bread, because the government have not money to pay for the means of transport. The soldiers in the hospitals die, because the government have not money to pay for the hospital necessities for them; and it is really disgusting to reflect upon the details of the distresses, occasioned by the lamentable want of

funds to support the machine which we have put in motion. It is impossible to say how far the improvement of the resources of this country might go; but my own opinion has always been, that if Great Britain should have taken this country up, with a determination to carry her through the war, and to make the territory of Portugal the basis of all military operations in the Peninsula,—according to this plan, we ought to have controlled actively all the departments of the state; to have carried their resources to the highest pitch; to have seen them honestly applied exclusively to the objects of the war; and to have made up the deficiency, whatever it might be.

“Another object to which I wish to draw your attention, is the state of the Spanish government and army. I do not know what the agents of government, in different parts of Spain, may represent to them; but I assure you, that the cortes have yet done nothing, either to raise, discipline, pay, or support an army. The distresses of the Spaniards are worse even than those of the Portuguese. The army of the poor Marquess de la Romana has not a shilling, except what I give them; nor a magazine, nor an article of any description, that is to keep them together, or enable them to act as a military body. The operations of these troops are approaching the Portuguese frontiers; and I foresee what is going to happen, viz: a war between them and the inhabitants of Portugal, for the provisions, clothes, doors, and windows, and beams, of the houses of the latter. This will be a new era in this extraordinary war. Then the corps of Mahy, in Galicia, either from similar deficiencies, or disinclination on the part of Mahy, does nothing.

“All this forms a subject for serious consideration. Either Great Britain is interested in maintaining the war upon the Peninsula, or she is not. If she is, there can be no doubt of the expediency of making an effort to put in motion against the enemy, the largest force which the Peninsula can produce. The Spaniards would not, I believe, allow of that active interference by us in their affairs, which might effect an amelioration of their circumstances; but that cannot be a reason for doing

nothing. Subsidy given, without stipulation for the performance of specific services, would, in my opinion, answer no purpose: but I am convinced that, in the next campaign, I may derive great assistance from General Mahy, as I should in this, if I could have put his troops in movement; and I am also convinced that I shall derive great assistance from the corps of the Marquess de la Romapa, and shall prevent its being mischievous in the way which I have above pointed out, if I am allowed to assist it with provisions, and with money occasionally. But, then, I must have the power to tell the Spanish government, that unless these troops co-operate strictly with me, the assistance shall be withdrawn from them. The amount of the expense of this assistance may be settled monthly, and may be in the form of a loan, to be repaid in drafts on the government of Mexico, or in any other manner the government may think proper. Upon all this, a question may be asked, namely, What good will it produce? I shall answer, For nothing but to maintain the war in the Peninsula.

“I have seen too much of the troops in the Peninsula, even the Portuguese, when not united with our own, to form any calculation of the effect of any operation of theirs. Even when the troops are encouraged, and inclined to behave well, the impatience, inexperience, and unconquerable vanity of the officers lead them into errors, as appears strongly in Silveira's recent operations, who, if he had obeyed his instructions and remained quiet, would have kept Claparede in check; but he chose to attack him, even with an inferior force, and was defeated; and Claparede was enabled to overrun Upper Beira, even to Lamego. It may also be asked, why we should spend our money, and why these troops do not go on as the French troops do—without pay, provisions, magazines, or anything? The answer to this question is as long as what I have already written. The French army is certainly a wonderful machine; but, if we are to construct such a one, we must form such a government as exists in France, which can with impunity lose one-half of the troops employed in the field every year, only by the privations and hardships imposed upon them. Next,

we must compose our army of soldiers drawn from all classes of the population of the country, from the good and middling, as well in rank as in education, as from the bad—and not, as all other nations, and we in particular do, from the bad only. Thirdly, we must establish such a system of discipline as the French have—a system founded upon the strength of the tyranny of the government, which operates upon an army composed of soldiers, the majority of whom are sober, well-disposed, amenable to order, and in some degree educated.

“When we shall have done all this, and shall have made these armies of the strength of those employed by the French, we may require of them to live as the French do, that is, by authorized and regulated plunder of the country and its inhabitants, if any should remain, and we may expose them to the labour, hardships, and privations which the French soldiers suffer every day, and we must expect the same proportion of loss every campaign, namely, one half of those who take the field.

“This plan is not proposed for the British army, nor has it yet been practised in any degree by the Portuguese: but I shall state the effect which, in my opinion, the attempt has had upon the Spaniards. There is neither subordination nor discipline in the army, among either officers or soldiers; and it is not even attempted (as indeed it would be in vain to attempt) to establish either. It has, in my opinion, been the cause of the dastardly conduct which we have so frequently witnessed in the Spanish troops; and they have become odious to their country: and the peaceable inhabitants, much as they detest, and suffer from the French, almost wish for the establishment of Joseph’s government, to be protected from the outrages of their own troops. Those armies, therefore, must be paid and supported, if any service is expected from them; and at present, at least, I see no chance of their being paid, except by British assistance.\* The subject to which

\* England has always been the pecuniary dupe of the second-rate powers of Europe. Lord Nelson, in a letter to his wife, expresses a sentiment precisely similar to this of Lord Wellington. “I wish,” said that great hero, “we could

this letter relates requires the early consideration, decision, and interference of the British government, or the cause must suffer."

It will be remembered, that our narrative of the siege of Cadiz was discontinued from the moment of Marshal Soult's arrival there, for the purpose of carrying on, more connectedly, the operations of the allies under Lord Wellington, until the retreat of Massena from Torres Vedras. During the pause of the great adversaries at Santarem, the state of the Portuguese war being communicated to Napoleon, he directed Soult to commit the continuance of the siege to Marshal Victor, and, taking a strong draft from the army of the south, move on Olivença, Badajoz, and, finally, to the relief of the army of Portugal. "As the strength of the besieging army became weakened, the courage and hopes of the besieged increased, and an expedition was immediately concerted for surprising the enemy, and obliging them to raise the blockade. The plan consisted in sending a force by sea from Cadiz, with orders to land between Capes Trafalgar and De la Plata, or at Tarifa, or even at Algeiras, where they would be joined by a Spanish force from St. Roque. This combined force was to advance against the enemy, who were to be assaulted at the same time by a party from the Isla, whose instructions were, to open a communication with the combined force by a pontoon bridge across the canal of Santi Pietri. Don Manuel La Pena commanded the Spanish force, and Lieut.-General Graham, under whose control the British forces were placed, generously consented to act under him. The Spanish government are entitled to more credit for patriotism and true courage in this bold attempt, than for prudence or foresight in calculating on their own resources, or the chances of success. However, although they were ignorant of the fact, Victor's army did not, at that time, exceed twenty thousand men; the line of investment which he was left to guard extended upwards of five and twenty miles; and

make peace on any terms, for poor England will be drained of her riches to maintain her allies, who will not fight for themselves."—*Vide Clarke and McArthur's Life of Nelson, Sec. edit., Vol. I. p. 285.*

Sebastiani, from motives of jealousy, declined co-operating with Victor, notwithstanding that general's earnest importunities for his assistance.

The plan of General Graham\* and La Pena does not present any features of military genius or experience; in fact, the

\* This distinguished soldier was in his sixty-first year at the period here spoken of. The early years of his youth and manhood were passed in the halls of Balgown, where his ancient family had long been seated. Being the only surviving son of a numerous progeny, his mother, a sister of the Earl of Hoptoun, devoted the most watchful attention to the cultivation of his mind; and, although young Graham was inferior to none of his contemporaries in all the manly sports and exercises pursued by the sons of gentry in Great Britain, he acquired such an extensive acquaintance with modern literature, that he wrote and spoke fluently most of the European languages. Having visited the continent, he returned to his native country, married a sister of Earl Cathcart, and enjoyed eighteen years of uninterrupted domestic happiness, being little known beyond the sphere of his domestic circle, but, wherever known, respected. Declining health rendered the removal of his wife to a warmer climate necessary, and it was decided that Thiers, in the south of France, should be their future home. The fatigue of the journey probably accelerated the calamity, which the affectionate husband seemed not to have been prepared to meet; and her death on the way left him, for the remainder of his valuable life, inconsolable. For so many years he had lived for himself; and his attachment to his wife partook more of the ardent passion of a youthful lover, than of the calm admiration of married life, under the most happy circumstances. Henceforward he devoted himself to his country; and, shedding a tributary tear on the grave of the dearest object this fleeting world had ever presented to his affections, he wandered through the highways of adventure, seeking alleviation of sorrow in change of place, and continuance of activity. The first occasion that presented itself was at Toulon, where he joined Lord Hood, as a volunteer, in 1793, and raised a reputation for wisdom and gallantry, to which each subsequent year continued to add. On his return to England, he applied for permission to raise a regiment; and, although he enjoyed the friendship of Lord Mulgrave, it was not without much opposition from the commander-in-chief that the terms of office were suspended, and Graham incorporated lastingly with the British army. In 1796 he was at Mantua, with Wurmser, where, finding further resistance vain, he cut his way through the ranks of the besiegers, in a night-sortie, and escaped. He was also raised in public estimation by the assistance which he gave to Sir Alexander Ball, at Malta, by which that gallant officer succeeded in recovering the island from the French. Notwithstanding these eminent services, it is probable that he would not have risen much higher in the army, owing to the late period of life at which he joined, were it not for the strong recommendation of his gallant countryman, Sir John Moore, to whom he was aide-de-camp in Sweden, and also on the retreat to

former had little opportunity of acquiring the knowledge necessary for a separate command, and whatever natural taste he possessed for that arduous part, was neutralized by the surrender of the chief command. As to La Pena, he was supposed to be the possessor of loyalty, patriotism, and cool determination, but had never distinguished himself beyond being the pilot that steered the wreck of the central army into a safe asylum in the Isla of Leon. Four thousand British having at length got to sea, destined for Tarifa, and under convoy of the *Stately* and *St. Alban* men-of-war, with sloops and brigs, the severity of the weather rendered the vessels unmanageable, and, being driven beyond their intended point of debarkation, they were content with reaching Algeziras in safety, which they did on the twenty-third of February, whence they marched across the hills to Tarifa. The Spanish transports were thrice driven back by the storm, but reached Tarifa on the evening of the twenty-seventh, where they found that several battalions had also arrived from San Roque, together with the twenty-eighth regiment, and flank companies of the ninth and eighty-second. At the head of about thirteen thousand men La Pena

*Corunna.* During this last service, his commanding-officer stated in his despatches—"In the hour of peril, Graham is our best adviser; in the hour of disaster, Graham is our surest consolation." From Flushing, where he commanded a division in 1809, he was ordered to Cadiz, and from this period to 1810, the history of his public services is interwoven with that of the hero of Waterloo.

*Services of General Lord Lynedoch, G. C. B., and G. C. M. G.*

Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant 90th Foot	10th February, 1794.
Colonel by Brevet	26th January, 1797.
Colonel 90th Foot	25th September, 1803.
Colonel 58th Foot	10th February, 1823.
Colonel 14th Foot	6th September, 1826.
Colonel, Royals	12th December, 1834.
Major-General	25th September, 1803.
Lieutenant-General	25th July, 1810.
General	19th July, 1821.
Governor of Dunbarton Castle	22nd May, 1829.

Wears a cross, for his services at Barrosa, where he commanded the forces; and at Ciudad Rodrigo, Vittoria, and St. Sebastian, where he commanded a division.

advanced, with the professed design of surprising the enemy, but his circuitous route increased delay; his frequent attacks upon the enemy's posts, that might have been passed at night, awoke the vigilance of Victor; but perhaps the consummation of his folly consisted in his drawing up his army in line, and consuming the most valuable moments by a bombastic address, which would have better suited a better general.\*—Owing to the heavy falls of rain that had recently taken place, the roads were nearly impracticable, upon which the stores and heavy carriages were carried round in boats, and the stubborn winds and foaming waves were so far conquered by British perseverance. The army was now arranged in three divisions: the van under Lar-dizabal, the centre led by the Prince of Anglona, and Graham commanded the reserve; the cavalry of both armies being headed by Colonel Whittingham, then serving in the Spanish army. The first inconsiderate attempt consisted in the surprise of Vejer, from which, as the Conil road was open to the enemy, they retired at leisure, leaving behind them three gun-boats and three pieces of ordnance. The next offensive movement was made by the main body at Casas Viejas, which they reached with the utmost difficulty and delay, twelve hours being consumed in accomplishing as many miles, from the roughness of the ground, and its being interlaced by numerous streams. General Whittingham was now ordered to charge the enemy,

\* "Soldiers of the Fourth," said he, "the moment for which you have a whole year been longing, is at length arrived; a second time Andalusia is about to owe to you her liberty, and the laurels of Mengibar and Baylen will revive upon your brows. You have to combat in sight of the whole nation assembled in its cortes; the government will see your deeds; the inhabitants of Cadiz, who have made so many sacrifices for you, will be eye-witnesses of your heroism; they will lift up their voices in blessings, and in acclamations of praise, which you will hear amid the roar of musketry and cannon. Let us go then to conquer! my cares are directed to this end; implicit obedience, firmness and discipline must conduct you to it; if these are wanting, in vain will you seek for fortune! and woe to him who forgets or abandons them; he shall die without remission! The gold, whose weight makes cowards of those who have plundered it from us, the bonities which a generous government will bestow, and the endless blessings of those who will call you their deliverers—behold in these your reward!"



and dislodge them from their position ; in both which he succeeded in gallant style, killing about fifty men, and taking thirty prisoners, with stores and some pieces of artillery. But the fugitives escaping to the trenches of Victor, carried with them the intelligence of La Pena's approach, and established the folly of his attempt to surprise the enemy. The vain-glorious Spaniard now resolved to move on Vejer, and thence advancing towards the Santi Pietri, assault the enemy in their entrenchments. Success in this project would not only lay open the passage of the canal, but form a communication also with the Isla and the bay : by the former a supply of provisions would be secured to the allies, of which they had already begun to feel the want ; by the latter, the hazard, even should they be defeated, would be so much diminished, as to excite little apprehension for the result. The Duke of Belluno had not taken into his calculation the simplicity and vanity of La Pena ; he was equally unprepared for such a piece of good fortune, as that of a sensible, learned, and very brave man, like Graham, yielding—with the courtesy of Aristides, for the sake of harmony—the chief command, on the day of battle, to an inexperienced officer. The soundness of Victor's judgment was the cause of his misfortune, for naturally concluding that so bitter an enemy would strike at the most vital part, he strengthened the position of Medina Sidonia, where Cassagne commanded, and himself took up ground that was intermediate between that post and Chiclana, in a condition to relieve both points in case of attack. But La Pena conceived that Medina, since additional guns had been mounted there, was rendered impregnable, and entertained just apprehensions also of relief arriving from the Cortijo de Guerra, where Victor had placed his reserve, and on that account never meditated any attack on that point.—While La Pena was advancing by the circuitous route already described, to surprise an enemy whose vigilance he had repeatedly excited, Zayas succeeded, by the most meritorious activity, in throwing a pontoon-bridge across the Santi Pietri, at its sea-mouth, a singular commentary upon the expedition of La Pena, and in establish-

ing a *tête-du-pont*. Hither the brave Zayas led the force that had been entrusted to his conduct in the Isla, and, by his resolution and promptness, drew upon himself the notice of his enemy. Villatte was ordered, in the imperial phrasology, "to drive the Spaniards into the sea," but the nothingness of his mimicry was shown by the determination of his opponent, who not only held his position, but repulsed the assailants at the point of the bayonet.

Victor now drew a strong force towards Chiclana, to obstruct the design of La Pena, which was to open a communication with the Isla by the pontoon-bridge or otherwise, and in that way receive supplies; but to lull this suspicion, the Spaniard made a feint of moving on Medina, and left a guard at Casas Viejas, while the main body marched to Vejer: and to evade still further the attention of the garrison of Medina, he took an unfrequented road which passes through the lake of Janda—a cautionary measure, which was attended with considerable distress to his army, the causeway in the lake lying two feet below the surface of the water. Here La Pena displayed his Nestorian propensity, by encouraging his followers in loud harangues, while the veteran Graham, marching on foot through the water, obliterated all distinctions; and, by his manly example of patient, silent suffering, was more successful in acquiring the respect of his men, and in supporting them under their fatiguing march. The delay, which the difficulties of the way occasioned, extended the march to sixteen hours' length, frustrating altogether the calculation of the Spanish general; and, upon entering a wood at some distance from the lake, his advanced guard was suddenly attacked by a squadron of the enemy's cavalry, placed in ambush to receive him. The ambuscade met a most determined opposition, and few survived to report the strength or number of the allies; but La Pena now perceived that excess of caution had been his error, that the groundwork of his plan, *surprise*, had glided from beneath the fabric, and that it was necessary to search every wood, and grove, and tree, to avoid the infliction of severe retaliation. Henceforth his advance was overt; his army,

divided into three columns, began their movement from the Cabeza del Puerco, where La Pena, after the manner of the heroes of old, again animated his soldiers by a military oration. The allies were now in a situation to attempt co-operation with the brave Zayas, and Lardizabal, advancing with a part of the second division, made a spirited attack upon Villatte, who had been weakened and dejected by the repulse already received: and, after sustaining additional and considerable loss, he resigned the contest, leaving the communication between the allies and the Isla free and unimpeded. The first point of La Pena's futile plan having been accomplished, he next desired that the British should descend from the Cabeza del Puerco, or low heights of Barrosa, towards the Torre de Bermeja (a few Spanish troops being left to keep the heights), in order to secure the communication of the Santi Pietri. The latter position occupies a narrow woody ridge, the right on the sea-cliff, the left falling down to the Almanza creek, on the edge of the marsh. A hard sandy beach gives an easy communication between the western points of these two positions. General Graham's division halted on the eastern slope of the Barrosa height, and then marched through the wood towards the Bermeja, cavalry patrols having been previously sent towards Chielana. The heights of Bermeja had been occupied by General Lacy; but of this the British were unacquainted, no system of correspondence having been established between the Spanish and English generals, and the nature of the country obstructing the view from one height to the other. Scarcely had the British proceeded half-way through the wood, when intelligence arrived that the enemy appeared in force upon the plain, and were advancing towards the heights of Barrosa.

Graham had always considered Barrosa as the key of the field of battle, as the gate of the Santi Pietri, and immediately countermarched to support the troops left for its defence. The ground being intricate and difficult, it was found impossible to preserve order in the columns, and having faced to the right-about, they reached the plain with expedition, and in

the best order they could. When the British emerged from the wood in confusion and uncertainty, and calculating upon beholding their allies in occupation of the eminence which they had so reluctantly left, or from which they were actually obliged to withdraw by the Spanish general, the scene that presented itself would have deprived the stoutest hearts of the power or capability of decision. "Ruffin, flanked by chosen battalions, was seen on the summit of Barrosa on one side—the Spanish rear-guard flying precipitately on the other—the French cavalry between Barrosa heights and the sea—Laval close on the British left flank—but, La Pena no where to be seen."—"A retreat," said the veteran in his despatch, "in the face of such an enemy, already within reach of the easy communication by the sea-beach, must have involved the whole allied army in all the danger of being attacked, during the unavoidable confusion of the different corps arriving on the narrow ridge of Barrosa nearly at the same time. Trusting to the known heroism of British troops, regardless of the numbers and position of the enemy, an immediate attack was determined on." "This attack was an inspiration rather than a resolution—so wise, so sudden, was the decision—so swift, so conclusive was the execution." \*

On the crown of the hill a strong force had been left, when the British descended; it consisted of a battalion of the king's German legion, another of the Walloon guards, with the regiments of Ciudad Real, Cantabria, and Sigüenza: this brave body of men, under the conduct of General Whittingham and Bigadier-General Mourgeon, moving slowly, and in the most exact order, along the British line of march, finally formed a junction with Graham's division, which they had before covered, while they were themselves sufficiently protected in the rear by a pine-wood. The left of the French line was commanded

\* Such is Colonel Napier's opinion of Graham's military abilities, an opinion sanctioned by the applause of an admiring and grateful country—a circumstance which cannot fail to create astonishment at the following statement by another military historian, viz. "that he (Graham) was equally inexperienced as La Pena, in the direction of an army in the field."

by Ruffin—Laval was placed on the right—the direction of the battle resting solely with Marshal Victor. With the velocity of light the battle was commenced by the flash of Duncan's artillery, that opened from the centre, and swept down the heads of the advancing columns, giving time to the British infantry to form. Brigadier-General Dilkes, Lieutenant-Colonel Brown, Lieutenant-Colonel Norcott, and Major Acheson, soon formed on the right; Colonel Wheatly and Lieutenant-Colonel Jackson on the left. The infantry being thus hastily drawn up, Duncan advanced with his guns to a more favourable position, and never did such implements of destruction deal more ruinously with their victims. The right of the British attacked Ruffin's division on the height;—the twentieth Portuguese, supported by Bernard's flank battalion, was engaged with the enemy's tirailleurs on the left. The awful havoc made by Duncan's well-directed fire, which prostrated rank after rank, was insufficient to restrain Laval's advance, his men continually coming up in imposing masses, until a thick, close, fire of musketry from the British left, scattered death with such rapidity amongst them, that they at length fell back in dismay. The left wing then advanced, firing, and a resolute and dashing charge by three companies of guards, and the eighty-seventh regiment, supported by the remainder of that wing, completed the overthrow of Laval.

In this brilliant affair, the eagle of the eighth regiment of light infantry, which suffered extensively, and a howitzer, rewarded the victors, and remained in possession of Major (afterwards Major-General Sir Hugh) Gough. These efforts were gallantly supported by Col. Belson of the twenty-eighth, and Lieutenant-Colonel Prevost with part of the sixty-seventh. The eagle taken on this occasion was the first the British had won, and its neck was encircled by a collar of gold, in commemoration of that regiment having received the thanks of Napoleon in person. General Graham intended to have led the attack; but just as he was on the point of heading his men, his horse was shot under him, and he was thrown to the ground. While disengaging himself from the wounded animal,

he was heard to express regret, at not having been able to charge those fellows: the sounds were gathered as they escaped his lips, and, being borne to the ranks of the eighty-seventh, were re-echoed with a thousand cheers.

Lieutenant-Colonel Brown had received the plain, blunt, intelligible commands of Graham, acquainting him that but one mode remained to extricate the British from the difficulty in which they had become involved by the conduct of La Pena, and that was by fighting: without an instant's hesitation, he turned round his horse and dashed into the midst of the enemy's ranks. This dauntless courage had nearly proved fatal to his efforts; one half of his detachment fell down beneath a tempest of bullets, but the remainder avenged their fall, and maintained their position until Dilke's column came to their assistance. Neither Brown nor Dilke had time to form their men, and the success which they obtained was more the result of innate British gallantry, than of military experience or discipline. Now the brave Britons attacked the heights, and were met by a cool, resolute charge of Ruffin's division; but in vain—nothing could withstand the spirit of the English; pushing up to the very pinnacle of the hill, they made such slaughter amongst the enemy, that the issue was not long doubtful. Rousseau, and Ruffin fell mortally wounded, and the enemy left behind them three heavy guns and many prisoners. The retiring divisions of the French soon met, halted, and seemed disposed to rally; but once more the thunder of Duncan's ten heavy guns rolled over their heads, and their hearts misgave them. In less than an hour and a half from the commencement of the action Victor was in full retreat, leaving four hundred and forty prisoners in the hands of the British, and upwards of two thousand of his followers dead or dying on the field of battle. The allies suffered severely, but still less; upwards of one thousand officers and men, being placed *hors de combat*.

La Pena had no share in the honour of this victory; having withdrawn from the heights of Barrosa towards the sea-beach, to secure his favourite position at Bermeja, he was, probably, unconscious of the proximity of the enemy, or possibly the

enemy and the British were both concealed from his view by the intervening woods; it was also not improbable that he experienced uneasiness in his own position, which was exposed along the Almanza creek, and he would not venture, in consequence, to weaken his force by sending a detachment to Graham's relief: whatever was the real, or ostensible ground of his conduct, "no stroke was struck by a Spanish sabre that day." The cavalry under Whittingham were certainly situated where they could have seen the movements of the enemy, and might have come to Graham's assistance; indeed, Colonel Ponsonby, "eager for the fight," did actually bring up a squadron of the German legion, which had been joined with the Spanish, and, dashing in amongst the battalions of Rousseau, then in the utmost confusion, completed a most signal defeat.

The conduct of La Pena is almost inexplicable—jealousy, and the meanest passions, alone affording a key to interpretation. Graham continued to occupy, for some hours, the position he had so gallantly won, in the anxious and reasonable expectation of seeing La Pena, who, including the reinforcement of four thousand men, added to his corps through the bravery of Zayas, was then at the head of thirteen thousand troops, in full pursuit of the fugitives: but no symptom of animation appeared in that great body; as if paralyzed by fear, or devoted to treason, they held the position of Bermeja, with the utmost insensibility to all feelings of shame. Such heartless conduct naturally disgusted the noble Briton, who, resuming that command, which from the best motives he had resigned, left a garrison, to keep the memorable heights of Barrosa, and withdrawing in the best order, crossed the pontoon-bridge, and entered the Isla in triumph. Had it formed part of the original plan of operations, the British would have been unequal to the duty of pursuing Victor: for twenty-four successive hours preceding the battle, they had been employed in reaching the ground; no supplies had been sent to them after their arrival; and the sumpter cattle had been dismissed, so that, the British army were disqualified for further effective service

both by hunger and fatigue, while the large army of La Pena consisted of fresh, unfatigued, and well-fed troops.

A slight affair occurred at Bermeja, where Villatte made a demonstration; but the fate of Victor's army rendered the abandonment of that and all other projects indispensable; and by this circumstance La Pena was left totally unobstructed in his decisions and movements. As it is probable that he never intended to make any, he received the intelligence of the defeat of the enemy with the coolness of one who was familiar with victory, and, with an unexampled baseness, almost descending to falsehood, forwarded the following despatch that evening to Cadiz. "The allied army has obtained a victory, so much the more satisfactory as circumstances rendered it the more difficult; but the valour of British and *Spanish* troops, the military skill and genius of General Graham, and the gallantry of the commandant-general of the vanguard, Don Jose Lardizabal, overcame all obstacles. *I remain* master of the enemy's position, which is so important to *me* for my future operations." What these future operations were, never appeared, beyond the single act of skulking back into the Isla, without drawing a sword or discharging a gun in defence of the liberties of his country. Victor drew in his whole force, and calling a council of war at Chiclana, a fact indicative of the stunning effects of the blow he received at Barrosa, sought its assistance in extricating the army. The decision of this hesitating assembly was much influenced by the gallantry of Admiral Keats, who, with that spirit and enterprise that have never yet been witnessed in the seamen of any country but Britain, landed a body of sailors and marines between Catalina and Rota, stormed two redoubts, dismantled all the sea-defences as far as Santa Marie, Catalina excepted, and was bearing down upon the *tête du pont* of Santa Marie, when intelligence arrived of the advance of Victor, with his whole force, from Puerto Real. The undaunted bravery of British sailors is so extraordinary, that Keats would not have been deterred from his intended attack by the advance of an enemy even much superior in numbers: but, as Graham had crossed



the canal, and the British were safely lodged in the Isla, his duty was complete, so that it only remained for him to re-embark his men, and retire to his ships. Victor had calculated, before his defeat, that La Pena would attack the weakest part of his lines: and, after the fatal affair of Barrosa, he expected to be assaulted by the Spaniard, while his army, beaten, exhausted, and in disorder, was unable to resist him; but in both instances he was mistaken, for La Pena would neither co-operate with Graham and Keats, nor alone improve the glorious victory which the British had won, but after seven days of total inaction at Bermeja, he marched into the Isla, and destroyed the bridge that spanned the canal. Astonished at his providential escape from a fate that seemed inevitable, Victor drew together his beaten men, assured them that Cadiz would yet fall before their arms, and assumed once more the air of a general, who felt vain at being thus able to convert defeat into victory, by immediately resuming his offensive attitude.

The lame and impotent conclusion of the expedition caused universal discontent, and the conduct of La Pena became the object of wide-spread indignation. As long as the glory of Barrosa was undimmed by length of years, the Spaniards, the cortes, the regency, all united in sympathizing with General Graham in the disappointment which the misconduct of their general must have occasioned to one so wise, so true, so gallant. The cortes desired that the council of regency would immediately institute a scrupulous investigation into the conduct of La Pena, with all the rigour of military law. To this request La Pena added his own solicitation for a public investigation, and declared that he was ready to surrender himself to any punishment of which his country might deem him deserving. An inquiry did ultimately take place, but it was at a period when the feelings of all parties were more subdued; the Spanish general was acquitted, but the proceedings of the tribunal were never made public. A report, circulated at Cadiz, attributed the failure of the expedition to Graham's too hasty withdrawal from Barrosa, and his precipitate return to the Isla; and Lacy, having supported the assertions con-

tained in it, was compelled by the indignant hero to apologize and retract what he had advanced. Having established his reputation in the field of battle, and shown a chivalrous courage, by demanding personal satisfaction for the slightest imputation on his character as a private man, he resolved upon retiring from Cadiz, and employing himself in a situation where his abilities and devotion would be more likely to serve the cause of Europe and his country,—that place he rightly concluded was the camp of Wellington, and, having resigned his command at Cadiz soon after, in favour of General Cooks, he joined the allied army in Portugal.

To calm the indignant feelings of the British veteran, the cortes unanimously raised him to the rank of a grandee of Spain of the first class, free of tribute—an honour, however creditable to the assembly who had the gratitude to confer it, was more lightly prized by the receiver than the enthusiastic applause of his countrymen, that met his eye and reached his ear at every moment, and on every occasion. Foremost amongst the tributes of acknowledgment, and first in value, were the unanimous thanks of both Houses of Parliament. This high testimony to Graham's meritorious services, was proposed on the twenty-eighth of March, by the Earl of Liverpool, and supported by Earl Grey, the latter the uncompromising opponent of Lord Wellington's military measures for the expulsion of the French from the Peninsula: in a speech of the most laudatory character, he declared that this victory "was never exceeded by any of those actions to which the glorious feelings of national pride looked back with satisfaction and delight." This was unqualified praise; and whether the victory was entitled to such an eulogium, matters not here—it is the individual who pronounced it that attracts attention. Lord Grey was a man of acknowledged powers of oratory, and as he subsequently became the prime minister of England, his sentiments are of value, as exemplary or admonitory to future statesmen: his unhesitating applause, therefore, of the victory of Barrosa is extraordinary, when it is remembered, that the fight of Talavera, which was one of precisely similar character—that is, won by hard blows only, and equally fruitless of useful results—

was viewed by that statesman in a very different light. The success of Lord Wellington's great plan had, undoubtedly, improved the complexion of the Peninsular cause; but if so, the earl must have perceived that fact, and it would have been beneficial to the cause and to the country, had he, in his legislative capacity, pointed to the change. Both Earl Grey and Lord Grenville expressed a very high opinion of General Graham's abilities, and the latter "lamented that the merits of one who had displayed such extraordinary zeal, during so long an interval, in the service of his country, should not have been long since brought forward in a way commensurate to his deserts, and be afforded fair and adequate opportunities for the display of those talents, skill, and intrepidity, which he had so decidedly evinced." As to this "lament," the political part which Lord Grenville had acted during four years of the Peninsular war, towards the party that sustained Lord Wellington, was an inauspicious introduction to such a declaration, and his complaint against government for not promoting Graham had not a shadow of foundation to rest on. But his lordship's parliamentary career is closely interwoven with the biography of Lord Wellington—a fact, which, to those who reverence his memory, will not fail to prove gratifying, as insuring it a permanent place in the history of his country.

There was another nobleman whose assent to the vote of thanks excited a deeper interest, and will be received with more unalloyed feelings, that was Prigadier-General Lord Mulgrave, then at the head of the ordnance, who "could not restrain the impulse of his feelings, without expressly declaring his heartfelt satisfaction at the vote. He felt gratified in contributing his portion of applause to an officer endowed with such military talents, skill, and bravery. He had himself experienced the benefit of these qualities, when he had himself the benefit of General Graham's professional assistance on a former momentous occasion.\* From his own knowledge of the gallant soldier, no rewards or honours were above his pro-

\* *Extract from the Gazette Extraordinary, tenth of November, 1798.*—"Lord Mulgrave begs leave, on this occasion, to express his grateful sense of the friendly and important assistance he has received, in many difficult moments, from

fessional merits." To all these approvals of his valour, there came at the close a beautiful epitome of Graham's romantic, chivalrous history, narrated to the House, and published to his country by the silvery tongue of Sheridan. Dark passages of sorrow were succeeded by touches of light; and had Graham stood in the position of La Pena, instead of that of Graham, the eloquence of his advocate would have obtained for him a victory also. "I have," said the senator, "known General Graham in private life; and never, no never, was there seated a loftier spirit in a braver heart. After many disappointments, borne as that man would bear them whose love of order and his country subdued his own ambition, Graham obtained his long-merited reward. He became a soldier almost by accident. Lord Mulgrave had the command at Toulon, and he declared, in his official despatches, that the success against the besiegers, aided as they were by the talents of Buonaparte, was chiefly to be attributed to a private gentleman of the name of Graham. He was not in the army. With a broken spirit from domestic affliction, but an undaunted heart, he had rambled through those scenes, by his acquaintance with which he afterwards so essentially benefited our army. From that moment he became a soldier." The accomplished orator proceeded to detail the interesting history of Graham's association with the army, and introduced some passages so fraught with feeling, that his hearers were deeply affected by the delivery. "I cannot," he continued, "help giving way a little to my private feelings, amid the praises of my gallant friend. I must give the country a personal instance of that virtue which adorns the man, and dignifies the soldier. When he went into Spain, he carried with him the map of his estate in Scotland; and on that map—the ground his bed, the camp-cloak his covering—he planned out future cottages, farms, nay, villages for his tenantry at home. Thus, even amidst the perils of foreign warfare,

Mr. Graham; and to add his tribute of praise to the general voice of all the British and Piedmontese officers of his column, who saw, with so much pleasure and applause, the gallant example which Mr. Graham set to the whole column, *in the foremost point of every attack.*"

this brave man could not for a moment forget the duties of domestic virtue and social tenderness. These are the generous motives, these are the noble impulses, which, pouring out the soul in acts of private benevolence, in time turn into the stream of public honour, and adorn the valorous order of the patriot soldier." The conclusion of Sheridan's inimitable panegyric was a direct contradiction to the insinuations and lament of Lord Grenville, that Graham's services had so long lain unrequited by his country. Mr. Sheridan protested "that he could not help, at that moment, in gratitude, recollecting that the last act of the late commander-in-chief was the restoration of this gallant man to the service. It was the general sentiment of the whole army, that he was the best commander-in-chief they ever had; and this his last act, so far from raising a murmur, or exciting an envious feeling, among his fellow-soldiers, gratified them all. He would venture to say there was not an officer in the service, but felt a personal reward in the promotion of Graham. He gave praise to the Duke of York, and he did so from his heart, because he thought it due: and after the unwearied attention which he bestowed on the army, he could not help saying, that no victory like this could be obtained without reflecting a considerable degree of its glory upon him." This confession of the military merits of the Duke of York was creditable to that indefatigable public officer, and in the highest degree honourable to Sheridan himself, who had all his life been the devoted supporter of his royal highness's political enemies.

Lord Castlereagh did not let the occasion pass without throwing in his contribution, to swell the amount of national approbation. He alluded to the difficulties that retarded Graham's promotion, and the probability, at one period, that he never would have been raised to the highest rank, yet his military ardour was never damped. "That ardour," said his lordship, "burned in his bosom with as bright and as pure a flame when he was but Colonel Graham, and expected to die Colonel Graham, as it did now, when, happily for the destinies of England, his great military genius had been advanced to a

more suitable, because a more elevated and extended sphere of action."

The common-council of the city of London, ever foremost in the public recognition of faithful public services, on the 4th of April following, voted the thanks of their court, the freedom of the city, and a sword valued at two hundred guineas, to General Graham, for his services at Barrosa; besides a sword, valued at one hundred guineas, to Brigadier-General Dilkes. The gallant general was more fortunate than Lord Wellington had been, in conciliating the approbation of the citizens of London, or rather of those who were accidentally their deputies at that period; nor is it the least extraordinary circumstance, that the same individual, Mr. Favell, who prompted the common-council to petition against the grant of two thousand pounds per annum to the victor of Vimeira, was the mover of the vote of thanks to General Graham. The mystery, however, is capable of explanation: Favell was resolved not to separate Lord Wellington from the ministry under whom he acted, and to whom he was an uncompromising opponent.\*

It was a source of gratification to receive the approval of the citizens of London; a still higher reward, the thanks of parliament; but Graham's military mind, and ambition of martial glory, felt their highest recompense in the warm approval of the British chieftain. "I beg to congratulate you," his lordship wrote, "and the brave troops under your command, on the signal victory which you gained over the enemy. I have no doubt whatever that their success would have had the effect of raising the siege of Cadiz, if the Spanish corps had made any effort to assist them; and I am equally certain, from your account of the ground, that if you had not decided with the *utmost promptitude* to attack the enemy, and if your attack had not been a most vigorous one, the whole allied army would have been lost." His lordship expressed poignant regret that the victory had not been attended with

\* Mr. Samuel Favell was a member of the clothworker's company, carried on the business of a slop-seller in St. Mary Axe, and was elected a common-councilman, for the ward of Aldgate, on St. Thomas's-day, 1809; he continued in the court until his death, which occurred in 1829.

the consequences that might reasonably have been expected from it, which circumstance he attributed solely to the misconduct of ouallies; he observed, that the conduct of the Spaniards, throughout this expedition, was precisely the same as he had ever known it to be. "They march the troops night and day, without provisions or rest, and abusing everybody who proposes a moment's delay, to afford either, to the famished and fatigued soldiers. They reach the enemy in such a state as to be unable to make any exertion, or to execute any plan, even if any plan had been formed; and then, when the moment of action arrives, they are totally incapable of movement, *and they stand to see their allies destroyed*; and afterwards abuse them because they do not continue, unsupported, exertions to which human nature is not equal." Lord Wellington concurred in the propriety of Graham's withdrawing to the Isla, as much as he admired the promptitude and determination of his attack.

When Wellington complained of the *vis inertiae* of Cuesta's force at Talavera, the opposition party deprecated his report as being little removed from calumny, and declared that the ministers were not justified in giving publicity to despatches so hastily, inconsiderately, and incorrectly composed. But how different their language and their conduct after the victory of Barrosa! Time, which happily effaces the most painful recollections, seemed rather to give strength to the angry feelings of the English people, which the conduct of La Pena, in the hard-fought field of Barrosa, had excited; nor did the acquittal of that general, by a tribunal of his country, succeed in allaying it. The outcry was loud and lasting, and, on the first of April, the fact was brought before the House of Commons, as a grievance too serious to be neglected, as a species of anguish too poignant to be longer endured in silence. Mr. Ashley Cooper having moved, that three million four hundred thousand pounds be granted to his majesty, to defray the ordnance expenses of our land-forces for the year 1811, Mr. Ward (afterwards Lord Dudley and Ward) rose, and demanded an explanation relative to the recent battle of

Barrosa, to which the outraged feelings of his countrymen were entitled. As the House had ample time allowed them to indulge in the grateful intelligence of the recent victory, he thought they might then look at other circumstances connected with that memorable day; of these he hoped he might be allowed to ask some explanation, or if that could not be given, express his deep regret at the unfortunate and deplorable misconduct of our allies in the battle of Barrosa. Of that conduct it would be idle to affect to speak in doubtful terms; it unfortunately wore too decisive a character, and was known, talked of, and reprobated, with equal indignation by all parties throughout the country.

General Graham, with that wise discretion, in which such minds are seldom found to be deficient, had forborne to complain, yet the conclusions to be drawn from his silence must speak in a language too emphatic to be for a moment misunderstood. Was it to be endured, that while the British troops were performing prodigies of valour in an unequal contest, that those allies, for whose independence they were fighting, should stand by, the cold-blooded spectators of deeds, the bare recital of which should have been enough to warm every man of them into a hero? If, indeed, they had been so many mercenaries, and had been hired to fight for a foreign power, and in behalf of a foreign cause—if they had been so many Swiss—in that case, their breach of duty, however culpable, would have been less unaccountable, and perhaps more excusable: but here, where they were allies, bound to this country in obligations greater than ever before, one nation owed another—our brave men lavishing those lives which their country had so much better right to claim, in defence of that cause in which those allies were principals—in such a case tamely to look on, while the contest between numbers and bravery hung in doubtful issue—this did appear to him to betray an indifference, an apathy, which if he could suppose it to prevail among the Spaniards, must render, in his mind, the cause of Spanish independence altogether hopeless. Could those who supported the ministers in the question of the



Spanish war, continue to count on the co-operation of the Spaniards? At Barrosa they were on Spanish ground—on the spot where they might have won the rescue of their wives and children from the bonds of a licentious enemy. When or where could they have stronger motives to behave like men? And if they hung back at such a moment, at what other could they be relied on? It was not of Spain as a people, but of Spain as a government, that he complained. He was not so blind to history or the lessons it afforded, as to suppose a people that had produced a Pizarro, a Gonzalvo, a Duke of Parma, of Alva, or a Berri, could voluntarily submit to be slaves; their misfortunes were to be traced to their government: a bad civil government, and a bad religious government, had been doing their bad work. Provincial juntas were succeeded by central juntas, and these by the cortes, as useless, inefficacious, and troublesome as any of its predecessors. That grand assembly excluded a few French words from the vocabulary of Spain, established the liberty of the press, and drove their most faithful general, the Duke of Albuquerque, out of the country. Mr. Ward concluded by asking, whether such men as Graham were, in future, to be subject to the command of such a man as La Pena had shown himself to be?

Mr. Perceval, the chancellor of the exchequer, made an ingenious reply, more distinguished for sophistry than as declaratory of his real sentiments. He thought, he said, “that Mr. Ward had expressed a stronger and more determined censure on the Spaniards, than could be justified by any evidence in the possession of the House. Had he confined his expressions of regret to the circumstance of the English having been left to fight the battle alone, and required explanation on that subject, his conduct would then have appeared natural and right; but as no information had yet been furnished, it was neither generous nor just to stigmatize the whole Spanish army, as cold-blooded spectators of the contest. General Graham, in his despatches, had not complained of the imputed misconduct of La Pena; his silence on that point was a presumptive argument that there were no sufficient grounds for

such a charge, therefore the suspension of the charge would have been more creditable than its preference, until further intelligence should have arrived. Mr. Ward's strictures on the new constitution of Spain, only gave the chancellor of the exchequer a favourable opportunity of retorting their own arguments upon opposition members. He was rather surprised, he remarked, to hear any observations from Mr. Ward's side of the house, which seemed to reflect on the cortes, for their early efforts to establish the liberty of the press. What had not been said on that side, from time to time, of the imperious necessity of giving the people immediately a free press, to inspire them with courage equal to the magnitude of the struggle, and give them something to fight for, worthy the best exertions of patriots and men! As to the complaint of General Graham having been subjected to the command of La Pena, that was his own voluntary act, one perhaps which that brave man regretted, and which would inspire him with more caution in the future exercise of his discretion.

The chancellor of the exchequer did not obtain the character of sincerity for the defence he now made of La Pena and the cortes, nor were his arguments treated with respect by the opposition. The first who expressed unqualified dissent from the minister's position was Mr. Whitbread, who declared, "that Mr Perceval had spoken like the advocate of the Spaniards; they must be defended at all events, no matter how! And yet, what was it that was attempted to be defended? The English army was on the point of being sacrificed—the Spaniards were in sight of them, within twenty minutes' quick march of them! and yet, what did they? what were they? Why just what they had been described by Mr. Ward—cold-blooded spectators of the battle! Was this doing their duty to themselves or their brave allies? It was not easy to speak on this topic without giving way to indignation. After coldly witnessing a band of heroes fighting and dying for their cause, General La Pena tells our small exhausted band, with its unparalleled victory over numbers, that, forthwith, now was the time to push its success. What did

this redoubted general mean? Was it insult, or treachery, or cowardice, each or all? He did not mean to complain of the Spanish people, but of their officers. He should be sorry to say any thing so severe of that army, as that every soldier felt as their general did,—he placed himself upon the silence of General Graham, and let the chancellor of the exchequer dislodge him from that ground if he could. While that silence remained as it did, he should ever think of Barrosa as a day memorable for the glory of the British, and not less memorable for the infamy of the Spaniards. Was it to be endured that our brave-fellows should be so basely deserted, after an excessive night-march, the moment they entered the field against a foe always formidable for discipline, and then doubly so from numbers? Why were the two battalions withdrawn from the heights of Barrosa? Why was their position abandoned precipitately to the French? Who gave this order, but a Spanish officer? What! should not this excite jealousy? Was this the first time a Spanish army had been cold-blooded spectators of British heroism? Did they want this, to remind them of the stately indifference shown by Cuesta in the battle of Talavera? Was all sound in Cadiz? Was there no French party there? Were British armies never before betrayed, until the battle of Barrosa? He should say betrayed, for it was nothing less: the two battalions never came up till our army had repulsed the French, beaten them off, and was in hot pursuit of them, as fast as our army could pursue, as fast as their exhausted limbs could carry their noble hearts! Then what had been our allies?—at Talavara nothing—at Barrosa nothing—or rather, at both perhaps worse than nothing. The history of Barrosa was not yet told,—a mystery hung about it. The allied force sailed from Cadiz—the British fought—the Spaniards looked on. The British conquered, and yet the siege was not raised.—Again he asked, was all sound at Cadiz? Was it true that General Graham had been obstructed in all his plans—that in the midst of the fight, while the British

\* The opposition party in the House of Lords especially, actually refused credit to that part of Lord Wellington's despatches, after the battle of Talavera, which imputed want of cordiality to the Spaniards.

troops were doing feats, which perhaps British troops alone could do, their allies were doing what, he hoped, such men alone were capable of—plundering the British baggage? Was this true? It was not the Spanish people he complained of; he gave them every credit, but he gave their leaders none. If all this was so, or nearly so, were the British armies to be risked so worthlessly? Were they to be abandoned to treachery or cowardice? for in either, or both, must have originated the ungrateful and infamous treatment they had met with."

It will be perceived, from this very just complaint of want of co-operation on the part of Spain, or rather of its imbecile government, that the tone of the opposition was in a state of transition. Lord Wellington had expressed his regret at the indifference and inactivity of Cuesta—the despondents denied the validity of his assertions; his lordship also lamented the hasty enactments of the cortes, and foretold the mischievous results of their immature measures—for this he was taunted with illiberality: after the battle of Barrosa his despatches formed the basis of those arguments with which the opposition assailed the ministers: and, when Mr. Perceval deprecated the discussion of La Peña's conduct while it was the subject of investigation in his own country, Mr. Ward went so far as to declare "that it was useless for the British parliament to suspend its censure till the Spaniard should have been tried, as the tribunal before which he was to appear would consist of such persons as himself." The conduct of the cortes, and of their general, met the most unqualified censure of the English people, and the policy of Lord Wellington derived a new light from the confirmation of his opinions, which the victory of Barrosa afforded.

While "victory plumed her wings on Graham's crest," the star of Soult was also in the ascendant, and Mortier, under his direction, pressed the siege of Badajos; the death of Menacho was an event, in itself, of the utmost consequence, in casting a gloom over one party, while it kindled brighter hopes in the other; and Soult understood the character of the new governor sufficiently to enable him to regulate his operations for the reduction of the place. The Spaniards were justifiable in

placing firm reliance upon Imaz; he had been reared a soldier, and served in Denmark with the brave Romana: returning from that inglorious expedition, he fought unhappily, yet boldly, under Blake, and at length participated in the glory that victory shed on the arms of Del Parque. His experience was sufficient, his skill might have been equal, but without devotion to his cause, both must necessarily have proved useless. Romana and the brave Menacho were withdrawn by fate, from the shocks of the hurricane that swept the face of their beautiful country; Olivença was in possession of the French, and, if Badajos should be reduced before he was compelled to retire, Massena would have the advantage of a free communication with Andalusia—Mortier would be enabled to effect a junction with him—Abrantes would be exposed to the assaults of this combined force—Lisbon would hardly be secure, unless indeed another Torres Vedras should have been discovered, and fortified, on the left bank of the Tagus, and thereby prove as formidable an impediment to the advance of the enemy, as its great original. Lord Wellington had always intended to save Badajos, and for this purpose posted Romana formerly, and afterwards Mendizabal, in the immediate vicinity of that fortress, to obstruct, harass, and fall on the enemy, according to opportunity. But Romana was the only Spanish general in co-operation with the English, whose temper, manners, conduct, and courage could be counted on with certainty: this gallant nobleman, had he been deficient in that high sense of honour which dignifies the British soldier, such was his gratitude to the British people, and admiration of their national character, that he would have assumed that virtue. He was not, however, wanting in any single requirement of soldier or gentleman, and, when Wellington placed Romana's corps as one of observation, he felt that the loyalty and firmness of the leader at least might be relied upon.

But Romana was succeeded by Mendizabal, and Mendizabal was in all respects a Spaniard,—he had not been chosen by the British chief for this trust, accident alone had raised him to it. Negligence, self-sufficiency, and vanity were amongst the chief causes that led to the destruction of Mendizabal's force,

the best-trained army in the Spanish service: and this irreparable loss rendered it impossible for Lord Wellington to relieve Badajos, either by sparing the detachment of fourteen thousand men, which he had destined for the purpose, or by advancing with all his force, as long as Massena continued to keep possession of Santarem. In this dilemma the French journals, seconded actively by the anti-ministerial party in England, spoke constantly, loudly, and fearlessly of the defeat and discomfiture of Wellington; attributing the approaching, and apparently inevitable failure of his plans, to that systematic deception, which he had practised upon the Spaniards, by promising them assistance which he never seriously meant to have afforded. They called the attention of Europe to the cold-hearted conduct of the British, then within a few miles of a beleaguered city; their allies within the walls, falling under the shot of the enemy and the keen edge of famine, yet exhibited not the least sympathy for their sufferings, even by making a feint for their relief. The impeachment never had less foundation, and originated, in the one country, in the spirit of falsehood, in the other of faction,—for Wellington had entrusted the relief of Badajos to the Spanish army, whose loyalty and feeling could not be mistrusted, and the incapacity of the general was the occasion of the failure. The strength of the allies did not equal either what England could afford, what Wellington asked for, or the importance of the conflict required. When mental malady had dimmed the faculties of George III. the uncompromising quality of his character impeded the public service; and he who was accused of being lavish of the best blood of Britons, in the unhappy war with America, could not now be induced to add a regiment to the little band of heroes that unfurled the standard of England in the Peninsula. When political arrangements had removed this embarrassment, the outcry of the despondents seemed to drown the voice of ministers, so that the eloquent advocacy of his brave brother's strategy by the Marquess Wellesley, failed in obtaining that attention or reward to which his appeals, as elegant as wise, were eminently entitled. Reinforcements,

although totally inadequate to the end, were promised; but such was the urgency of the case, that Lord Wellington had resolved not to await their arrival longer than a few days, when he should attack Massena at all hazards. The misconduct of the Spaniards, and the flow of events, which no foresight had observed, rendered this desperate experiment unnecessary:—amongst the latter causes may be reckoned the arrival of the troops from England, on the 1st of March, which produced a still deeper resolve on the part of the general-in-chief: “We shall now be able,” said Lord Wellington, “to attack the enemy if he retains this position, or possibly to attack him in any other he may take: or, if he quits the Tagus, to detach sufficiently to Abrantes.”

Badajos, the object of contention between the armies, is a strong and ancient fortified town, the largest and most important in Spanish Estremadura. It is situated at the influx of the Rivillas with the Guadiana, on the south-side of the latter river, which acquires a breadth here of six hundred yards, and is crossed by a bridge of twenty-eight arches, believed to be the work of the Romans. This was the Pax Augusta of the ancients,—and in after-ages was always strongly garrisoned, to protect the frontiers of the kingdom, from which it is but four miles distant, against Portuguese freebooters. In the fifth century it surrendered to the Goths; the Moors reduced it in the eighth, from whom it was reconquered in 1230, by Alphonso of Castile. The famous Roman bridge, which is nearly two thousand feet in length, was a scene of frightful havoc in the year 1661, when the Portuguese, attempting to pass, were defeated with immense loss by Don John of Austria. At the point of confluence of the two rivers of Badajos, stands an ancient castle, frowning from its rocky height over the angry meeting of the waters; and the town which expands, obeying the shape of the included ground, is strongly protected by curtains and bastions. On each side of the chief river are out-works; those on the left bank are, the lunette of San Roque, covering a sluice, a redoubt called the Picurina, and the Pardaleiras, a crown-work, constructed between the Rivillas and the Guadiana. Fort San Christoval, which has before

been noticed, occupies an area, regularly fortified, of three-hundred feet square; and the bridge-head, which is connected with San Christoval, is also strengthened by military works.—The misconduct and folly of Mendizabal, in neglecting to execute the orders of Lord Wellington, when first he reached San Christoval, ended in his destruction; and the death of Menacho left the town of Badajos to the government of an imbecile and a traitor.

Imaz, who had succeeded to the command, received secret intelligence of the intended movements of Massena, either through Spanish spies or French envoys; and, on the sixth of March, General Leite, governor of Elvas, informed him by signal, that the enemy were in motion, and commencing a retreat; the conclusion to be drawn from which was, that as assistance would soon arrive, he was bound by duty and honour to hold out to the last extremity. At the moment when this intelligence reached the governor, there were eight thousand veteran troops in Badajos, the irregulars exceeded that number; there existed no scarcity of provisions or ammunition, and the breach was still impracticable; the effect of the news was immediate and decisive as to his real motives. Without the consumption of one moment in further defence, or even in negotiation, the wretch surrendered, proving that he perfectly understood the importance of the place to the French, and that its chief value to them would be derived from an immediate submission. To give a colour of loyalty to the infamous character he was about to assume, he practised the trick of all traitors, and called a council of war. One of his creatures in this paltry assembly, declared that it would require an aid of five thousand effective, resolute men, to resist another assault; and, that after such an expenditure of life, they could not hope to hold the place for eight and forty hours longer: this discreet councillor did not want approvers of his project, which was, that they should at once surrender, stipulating for their own lives, and that the garrison should be permitted to march out through the breach, and unite with the nearest native force they could meet. The opinion of Imaz was couched in jesuitical language, “Although



our second line of defence is incomplete, he observed, few guns mounted on our principal batteries, and our ability unequal to resist an assault, I think that, by valour and firmness, the place may be defended till death." More true, more loyal and manly were the sentiments of Garcia, who said, that the enemy had never been able to silence their fire; the flanks of the breach were fully commanded—the breach itself mined—the pitch-barrels ready, and the entrance covered; such circumstances would not justify brave men in surrendering, but if his brother officers thought otherwise, let them at least make a bold sortie through the breach, and join their countrymen. Remonstrance was vain, the traitor had anticipated the best efforts of his co-adjutors, and the corrupted portion of the assembly applauded the wisdom and devotion of Imaz, but, upon that part of his opinion which declared their weakness, founded their decision, that surrender was the only course then left them to pursue. Don Juan Mancio invoked the shades of those that fell at Saragossa, to look down upon the degenerate Imaz and his abettors, and raised his warning voice against the flagrant infamy that must stamp their characters. Imaz, however, was resolute in one point, treachery; and, on the eleventh of March, the very next day after the receipt of the despatch that communicated the certainty of relief, he capitulated. He obtained his life and freedom, and the garrison having laid down their arms, were permitted to gratify their dastardly governor by marching out through the breach; but it was then found that so slight an injury had the works sustained, that the Spaniards must necessarily breach the walls still more, before the troops could evacuate the town by that line of march.

Lord Wellington's disappointment at the fall of Badajos was expressed in language not limited to contempt, but bordering upon anguish: the cup of promise had been dashed from his lips, and shivered into pieces by a coward and a traitor: a villain, in the guise of an ally, had robbed him of the legitimate fruits of his genius and perseverance: he could have endured the severest hardships, encountered the most appalling dangers, braved the fury of the waves and the tempests,

or confronted terror in any shape; but to be thus frustrated by so base a coward, disturbed the characteristic philosophy of the hero in an unusual degree. "The governor Imaz," observed his lordship, "a man in whom the greatest confidence had been reposed, surrendered the place on the day after he received my assurances that he should be relieved, and my entreaty that he would hold out to the last moment. It is useless to add any reflection to these facts. The Spanish nation have lost Tortosa, Olivença, and Badajos, in the course of two months, without sufficient cause, and in the same period Marshal Soult, with a corps never supposed to exceed twenty thousand men, has taken, besides the last two places, or destroyed, above twenty-two thousand Spanish troops." Of Imaz's treachery his lordship did not entertain the least doubt: in a letter to Mr. C. Stuart, he says, "If the governor of Badajos had not sold the place, the Peninsula would have been safe;" and he speaks, if possible, more plainly, on the same subject in a despatch to the Marquis Wellesley: "If it had not been for the treachery of Imaz, Spain would have been out of the fire, notwithstanding former treachery, blunders, and cowardice. Nobody entertains a doubt that the governor sold Badajos. He appears to have surrendered as soon as he could, after he knew that relief was coming to him, lest his garrison should prevent the surrender, when they should be certain of the truth of Massena's retreat."

This calamity proved a severe mortification to Lord Wellington, whose plan of operations became, in consequence, impeded and deranged: in the first bitter moments of vexation, he demanded immediate inquiry into the conduct of Imaz, whose life he considered forfeited to his country; and so deeply did the cortes feel the force of his appeal, that proceedings were immediately commenced in that assembly against the impeached traitor. It was proposed by Riesco, that rigorous examination should, at the same time, be made into the action of the nineteenth of February, in which the conduct of Mendizabal occasioned the loss of a brave and disciplined army. In his opinion the fall of Badajos was a national calamity, and

if it were the work of treason, the traitor should be required to answer for it. By this one act, the communication between Andalusia and Castile was thrown open—Alemtejo made easy of entrance to the enemy—Elvas exposed to assault—facilities of aiding Massena created—and the fate of Portugal once more endangered. Calatrava reminded the members of his own sad prophecy as to events in Estramadura: a province which, instead of obtaining the protection of the army, was ultimately abandoned, with the loss of army, capital, and province. It was not to be wondered at that Imaz, having first voted for continuing the defence, should the next moment have capitulated without striking another blow. Insincerity alone could explain the contradiction. In his opinion, the garrison and inhabitants were entitled to the thanks of the cortes, the conduct of the governor merited universal execration.”

The most eloquent and patriotic members felt that the loss of Badajos presented too plausible a pretext for the exercise of their popular qualities, and many of them reminded their hearers of the defence of Gerona: there, while famine thinned the garrison with the rapidity and certainty of a plague, and the weak walls lay breached for many a day, no man was permitted, on pain of death, to speak of capitulation. This was the path to glory, it was by such deeds as those that Spaniards could hope “to tread upon the Greek and Roman name:” had Badajos held out but four days longer, it would have been relieved, and all the subsequent effusion of blood, that flowed in the attempts to recover it, would have been spared to England, Spain, and Portugal. This burning zeal to punish treason, and crush the noxious reptile in the egg, was as unreal as the loyalty of Imaz:—days, months, nay years, rolled on, and the guilt of the traitor remained unpunished. By procrastination the angry feelings of his betrayed countrymen, and of their ill-treated allies, subsided; and, as brave men seldom seek to punish in cold blood, the war was terminated before the trial of the traitor was brought to a close.

Badajos fell—Mortier moved on Campo Mayor—Maubourg seized Albuquerque and some other minor places, and brought

in upwards of five hundred prisoners—and Soult, alarmed for the consequences of the defeat at Barrosa, returned into Andalusia, “having, in fifty days, mastered four fortresses, and invested a fifth; having killed or dispersed ten thousand men, having taken twenty thousand with a force that at no time exceeded the number of his prisoners: yet great and daring and successful as his operations had been, the principal object of his expedition was frustrated, for Massena was in retreat. Lord Wellington’s combinations had palsied the hand of the conqueror.” The story of the fatal fall of Badajos must here be closed, with the notice that the conduct of Imaz found one panegyrist; there was one man base enough to undertake an extenuation of his guilt, but he was amongst the keenest enemies of Spain, he was the general to whom Imaz sold the fortress, and his defence only heaped coals of fire on the head of the accused. In his despatches to his imperial master, Mortier disgraced the profession of a soldier, and dishonoured his high rank, by stating “that the death of the gallant Menacho had protracted the siege for some days; for his successor wished to give some proof of his talents, and thereby occasioned a longer resistance.”

The glory of expelling Massena from Portugal belonged to Wellington solely: but the alarmists in England, and the factions in Spain and Portugal, did not allow him its enjoyment for an instant. On every occasion interested and corrupt motives distorted their views, and allowed them to see nothing but deformity, even where beauty and virtue were conspicuous. The Portuguese government spoke through their representative Forjaz, complaining loudly against the irregularity and violence of the British soldiers, in their encampments as well as in their marches through the country. Lord Wellington did not deny that acts of misconduct, and even of outrage, had been committed by his men, but never with impunity in any instance in which the charge could be substantiated; while he had not been able to obtain the punishment of any native of Portugal, be his crimes what they might. If the British soldiers had committed acts of misconduct, they at least fought bravely for their

country. They had besides recently shown that commiseration for the misfortunes of the people of the Peninsula, which he was convinced would be equally felt by their countrymen at home, and actually fed the poor inhabitants of all the towns in which they were cantoned on the Rio Mayor. Yet his lordship had not heard that the Portuguese government expressed their approbation of this conduct, very unusual in people of their class and description; nor did he find that either their bravery in the field, or their humanity, or their generosity, could induce those whom they were succouring to look with indulgence at their failings, or to draw a veil over the faults of the few, in consideration of the military and other virtues of the many. This defence was the production of a man who loved the service, identified himself with every act of the army, palliated their pardonable errors, but was ready to offer up his life in defence of their character for loyalty and courage. Were other proofs absent, to show how much the happiness and honour of the British army were entwined around his heart, this feeling appeal should be sufficient. Colonel Napier has dedicated his beautiful military work to Wellington, stating that he now knows why the tenth legion were so much attached to Cæsar. Wellington's appeal in favour of his erring heroes presents a key to the secret—the virtues of the generals, in both cases, bound the bravest as well as the basest of their followers with an eternal devotion to their service.

As the retreat of Massena was actually unknown in England, when the military policy of Lord Wellington was called in question, when the minister quailed with apprehension for the consequences, and seemed virtually to be apprehensive of waging war against Napoleon, with a degree of firmness that might expose his country to future vengeance, whenever that extraordinary man should have completed the conquest of Europe, the breaking up of the enemy from Santarem shall be postponed, until the state of parties in England, and the political opposition which Lord Wellington had to combat, shall have been detailed. However Wellington might have mis-trusted the genius, he never doubted the integrity of Lord

Liverpool, and could he but have convinced the mind of that honest ministers, he felt that he might calculate upon his firmness. But the clamours of a numerous, powerful, and ingenious opposition naturally alarmed a man, whose very integrity of character and honesty of purpose led him to the conclusion, that the owners of such splendid talents could neither be so far mistaken as to imagine danger where there was security, nor so wholly dishonourable as to distort facts for personal interests : stunned by the sound of their ominous denunciations, he informed Lord Wellington of the general disinclination of the country to continue the war, alluded to Spanish insincerity, or indifference, Portuguese inability and poverty, and the increasing debt of England by her attempting to fight the battles of England on the Peninsular theatre.

To these arguments Lord Wellington calmly and officially replied :—" I shall be sorry if government should think themselves under the necessity of withdrawing from this country on account of the expense of the contest. From what I have seen of the objects of the French government, and the sacrifices they make to accomplish them, I have no doubt, that if the British army were for any reason to withdraw from the Peninsula, and the French government were relieved from the pressure of military operations on the continent, they *would incur all risks to land an army in his majesty's dominions.* Then, indeed, would commence an expensive contest ; then would his majesty's subjects discover what are the miseries of war, of which, by the blessing of God, they have hitherto had no knowledge ; and the cultivation, the beauty, the prosperity of the country, and the virtue and happiness of its inhabitants, would be destroyed, whatever might be the result of the military operations. God forbid that I should be a witness, much less an actor, in the scene : and I only hope that the king's government will consider well what I have above stated ; will ascertain, as nearly as is in their power, the actual expense of employing a certain number of men in this country, beyond that of employing them at home or elsewhere ; and, will keep up their force here, on such a

footing, as will, at all events, secure their possession without keeping the transports, if it does not enable their commander to take advantage of events, and assume the offensive."

The history of Greece and Rome, of Africa and Spain, of England and France, had taught Lord Wellington the wisdom of that policy which removed the scene of battle, and all the horrors attendant upon obstinate and protracted warfare, to a distant land. 'Tis said that soldiers fight less gallantly at home than elsewhere; and 'tis true that those countries which have once been wasted by wide-spread war, have acquired rather a relish for iniquitude, and that virtue and content have remained dispossessed for ages. England was happily saved from the awful experiment of what would have been the demoralizing effects of an invasion, by the genius of Wellington: the Peninsula was the stage on which our dispute with France was decided; and, to this hour, tranquillity has not been restored to that beautiful but misgoverned country. It appears, therefore, that Lord Wellington's supplication was prophetic, involuntarily so; and this is but one of numerous instances, in which the deliberate warning of this remarkable man will be found to have been confirmed by subsequent events.

Antecedent to the period of this remonstrance, the pecuniary difficulties of our Portuguese allies attracted the most anxious attention of the commander-in-chief; he had, some time before, appealed to the generosity of the British public, and, early in the year 1811, he forwarded official communications to the British envoy, and to the secretary at war, upon the necessity of adopting some decisive measures for the maintenance of the Portuguese force, which the masterly skill of Marshal Beresford had rendered deserving of being placed beside the British in the hour of trial. A most explicit statement of the difficulties, that then surrounded the affairs of Portugal, is to be found in a despatch of Lord Wellington to our envoy in Portugal, on the 28th of January, 1811, from which the following is an extract:—"I have received your letter of the 23d; and I have perused Mr. Salter's letter on the revenue. I think the Portuguese government are still looking for assistance

to England, and I have written to the king's government strongly upon the subject. But I should deceive myself, if I believed we should get anything—and them, if I were to tell them we should. They must, therefore, look to their own resources. I shall not enter upon the political crisis now existing in England; but I believe you will agree with me, that if the change which is probable should be made, their chance is less than it was. It is quite nonsense their quarrelling with me, whether the system of operations I have followed were the best or not. I believe I am not only the best, but the only friend they have ever had, who has had the power of supporting them for a moment in England; and I now tell them that the only chance they have is to endeavour to bring their revenue equal to their expenses.

“It is ridiculous to talk of the efforts they have made. They have hitherto produced neither men in proportion to their population, nor money in proportion to their commerce and riches, nor by any means in proportion to their gains by the war. They talk of the war in their country: was Portugal ever involved seriously in any war, without having it in the heart of the country? I think I can save them from their enemy, if they will make an exertion to maintain their army: but they are now come to that situation, between the enemy, the people, and us, that they must decide either to raise an adequate revenue for the people, in earnest, or to give themselves over to the enemy. Now, upon this point I can only tell them one thing; and that is, that though they may find causes for not levying a revenue upon the people, to continue the contest against the enemy, the enemy will allow of none, for not raising every shilling that can be drawn from the people, when they may come into possession. They should have thought of the miseries endured by the people, which they describe so feelingly, before they commenced the war; though, by the bye, I would observe upon these miseries, that the enemy occupy only a part of one province, and that they had only passed through another: this is bad enough, God knows! but is better than that the whole should be in their possession, as it



was, and as it will be, if a real effort be not made. I shall be obliged to you if you will mention these sentiments to Don Miguel Forjaz and Salter, and others in the regency, who are well inclined, but are not aware of their real situation, or exactly equal to surmount its difficulties."

The increasing inefficiency of the Portuguese army, during the inaction of the allies, constituted a perpetual source of uneasiness to the commander-in-chief; he felt that from the moment when the enemy should move, and the allies should follow, the Portuguese troops must starve, unless the English commissariat sustained them. Lord Wellington suggested that the advances for their support should be immediately repaid by the regency; but so slight was his confidence in the integrity of this body, that he hesitated to include the maintenance of the militia in the arrangement, lest they also should be left to perish, and the allies, in consequence, deprived of their services. The conduct of the provisional government, in the instance of the *depositos* and hospitals, was equally unfeeling and senseless: when the men were sufficiently recovered to be able to return to camp, they found themselves without arms, accoutrements, clothing, or other necessities, so that they were really worse than useless. Neglect and ill-treatment were attended with desertion from the Portuguese ranks, to a very alarming extent; and Lord Wellington declared, that it was an extraordinary proof of the attachment of the Portuguese soldiers to their country, that this crime was not still more frequent, considering the privations they were left to endure. These privations, however, were thinning the ranks of the army to a lamentable extent; and every soldier in the ranks, at that period, cost as much as two. Lord Wellington inspected the ninth and twenty-first Portuguese regiments personally on the fourth of March, when only thirteen hundred and nineteen men were under arms, whereas the strength of those two regiments, by the previous return, was two thousand seven hundred and forty-six. He also reviewed the Lusitanian legion, the strength of which had been reduced, by similar causes, from one thousand seven hundred and sixty-five, to eleven hundred

men ; and the eighth regiment had dwindled down to eight hundred and fifty-six from eleven hundred and fifty, which was the amount of the latest return. The obvious inefficiency of the Portuguese commissariat, and the rapidly increasing evils resulting from their incompetence, induced Lord Wellington to suggest an arrangement, by which a large part of the Portuguese army would be fed by the British commissariat, at the expense of the Portuguese government, in the expectation that, being relieved from the necessity of supplying all, they would consent to support a part in an efficient and satisfactory manner.

Lord Wellington's memorandum on this occasion contained the following propositions ;—"In order, if possible, to render the Portuguese army more efficient, and to provide more effectually for the subsistence of the Portuguese troops, it is proposed : First, that the British commissariat shall supply with provisions the Portuguese troops serving in British divisions ; that is to say, Colonel Champelmond's, Colonel Harvey's, General Spry's, Baron Eben's, and General Coleman's brigades, besides the first and third Caçadores in the light division, which shall be supplied as usual. Secondly, this arrangement will include the supply of provisions for the artillerymen, and forage for the mules attached to the brigades of Portuguese artillery serving with these several divisions, and forage for the mules attached to the regiments for the carriage of baggage and musket ammunition : and it must be understood, that these animals must go a reasonable distance to the magazines for their forage, in the same manner as those belonging to the British army. Thirdly, the ration for each officer and soldier is to continue the same as it has been heretofore ; that is to say, half a pound of meat, and wine—and a pound of biscuit, or a pound and a half of bread. The arrangement for beef issued to the Portuguese troops by the British commissariat, made in May last, to continue as heretofore ; and the troops are to receive in the whole, either three-quarters of a pound of meat, and wine or spirits, or a pound of meat, without wine or spirits, for one-quarter of a pound of which they are to be

under stoppages; and for the whole of which the Portuguese government are to pay the British commissariat, as settled by that arrangement. Fourthly, the detail of the delivery of the rations is to be made to the troops by the Portuguese commissariat; and the British commissariat, with the several divisions, will have nothing to do but to supply the Portuguese commissary attached to the brigade in the division, with the quantities of bread, meat, and forage which he will require daily for the Portuguese troops, for which he will take the Portuguese commissary's receipts. Fifthly, the British commissariat is to keep a separate account of the issues, under the head of the arrangement of 1810, and arrangement of March, 1811, which he will forward, on the 24th of every month, to the commissary-general. Sixthly, the Portuguese government are to pay for the supplies thus delivered to the Portuguese troops, according to the sixth article of the arrangement of June, 1809; that is to say, the full price which these articles will have cost the British commissary-general, with a reasonable addition for the expense of transport from the magazines, with the exception of beef issued under the arrangements of May, 1810, which is to be paid for at the rate then settled. Seventhly, it is to be clearly understood, that the British commissariat have nothing to say to the replacing of mules lost or knocked-up in the service of the artillery, or in the carriage of ammunition and baggage, or with any of the details of the Portuguese commissariat, beyond the issue to the Portuguese commissariat of the quantity of provisions and forage necessary for the consumption of the troops."

While the British hero was exerting the discriminating powers of his capacious mind, for the purpose of saving the Portuguese army from starvation, the members of that government were actually employed in the infamous occupation of vilifying his character. This contemptible conduct he had before observed, and, conscious that he could only be personally obnoxious to fools or villains, it occasioned him but little uneasiness. The authors having been discovered, his lordship

mentioned the singular fact in a private communication to Marshal Beresford, from which the following is extracted:—  
 “Baron Eben has made some curious discoveries at Lisbon, and has given Mr. Stuart some papers written by those personages, which tend to show their folly, equally with their mischievous dispositions. Among other plans, they have one for libelling and caricaturing me in England! They complain that you and I have had hunting parties! and that I eat a good dinner at Oporto, instead of pursuing Soult! I have this day discovered that some of the anonymous letters to me are written by the Principal Souza, and others by the bishop. But this last is not quite so clear. These are men to govern a nation in difficult circumstances!”

The prospects of Massena and of the French cause, generally, in Spain, were now in a state of transition from success to discomfiture. No triumph had followed the operations of Massena; Victor had sustained a heavy blow; and Soult had obtained a nominal success by the traitorous surrender of Badajos to his arms. Disease, and desertion, and famine were daily reducing “the army of Portugal,” as the enemy pompously styled the force that was cooped up in Santarem; while the allies, the British portion especially, were in such fine condition, that their commander thus addressed Lord Liverpool, in reply, upon that point: “I never saw an army so healthy as this: indeed, I may say that we have scarcely any sick, excepting in the Walcheren regiments. In these, also, there are very few; and I hope they will recover in this delightful climate.” While his hopes were brightening, his army acquiring strength, his conduct securing grateful acknowledgment in some of the chief towns of the united kingdom,\* and the circumstances of his enemy retrograding in almost an equal ratio, those political changes were working in England, upon

\* *Dublin, 18th January, 1811.*—“At a court of common-council held yesterday (17th), Mr. Giffard begged to call the attention of the assembly to the able and gallant conduct of our army in Portugal; and, after having given well-deserved praise to the noble commander, moved, “that the sincere and affectionate thanks of this corporation be, and are hereby given to our brave countryman, Lord Wellington, for his wise and gallant conduct in successively and most glori-

the issue of which the fate of the war most probably depended. The French were perfectly acquainted with the regency question in England, and, weary of war, particularly when waged against Wellington, anxiously hoped for peace, and spoke of it as the natural consequence of Earl Grey and Lord Grenville coming into power. Wellington did not look upon their views as visionary; on the contrary, he conceived that the opposition must, nay, ought to succeed to the government, for the interests of the nation: and the opinion he expressed to his brother Henry, on this occasion, is another of those oracular enunciations which are of such frequent occurrences in his active, useful, and glorious life, and actually described the political position in which he himself was subsequently placed, when he acted precisely as he had recommended others to do, twenty years before. Another instance of remarkable and admirable consistency of character. "It was then reported," writes his lordship, "that the regent had sent for Lord Grenville and Lord Grey: but that finding the king was so much better, he had informed Mr. Perceval that he should not change the ministry. This is only report: but I think that *if the ministers find that they have not his confidence, they must quit their offices.* It will not answer to have him running to the opposition, upon every communication he receives from ministers. This would be quite a new situation of affairs."

Massena's means of opposing Wellington having finally failed, and the military combinations of the British hero having proved too powerful for resistance, the abandonment of Santarem was resolved upon. It has been said, that Massena was guilty of a serious error, in not waiting some ten days longer, when there would have been a certainty of Soult's co-operation. This charge is not well founded, for Beresford

ously maintaining the war in Spain and Portugal, against an army immensely superior in number, and commanded by the most celebrated generals." Thanks were at the same time voted to the officers and soldiers serving in the Peninsula, and to their brave countryman, Sir W. Carr Beresford, for his services in bringing the Portuguese army to a state of admirable discipline."

would have checked, in a decided manner, any movement for that purpose: Soult has also been blamed for not marching on with the usual French recklessness, of who was in his rear, to the relief of Massena, and, ultimately, for not making a combined attack upon the allies at Torres Vedras: but the practicability of the operation is exceedingly questionable, as Mendizabal would have been able to fall on Soult's rear with upwards of twenty thousand men, and Beresford would have attacked his flank with fewer numbers, but more disastrous consequences to the enemy. Massena and Soult were effectually baffled by the strategic plans of Lord Wellington: and the one retreated in despair, the other to evade disgrace.—On the fifth of March, 1811, the retreat of Massena from Santarem commenced, under circumstances, which gave, to the political enemies of Lord Wellington, an opportunity of lauding the French general's military talents:—but which oblige the impartial historian to mark him, individually, as a monster, and the conduct of the retreating army as the most infamous and cruel that ever dishonoured the name of France, or of Frenchman. “Never,” says Dr. Southey, “did any general, or any army, insure such lasting infamy to themselves by their outrages and abominations, committed during the whole of their tarrance in Portugal, and continued during their retreat. Lord Wellington said that their conduct was marked by a barbarity seldom equalled, and never surpassed: all circumstances considered, he might have said it had never been paralleled. For these things were not done in dark ages, nor in uncivilized countries, nor by barbarous hordes, like the armies of Timour, or of Nadir Shah: it was in Europe, and in the nineteenth century, that these atrocities were committed by the soldiers of the most cultivated, and enlightened part of Europe, mostly French, but in no small proportion Germans and Netherlanders. Nor was the French army, like our own, raised and recruited from the worst members of society, who enter the service in an hour of inebriety, or of necessity, or despair: the conscription brought into its ranks men of a better description, both as to their parentage, their breeding,

and their prospects in life; insomuch that the great majority are truly described as sober, orderly, intelligent, and more or less educated. Nor is it to be believed, that though they acted like monsters of wickedness in this campaign, they were in any degree worse than other men by nature: on the contrary, the national character of the three nations, whence those troops were drawn, authorizes a presumption that they were inclined to be, and would have been good and useful members of society, if the service, in which they were compulsorily engaged, had not made them children of perdition." This specious defence of such flagrant misconduct suggests its total impossibility of justification: and that it ought not to receive a shade of bright colouring, from the kind, the honourable, or feeling man, is proved by the fact, that these depredations were not committed merely and only during the retreat from Santarem, a time when the discipline of all armies is relaxed, and the feelings perhaps of both general and soldiers irritated and inflamed: but the most unpardonable mischiefs were perpetrated in the towns and villages where the French were quartered, where they dwelt for months, where the inhabitants had ventured to remain upon the faith of Massena's proclamation, and who were the solitary instances of any thing like friendly intercourse that existed between the native population and the invading army. The moment after orders to retreat were issued, the houses in Thomar and Torres Novas were in flames: and whatever moveables had not been deemed worth the carriage, were consumed in the general conflagration: the orders of the French general extended to every village and town on his route, which accordingly shared a similar fate.

"The most venerable structure in Portugal was the convent of Alcobaca. Its foundation was coeval with the monarchy. It had been the burial-place of the kings of Portugal for many generations. The munificence of nobles and princes, the craft of superstition, and the industry and learning of its members in better times, had contributed to fill this splendid pile with treasures of every kind. Its gorgeous vestments, its vessels of plate and gold, and its almost matchless jewelry, excited

the admiration of the vulgar: the devotee and the philosopher were equally astonished at the extraordinary articles in its relic-room: the artist and the antiquary beheld with wonder and delight its exquisite monuments of ancient art: and its archives and library were as important to Portuguese literature, as the collections of the British Museum or the Bodleian are in our own country. Orders were issued from the French head-quarters to burn this place: that the work of destruction might be complete, it was begun in time, and the mattock and hammer were employed to destroy what the flames would have spared. The tessellated pavement, from the entrance to the high-altar, was broken up with pickaxes, and the ornaments of the pillars destroyed nearly up to the arches. The French, who at this very time inserted an article in the capitulation of Badajos, that no stipulations were then made respecting religion, (because they were Catholics like the Spaniards,) mutilated here the crucifix and the image of the Virgin, as if they studied in what manner they could most effectually shock, and insult, the feelings of the Portuguese. They cut the pictures which they did not burn; they broke open the tombs. Those of Pedro and Inez de Castro were covered with historical sculptures. Rich as England is in remains of this kind, we have none of equal antiquity, which could be compared with them for beauty, or for their value to the antiquary: and a story, hardly less known throughout Europe than the most popular parts of classical history, had, in an especial manner, sanctified these monuments. These, therefore, were the chosen objects of the enemy's malice, and most laborious mischief was exerted in destroying them, the tombs being so well constructed as not without difficulty to be destroyed. Fire was at length put to the monastery in many parts, and troops placed round it to prevent the people from making any efforts to arrest the conflagration. The edifice continued burning for two and twenty days. Two of the Cistercian brethren were afterwards appointed commissioners to search the ruins. They found some bones of Queen Orraca, and part of her clothes: the body of Queen Beatrice,



in a state of good preservation, and that of Pedro still entire with the skin and hair upon it. A few fragments of Inez de Castro only could be found. These remains were deposited once more in the tombs, and the monuments repaired as far as reparation was possible. The most valuable of the books and manuscripts had happily been removed in time.\*

The archives of Portugal, once kept at Alcobaça with jealous care, were carried off by the Spaniards, and deposited in the Escorial; but the library still possesses an interest to the English visitant, from the beautiful specimens of British typography

\* The following memoranda of Alcobaça, as it existed in the year 1794, are extracted from the reminiscences of a traveller, who enjoyed peculiar opportunities, accompanied by a remarkable ability to improve them.

"The first sight of this regal monastery is very imposing; and the picturesque, well-wooded and well-watered village, out of the quiet bosom of which it appears to rise, relieves the mind from a sense of oppression the huge domineering bulk of the conventual buildings inspire. We had no sooner been in sight, and we loomed large, than a most tremendous ring of bells of extraordinary power announced our speedy arrival. A special aviso, or broad hint from the secretary of state, recommending these magnificent monks to receive the grand prior and his companions with peculiar graciousness; the whole community, including fathers, friars, and subordinates, at least four hundred strong, were drawn up in grand spiritual array on the vast platform before the monastery, to bid us welcome. At their head, the abbot himself, in his costume of High Almoner of Portugal, advanced, to give us a cordial embrace. It was quite delectable to witness with what ecstasies and comforts the Lord Abbot of Alcobaça greeted his right reverend brethren of Aviz and St. Vincent's—turtle-doves were never more fondlesome, at least in outward appearance. Preceded by these three graces of holiness, I entered the spacious, massive, and somewhat austere Saxon-looking church. All was gloom, except where the perpetual lamps, burning before the high altar, diffused a light most solemn and religious, (inferior twinkles from side chapels and chantries are not worth mentioning.) To this altar my high-clerical conductors repaired, whilst the full harmonious tones of several stately organs, accompanied by the choir, proclaimed that they were in the act of adoring the real presence. Whilst these devout prostrations were performing, I lost not a moment in visiting the sepulchral chapel, where lie interred Pedro the Just, and his beloved Inez. The light which reached this solemn recess of a most solemn edifice, was so subdued and hazy, that I could hardly distinguish the elaborate sculpture of the tomb, which reminded me, both as to design and execution, of the Beauchamp monument at Warwick, so rich in fretwork and imagery." *Excursion to Alcobaça in 1794, by the Author of Vathek.*

preserved here—the presentations of persons who have been eminent in the history of our country. There is one volume here which the monks feel an obvious pride in exhibiting,—it is a volume transmitted to the reverend fathers of the monastery by Mr. Canning, and containing the following inscription in his own hand-writing, which explains also the occasion of the gift: “In memoriam magnificentissimi hospitii, quo a sanctis Alcobacæ cœnobitis acceptus est dierumque apud eos lautè beateque actorum. Mense Martii A. S. H., 1816. Librum huncce Bibliothecæ Alcobacanæ adscribendum gratæ recordationis testimonium Mittit Georgius Canning.”

“Batalha\* was a structure equally sacred, and more beautiful. Had king Emanuel completed the original design, it would have excelled all other gothic buildings: even in its unfinished state it was the admiration of all who beheld it. It was founded on the spot where the tent of Joam I. was pitched on the the night before that battle;† which, for inferiority of numbers on the part of the conqueror, may be compared with Cressy, Poitiers, and Agincourt: and which, for the permanent importance of its consequences, when considered in all their bearings, is unparalleled. Here Joam was buried, after a long and a glorious reign, upon the scene of his triumph; and

\* “For more than half a league did I continue along the path, hemmed in by aquatic plants of extraordinary vigour, springing from the richest alluvial soil. At length, just as I was beginning to think this world of reeds and osiers had no termination, the stream took a sudden bend, which I followed, and making the best of my way through every obstacle, escaped into an open space and open day-light. Right before me, at the extremity of an assemblage of hillocks—some bare, some covered with flowering heaths, but destitute of human or animal inhabitants—stood the lofty majestic basilica of Batalha, surrounded by its glorious huddle of buildings, from this part most picturesquely foreshortened. I could hardly believe so considerable and striking a group of richly parapeted walls, roofs, and towers, detached chapels, and insulated spires formed parts of one and the same edifice; in appearance it was not merely a church or a palace I was looking at, but some fair city of romance, such as an imagination glowing with the fancies Ariosto might have pictured to itself under the illusion of a dream.”—*Excursion to Batalha in 1794, &c.*

† Camoens gives a luminous account of this celebrated combat, in the fourth book of his *Lusiad*.

here his four sons were buried also,—men worthy of such a father! one of them being that prince Heury, whose grave, it might have been thought, would have been equally respected by all civilized nations. The monuments of those *infantas*, and of their parents, were in a state of correspondent beauty with the temple in which they lay, and perfectly preserved. They were broken open by the French, and the remains of the dead taken from their graves, to be made the mockery of ruffians, who kicked about the head of Joam I. as a football, and left the body in the pulpit, placed in the attitude of one preaching.†

Mr. Kinsey, who visited Portugal in 1829, gives a minute, but melancholy account of the condition of these once proud emblems of Portuguese pride. “The French,” he observes, “converted one of the most beautiful apartments into a dormitory, and, in order to obtain additional room, broke in pieces, and removed the noble monuments of Alphonso V., and of the infant his grandson, which occupied its centre. Their places had been supplied by unsightly tombs of painted wood. The sacristy was converted into a kitchen, and all the vestments, gold and silver chalices, plundered. The present condition of the building is almost ruinous, the work of the Philistine armies of France, who seemed to take a savage delight in degrading, to the utmost of their power, those buildings in Portugal consecrated to the purposes of religion. The monks have not sufficient funds to restore this vast temple, and it is not improbable that before the lapse of a brief span of time this shrine ‘of warriors, monks, and dames in the cloistered tomb,’ will retain but a spectral-form of its original greatness.”

Alarmed at the intelligence which he received through the Fidalgos, of Wellington’s increased strength and determination to attack him, Massena, having added the crime of sacrilege to those of which he had before been guilty, prepared to break up from his strong position at Santarem. Several lines of retreat were open to him, but none quite free from objections, or

† Southey’s *History of the Peninsular War*, vol. iii., pp. 136-7.

unattended with hazard, he preferred that which led to the Mondego, the left bank of which afforded an easy ascent to Almeida. In the most perfect silence the French withdrew, having previously sent forward their sick and baggage, and destroyed all ammunition, guns and stores of every kind, which they were unable to carry with them. Their first movements indicated an intention of collecting a force at Thomar, and, probably, of accomplishing the passage of the Zezere; but, to gain time for the retreat of the main body, Marshal Ney made a bold movement from Leiria towards Torres Vedras, which arrested the advance of Lord Wellington, who was apprehensive of opening his lines to the enemy. Meanwhile the bridges on the Alviella were destroyed, the boats at Punhete burned, the remainder of the enemy withdrawn by rapid marches, and their whole force concentrated at Pombal. The caution of Massena did not enable him to conceal his rapid movements from the quick perception of his adversary, who, while he jealously guarded his famous Lines, had directed Beresford to detach a strong force from Abrantes, across the Tagus and Zezere, to follow, and not to lose sight of the enemy; and so gallantly did he execute his orders, that two hundred of the enemy were made prisoners, before the retreating army reached Pombal, by the light division, the German hussars, and the royal dragoons.

The wanton malice of the French has been strongly instanced in the account of the destruction of Alcobaça and Batalha, and of the little villages along their line of march: for here, as in the north of Spain, the route of the French could be tracked, for many months after the passage of the army, by the ruins of the different hamlets through which they marched. An instance of the appalling misery, which warfare inflicts upon the peasantry of an invaded territory, is detailed by Colonel Napier, as having been witnessed by the British, at this time, in the vicinity of Thomar: "A large house, situated in an obscure part of the mountains, was discovered, filled with starving persons. Above thirty women and children had sunk; and sitting by the bodies, were fifteen or sixteen

survivors, of whom one only was a man, but all so enfeebled as to be unable to eat the little food we had to offer them. The youngest had fallen first: all the children were dead; none were emaciated in their bodies, but the muscles of the face were invariably drawn transversely, giving the appearance of laughing, and presenting the most ghastly sight imaginable. The man seemed most eager for life; the women appeared patient and resigned, and, even in this distress, had arranged the bodies of those who had died first with decency and care."

On the enemy being concentrated before Pombal, Montbrun showed a front of battle; his challenge was instantly accepted by Colonel Arentschildt, who charged the enemy, took some prisoners, and obliged the remainder of the party to join the fugitives: just at the moment when Montbrun was turning to flight, Lieutenant Weyland reached the field, with a detachment of the sixteenth dragoons, and instantly joined the hussars in their gallant charge. It was the eleventh of the month before Lord Wellington could collect a force sufficient to commence offensive operations, and the enemy had shown their resolution to contest the choice of ground and the periods of movement, with the allies; but at this date, the first, third, fourth, fifth, and sixth, and the light divisions of infantry, and General Pack's brigade, with all the British cavalry, arriving on the ground immediately in front of the enemy, it was discovered that Massena had again evaded battle, and withdrawn under the veil of night; he had sent away his baggage in the early part of the evening, so as to pass the Soure, and leave a ready transit for the army, by the bridge of Pombal, soon after. And, notwithstanding the unqualified applause, bestowed by military writers of the Gallic party, upon the tactics of Massena on this occasion, so closely was he followed by the British light division, that the possession of the streets of Pombal was warmly disputed with his rear-guard, as well as that of the old castle of Pombal, which overhangs the Arunca, where a party had lodged themselves, to assist in covering the retreat. A battalion of Portuguese caçadores, commanded by Colonel Elder, received the approbation of Lord Wellington, for their gallantry in this affair,

and the enemy would have suffered much more severely, had not Marshal Ney, who commanded the rear-guard, caused the ground on the further side of the town to be occupied in strength, besides which, the allies could not come up in time to complete the dispositions for a serious attack before the fall of night. However, they arrived in time sufficient to prevent the destruction of the bridge, for, so near was Massena to having his retreat cut off, that he dared not stop one hour, and under cover of the night resumed his retreat on a more regular and systematic plan, having ordered Ney to detach a party, under Macognet, to occupy Coimbra; a duty, however, that ultimately devolved upon Montbrun.

The expulsion of Massena, from Portugal, was Lord Wellington's immediate object; upon the political effect of that event he built much: but he could not afford to dispute every foot of ground with the enemy, his force being necessarily divided—his object, therefore, must be accomplished by skilful strategy. How difficult a game to succeed in, may be imagined, when it is remembered that Ney, perhaps the ablest of Napoleon's marshals, conducted the operations of the enemy's rear. The country was unequal, and consequently afforded strong positions, so that either army might have taken up a station of defence upon short notice: and the main body of the enemy stole away from Pombal with so trifling an advantage of their pursuers, that Ney deemed it prudent to take up strong ground at the extremity of a defile between Redinha and Pombal, with his right in a wood upon the Soure river, and his left extending towards the high ground above the ruined village of Redinha, the vestiges of the old city lying in the hollow at his rear, covering a bridge and narrow defile beyond it.

On the heights of Redinha Ney took his stand, like the lion who reluctantly abandons his prey at the approach of a party of hunters; and the ferocity of the enemy's conduct in this retreat, renders the image, unhappily, too applicable to the occasion. Here he placed five thousand infantry, supported by a cavalry force, and a battery of light guns. The attack of the allies was made by the third and fourth divisions

of infantry, General Pack's brigade, and the cavalry, the other troops being in reserve. The post in the wood on the enemy's right was forced by Major-General Erskine, with the fifty-second, ninety-fifth, and Colonel Elder's *caçadores*, and his skirmishers pushed forward into the open plain; and so brilliantly and expeditiously was this affair performed, that Lord Wellington declared, in his despatch, "he had never seen French infantry driven from a wood in a more gallant style." In this daring duty the allies lost fourteen prisoners, taken by Col. Ferrière, of the French hussars, a man of the most extraordinary presence of mind and uncontrollable energy, and who, during the Peninsular war, distinguished himself by that species of personal bravery and adroitness, which would have made him an eminent guerilla chief. When the thunder of cannon rolled loudest, and the volumes of smoke rose thickest, it was then that Ferrière, like an animal of prey, watched an opportunity, and, seizing on his victims, bore them securely away.

While Erskine attained the object of his commander on the right, Major-General Picton occupied the wood on the enemy's left, where he sustained a slight shock from their impetuosity; but now, Major-General Cole coming up in the centre, with the fourth division in two lines, Pack's brigade supporting their right, and the light division their left; and the British cavalry, with the first, fifth, and sixth divisions, bringing up the rear, the whole grand force of the allied army was drawn out upon the plain from which Ney had just been driven. This glorious scene is thus spiritedly described by Colonel Napier:—"Three shots were fired from the British centre, as a signal for a forward movement, and a most splendid spectacle of war was exhibited. The woods seemed alive with troops: in a few minutes, thirty thousand men, forming three gorgeous lines of battle, were stretched across the plain, but bending on a gentle curve, and moving majestically onwards; while horsemen and guns, springing forward simultaneously from the centre and from the left wing, charged under a general volley from the French battalions: the latter were instantly hidden by the smoke, and when that cleared

away no enemy was to be seen." The last attack upon Ney's position was led by Lieut. General Sir Brent Spencer, who not only succeeded in driving the enemy from their ground, but in taking many prisoners, and in increasing the eagerness and energy of the allies generally. In the combat of Redinha two determined and martial spirits were keenly opposed to each other on the enemy's left, Picton and Ney; and both acquitted themselves with that bravery for which their names will ever be remembered. The enemy fell back upon Redinha, passed the Dancos by the little bridge, and a ford that was near it, and took up a new position on the heights immediately beyond. These passes were commanded by the enemy's cannon; so that, although the British light troops actually passed the bridge along with the rear of the enemy, some time necessarily elapsed before Lord Wellington could send over a force sufficient to attack them in their new position. Picton endeavoured to push Major-General Colville's brigade over the river, in order to cut off the enemy's rear; but the attempt failed, owing to the depth and rapidity of the current. The enemy retreated about three miles, upon a strong woody ridge, where they again showed a disposition to make a halt; but the three divisions having crossed the river, and manœuvred on their left flank, they became apprehensive for their communication with Massena, and retired on the evening of that day to a very strong position near Condeixa, covered "by an extremely difficult river."

It had not escaped the watchfulness of Wellington, that Massena would most probably make an attempt upon Coimbra, and, penetrating Upper Beira, inflict similar cruelties on the inhabitants of that district to those which Leiria, Pombal, and Alcobaça had endured. It was not improbable either, that Massena, clinging with desperate tenacity to the ground of Portugal, might endeavour to surprise Oporto, which he hoped, with better fortune than that of the Duke of Dalmatia, to be able to retain. On the 8th of March, Lord Wellington wrote from Thomar to Bacellar, informing him of the retreat of the enemy from Santarem, and of their directing their march on the



Mondego, with a view, most probably, of crossing that river, and surprising Coimbra. He, at the same time, requested that general to consider the safety of Oporto as the primary object of his attention: Bacellar was also recommended to send his baggage across the Douro, and be prepared to pass over his troops at Lamego, as Lord Wellington relied on his corps for the defence of the passage of the river at both places.

His lordship imagined that Trant would necessarily have abandoned Coimbra, and have moved on the Vouga, where he had been ordered to destroy the bridges in his route to Oporto. The zeal, activity, and determination of Trant were invincible: having intercepted a despatch from Drouet to Claparede, from which he learned that Massena would certainly retire from before Torres Vedras, and that a detachment was that morning to move upon Coimbra to prepare the way, he broke down one of the arches of the bridge at that city, withdrew his post from the vicinity of Condeixa, and evacuated the suburb of Santa Clara, which is on the left bank of the river. Scarcely were these prompt measures executed, when Montbrun entered the streets that had just been evacuated, with a large squadron of cavalry; Trant instantly saluted him with a discharge from six pieces of artillery, worked so actively, that the enemy found it expedient to withdraw to a height overlooking the town, and out of reach of this serious annoyance. The river was not fordable when Montbrun arrived at Santa Clara, but, possessing the character of all mountain streams, it was likely to become so in the space of a few hours: this change did actually take place, but, as the French were indisposed to come within the range of Trant's artillery, they never discovered that the river had fallen so far. Trant and Wilson now gave all their attention to the defence of those fords, that must of necessity be soon created, and they caused their guns to be discharged occasionally, to keep terror alive amongst the enemy, and to inform the allies that they had not submitted. It was at this critical moment that the instructions, which certainly were but conditional, from Lord Wellington to Bacellar, desiring him "to look to Oporto," were delivered to

Trant. So good a soldier could not doubt his line of duty, and instantly obeying the orders of his commander-in-chief, he detached a body of the militia along the Milheada road, while he personally kept a steady eye fixed upon the bridge of Coimbra. Night passed silently away, and when light returned it only presented to the watchful gaze of Trant the prospect of a few dragoons posted on the heights of Santa Clara. Now satisfied that he had deceived the enemy, and that they had not succeeded in their real objects, he left the bridge to the charge of an inferior officer, with strict injunctions not to act upon any communication presented to him from the enemy, but to refer it forthwith to him; and, having thus provided for the safety of the place, he joined his little army, which he had halted in a convenient position. Trant had penetrated the enemy's real situation before Coimbra. Scarcely had he withdrawn, when Montbrun summoned the place to surrender, for the purpose of controlling the garrison which he found there on the 11th, and which he still believed to be in actual possession. The officer, in obedience to orders, referred the summons to Trant. This reference confirmed Montbrun in the erroneous belief that Coimbra was still strongly garrisoned; and he communicated this false impression to Massena on the 13th; in consequence of which that marshal relinquished all idea of crossing the Mondego, and decided upon retreating by the Ponte de Murcella; so that, when Lord Wellington came up, with the main body, near Condeixa, he found that the enemy were sending off their sick and their baggage by that route. Instantly comprehending the actual state of the enemy, that is, of both Montbrun and Massena, as well the able manœuvring of Trant, and seeing that he had pressed the French so closely that they had never been able to spare a detachment to drive him from Coimbra; his lordship marched the third division, under Picton, through a tract of difficult rocky mountains, to make a demonstration on the rear of the enemy's left flank, towards the only road open for their retreat: this movement had the immediate effect of dislodging the enemy

from the strong position of Condeixa, which they abandoned with considerable precipitation, and fell back several miles. The third division persevering, crossed the river at a dangerous pass the same evening, and took up a position within a mile of the enemy's rear-posts. Picton, the persecutor of Ney in this savage retreat, pursuing his success, and confident of still further advantages over his opponent, with the most determined bravery now got in advance of the enemy's left; and having frustrated all their calculations by his extraordinary activity, his appearance in that position threw their camp into the utmost confusion.

It was now time to put the fiendish orders of the Prince of Essling into execution; and the brave third division, who were in the act of preparing to engage with human beings, for the freedom of themselves and their allies, perceived the work of demons going forward at Condeixa, the whole town being in flames. The pillar of clouds that rose to heaven bore evidence of the wickedness of a particular people: how many churches, and palaces, and cottages, fell in with every flame that flashed upwards!—how many hopes of future happiness were dissipated by the torch, that the ruthless soldier in his vengeance had placed beneath the roofs! how many feeling hearts were broken, by the violation, and rapine, and murder, which the disciplined troops of Massena committed, under the influence of the darkest passion that disfigures humanity—vengeance! The smoke which the conflagration of Condeixa sent up was increased by that of numerous fires, which the enemy kindled as they passed along; and to impede the advance of the allies, which all the skill, courage, and bravery of Ney were unable to check sufficiently, large trees were felled and thrown across the way, and rocks were rolled down from the heights into the line of road. But the spirit of a pursuing army seems to acquire strength at every step, and the allies laughed at the childish impediments which French manipulatory skill had opposed to their progress: so keenly did they follow, and so completely did they surpass every difficulty, that Massena himself

narrowly escaped being made prisoner at Fonte Coberta, and probably owed his escape to his having taken his feather from his hat, and having made his way, in the confusion, through the light troops. Having compelled the enemy to evacuate Condeixa, and being now fully acquainted with their intended operations—operations to which Massena was restricted by the manœuvres of Wellington—a communication was opened between the allies and the garrison at Coimbra; and the British cavalry detached for that purpose succeeded in cutting off Montbrun's division, and making prisoners a squadron of his horse upon the road. The inhabitants of Coimbra were fortunately delivered, by Trant, from a scene of ruin and spoliation similar to that which had been enacted in the other towns on the line of retreat; for, orders had been issued to set it on fire. Wilson and Trant were now directed to move along the left bank of the Mondego, observe the enemy, and make prisoners of any detachments that ventured to cross.

The confusion in the enemy's army momentarily increased; the darkness of night, which was the opportunity always chosen by them to retreat to a new position, prevented the allies from perceiving their movements early enough to obstruct or overtake them, so that several divisions of the enemy, which had reached Fonte Coberta unperceived, stole away in like manner towards Miranda de Corvo. The noise attracted the notice of Major-General Erskine, who, concluding that it arose from the enemy's baggage moving off from their rear, put the light division in motion without further inquiry, at five o'clock on the morning of the fourteenth. The dense mist that rested on the heights, and fell sometimes down into the hollows, so completely obscured the movements and the masses of the enemy, that several of Erskine's officers ventured to remonstrate upon the imprudence of the blind warfare in which they were engaging, where courage would be lavished, and experience vain. But the commander was inexorable; the fifty-second were ordered to advance, without even the precaution of a vanguard, and, descending into a hollow, without being able to see more than one hundred yards before them, when the mists

ascended and unveiled the earth, the devoted regiment appeared on the front of the opposite mountain, engaged in fierce conflict with the main body of the enemy. They had, unconsciously, passed the enemy's rear-guard; and it is supposed that Ney narrowly escaped being captured by the pickets. At this crisis Wellington arrived, and, perceiving at a glance how the enemy were to be attacked, directed movements to be made on their flanks only. The light division commenced the assault by driving in the enemy's outposts: Major-General Cole was despatched towards Panella, to secure the passage of the Deixa, and preserve the communication with Espinhal, where Major-General Nightingall had been in observation of the movements of the enemy since the tenth, with instructions to fall on Regnier, and gain the sources of the Deixa and Ceira rivers. Picton was ordered to turn the enemy's left, and Pack's brigade, under Erskine, to turn their right. The enemy's front was assaulted by the sixth division and the light troops, commanded by Major-General Alexander Campbell. A brief, spirited, and firm resistance was offered; and the enemy seemed resolved to maintain the position of Casal Nova, until Picton and Cole, falling furiously on their left, at the same moment that the artillery arrived and commenced an awful fire upon their centre, Marshal Ney found that retreat was his only alternative. His first movements were orderly, and his division was skilfully covered in its retreat by the light troops, under his own personal direction; but the allies continuing to harass his rear during the whole of that day, and their guns getting within range of the enemy, confusion, disorder, and flight were the consequence.

The movements of the preceding ten days had obliged the enemy to abandon all the positions they had taken up successively in the mountains; and the *corps d'armée* composing the rear-guard, were flung back upon the main body, at Miranda de Corvo, upon the river Deixa, with considerable loss of killed, wounded, and prisoners. In the brilliant action of this day, the forty-third, fifty-second, and ninety-fifth regiments, as well as the third caçadores, acquired fresh laurels, and entitled

themselves to the marked praises of their general, and lasting gratitude of their country; and brave Picton maintained the old renown of the true Britons, from whom he was descended. These successes threw open the route to the allies, while it narrowed the enemy's line of retreat into the space included between the Mondego and the mountain-range. It compelled Massena to take the road by the Ponte da Murcella, by which he became exposed to the harassing attacks of the partisan troops, some of whom were a match for the best veterans in the regular armies of England or of France. Major-General Cole having effected a junction with Major-General Nightingall at Espinhal, on the afternoon of the eighteenth of March, and having by this union enabled the allies to pass the Deixa, and be in a condition to turn the strong position of Miranda da Corvo, Massena declined further effort to defend the position, and, escaping under the cover of night, crossed the river Ceira.

To facilitate flight, and to inflict a memorable vengeance on the inoffensive inhabitants, who were either so credulous as to confide in Massena's honour, or so pusillanimous as to submit to such remorseless tyrants, he caused the town of Miranda to be fired; and, driving the inhabitants before him, with a ferocity unparalleled in history, shot them on the way-side, when their services as guides were no longer required, in order that none might return who could inform the allies of their route, their destitution, or their indiscipline. The mode in which the French disencumbered themselves of everything that was inconvenient to carry along with them, indicated the most horrible refinement in cruelty; and the various and unfeeling processes by which they put the people to death, give evidence of a degree of inhumanity, which appears totally at variance with the character which the French nation maintains amongst the civilized kingdoms of Europe. All carriages that were not required, all ammunition and baggage that were found too heavy for rapid transport, were broken, burned, or destroyed, and the road was strewn thickly with the fragments of the different species of property which they had given to destruction. The fate of the poor mute animals excited sensations almost

more painful than the sufferings of human beings would have done; those useful, docile, faithful creatures, consisting of horses, mules, asses, oxen, according as they became exhausted in their laborious duty, were hamstrung, and left to perish from famine, by the masters whom they had served while their strength endured. Amongst the dying animals were interspersed the dead bodies of men and women, the late inhabitants of Miranda, who were shot according to the caprice or the pleasure of the ruffian army of Massena. Alcobaça and Batalha, the most revered temples of worship in Portugal, had been literally reduced to ashes, to gratify the caprice or the malice of this monster; and this cruel marshal, who had artfully reminded the Portuguese of the difference that existed between the creeds of Portugal and of England, proved incontestably his own infidelity, by his desecration of the tomb and the altar upon frequent occasions, and his assassination of the ministers of religion, whenever they dared to remonstrate against the sacrilegious conduct of his followers. As the allies closed upon the rear of the enemy, the most revolting spectacles were presented; numbers of mangled carcasses, of both sexes, lay scattered on every side, while the mortal enmity which the French had conceived for the whole order of the priesthood, was evinced by the cruel mode which they employed of putting them to death; this was, by impaling them by the throat on the sharpened branches of trees. Some of the statements advanced by British historians may excite the suspicion of foreign nations, and the high colouring which has been communicated to the narrative be ascribed, perchance, to prejudice; but those who witnessed the barbarities of the enemy on this retreat, and who then wrote a simple, hasty narrative of the deplorable scenes of havoc, of which they were unavoidably spectators, and whose unvarnished relations were written in discharge of the claims of friendship, bear testimony, but too convincing and incontrovertible, to the actual commission of the cruelties which are here described. In a private letter of General Picton to his friend Colonel Pleydel, written on the twenty-fourth of March, 1811, the following passage occurs:—

“Nothing can exceed the devastation and cruelties committed by the enemy during the whole course of his retreat; setting fire to all the villages, and murdering all the peasantry, for leagues on each flank of his columns. Their atrocities have been such and so numerous, that the name of a Frenchman must be execrated here for ages.” Picton has been selected from a crowd of witnesses to the fact of French ferocity, because he is universally acknowledged to have been a man of sterling honour, and of so brave a temperament, that his sketch of the appalling scene could neither have received strength or sustained weakness by any undue influence from the shocks of timidity.

Massena's apprehensions when he reached the Ceira, were increasing every moment: he too had political objects in view, and although nominally the general of a republic, possessed of full powers to reward and punish, and apparently a free agent, he was conscious that *de facto* he held his office by a more perilous and uncertain tenure than his adversary, who acknowledged the most entire allegiance to an established monarchical form of government. Hastening to seize one of the strong positions, which were numerous in that unequal country, on the right bank of the Ceira, having one corps as an advanced guard in front of Fons de Aronce, the difficulties of his situation induced Massena to confide the post of honour to a man of whom he was obviously jealous; but the superior genius of Ney pointed him out as the fittest, perhaps the only officer under Massena's command, who was capable of saving the fugitives from annihilation. Ney had but a few battalions entrusted to his orders, sufficient, however, for the purpose, as successful resistance was completely hopeless, and numbers might have impeded the quick and skilful manœuvres, by which alone he expected to deceive, check, and retard the pursuers. It cannot fail to add credit to the testimony of General Picton, which has been adduced in proof of the inhumanity of the enemy, to quote that officer's voluntary tribute to the military genius of Marshal Ney on the same occasion, given in the same private letter, and in the most unaffected and



confidential manner. "The enemy's rear-guard, during the whole course of the retreat, was commanded by Marshal Ney in person; and all his movements afforded a perfect lesson in that kind of warfare. Moving at all times on his flank, I had an opportunity of seeing everything he did: and I must be dull in the extreme, if I had not derived some practically useful knowledge from such an example."\* Massena had strictly prohibited Ney from venturing to attack the allies under any circumstances; but, conscious of his own discernment, he watched and waited for an opportunity of falling upon their advanced guard.

Lord Wellington having carefully examined the position of the enemy, now resolved upon attacking it. In the morning of that day Pack's brigade had been detached through the mountains, to turn the enemy's position at Miranda da Corvo, or any other they might take up on the south side of the Ceira: and now all arrangements being complete, the light division under Sir William Erskine, assisted by Pack's brigade, were directed to occupy the heights above Fons d'Aronce, and keep the enemy in play, while Picton's division was moved along the great road, to attack their left and the village. Simultaneous with these movements was the rapid advance of the horse-artillery under Captains Ross and Bull, which, coming up at full speed, wheeled round into line, established a battery on an eminence in the enemy's front, and commenced to play with the most unerring aim. Picton's division, fighting with that fury which has lastingly associated their fame with the brightest instances of fortitude in war, fell on Ney's left wing with irresistible violence, and drove it away before them, to the dismay of their gallant general, and the total discomfiture of his corps. Panic-stricken, and falling before Picton's fire, a flight was commenced towards the Ceira; but the enemy, missing the fords, numbers perished in the stream, which then was much swollen, and still greater numbers were shot upon the bridge, or crushed to death between the parapets by their companions. The confusion did not end even when they had

\* Life of Sir Thomas Picton. By H. B. Robinson.

passed the river; they continued their flight until night fell and shrouded them from their pursuers, in their consternation occasionally discharging their pieces, and firing unconsciously upon each other. The issue of the contest of Fons d'Aronce was ominous to the invading army: already had the name of Wellington struck terror to the hearts of this horde of plunderers, this military rabble, and it is supposed, that in the blindness of their extravagant fear, one column of the enemy blew up the bridge over the Ceira while another was actually upon it. Baggage, ammunition, and stores fell to the lot of the allies, and the light division, entering the enemy's bivouac, regaled themselves with the provisions which they found on the fires, and recovered those spoils which had been plundered from the peasantry whom the enemy so inhumanly assassinated. Ney's loss in this conflict is known to have exceeded five hundred men, an amount so large in proportion to the extent of the affair, that he felt acutely the dangerous consequences of the fact being published, and, during the night, he caused as many of the dead bodies as could be silently recovered, to be thrown into the stream, in order to conceal his true loss. This stratagem, however, was not successful, for many were thrown out, or just shown by the rapidity of the current, and others soon after rising to the surface, bore a melancholy confirmation of the horrible contrivance. Fortunately, such miserable means of deception were not required to prop up the spirits of the pursuers, the total loss on the part of the allies only amounting to four officers and sixty men; while their ambition was subsequently rewarded, in addition to the spoils found in the enemy's bivouac, by the discovery of an eagle in the bed of the river.

With a sullenness that arose from discontent and disappointment, at being subjected to the control of a commander to whom he conceived himself in every-way superior, Ney withstood the allies in direct opposition to orders; and, with the same disregard of any opinion differing from the offspring of his premeditated judgment, he remained on the left bank of the Ceira, while there appeared the least prospect of rescuing, or of relieving

but a single soldier. However deficient in obedience to superiors in command, he was inferior to no soldier of his age in military courage, or devotion to the service : he stood between his own army and the giant that pursued them, as long as his interruption would be endured, nor abandoned his object until he perceived the mighty man collecting his strength to strike a blow so heavy and unerring, that all resistance must prove vain ; then leaving the path of glory to those who had won it, he followed reluctantly in that of safety. The affair of Fons d'Aronce, however, enabled Massena to withdraw the distance of another march from his pursuers, which he accomplished during the night of the sixteenth, retiring behind the Alva.

A combination of circumstances rendered the continued pursuit of the enemy, after their disaster at Fons d'Aronce, unadvisable, if not totally impracticable ; these were, the destruction of the bridge, the fatigue which the troops had undergone for several days, and the total failure of supplies. On this subject the urgency of Lord Wellington and of Marshal Beresford was incessant ; but their advice was neglected, their solicitations treated with total indifference by the miserable government of Portugal : when the allies were about to advance in pursuit of Massena, the Portuguese troops had no provisions, nor were there means of conveying any to them ; they were to move through a country ravaged and exhausted by the enemy ; and it is literally true, that General Pack's brigade, and Colonel Ashworth's, had nothing to eat for four days, although constantly marching, or engaged with the enemy. Under these disgraceful circumstances, the only alternative remaining to Lord Wellington was, therefore, to supply the Portuguese troops, or to see them perish for want : preferring the latter, the supplies of his own army became exhausted, and he was necessitated to halt, till a supply came up sufficient to maintain his force, at least until the frontier of Spain should be reached. Having acted the part of a wise and humane commander, and shared the last ration with his fellow-soldiers, Lord Wellington addressed a remonstrance to the British envoy, not more remarkable for its spirit and wisdom, than

for the strain of manly and benevolent feeling which pervades it. After a severe censure upon the inhumanity of the regency, his lordship continued; "Among other good qualities which the army are said to possess, is that of being patient under privations in an extraordinary degree. But men cannot perform the labour of soldiers without food. Three of General Pack's brigade died of famine on their march, and above one hundred have fallen out from inanition, many of whom must have died from the same cause. The government neglected both establishments and troops, when they were on the Rio Mayor river, and neither are in a state in which they ought to be at the commencement of a campaign. The mules of the artillery are unable to draw the guns, for want of food, for any length of time; the baggage-mules of the army are nearly all dead of famine; and the drivers have neither been paid nor fed. This is the state of the army at the commencement of the campaign; and I see clearly, that unless the government should change their system, no remedy will be applied, and the whole burden of defending this country will fall on Great Britain. I have this day told General Pack and Colonel Ashworth, that, if they cannot procure food for their troops with the army, they must go to Coimbra or elsewhere, where they can, as I cannot bear to see and hear of brave soldiers dying for want of common care. One consequence, therefore, of omitting to feed the troops, will be to throw us again upon the defensive in this part of the country: another consequence also, which I seriously apprehend, is, that the British officers, serving with the Portuguese troops, will resign their situations: one of them spoke to me seriously upon the subject of the state of the troops this day, and declared his intention to resign if a remedy was not applied."

Like one to whom the whirlwind was a familiar atmosphere, Wellington seemed to prosper amidst innumerable difficulties: hitherto he had detained a number of transports in the Tagus, in order to secure the escape of the British from Portugal; he now no longer considered such precaution requisite, and sent many of those vessels home. The detention of this little fleet

had never been in accordance with the private, personal feeling of the commander-in-chief; and, having uniformly asserted that he should not stand in need of such a refuge, the minister had urged him to dispense with its attendance earlier; but, the alarmists declared that the fleet was the sole remaining hope for the preservation of our army, therefore, by detaining the transports, Wellington drowned the cry of the opposition, and so far he supported those statesmen who anxiously desired to continue him at the head of the army. The ministers were alarmed at the expense of retaining so many transport vessels in the service, but were totally unconscious, that by so doing Wellington disarmed their enemies, the opposition, of the only destructive weapon they were enabled to wield. On the twentieth of March Lord Wellington gave directions that the baggage of the infantry and cavalry should be removed into one transport, that the ships fitted for the conveyance of troops, besides coppered vessels having accommodation for three thousand infantry and three hundred cavalry, all the hospital ships and baggage ships, should be detained in the Tagus. He recommended the immediate return of the squadron under Sir Thomas Williams, in addition to twenty-five transports, with the attendance of which he then dispensed.

Lord Wellington's political and military attitude was every hour becoming more commanding: French invincibility was no longer spoken of when he was opposed to them: Ney, "the bravest of the brave," was beaten, routed, by the soldiers to whom Wellington had taught the military art, while "the spoiled child of victory" was totally foiled by the endless stratagems and able manœuvring of the British hero. Almost without the loss of a man, he compelled Massena to shift his position "from black to white," and skilfully kept him everlastingly in check, until, wearied, worn out, and with "withers wrung," he confessed his infirmity, and withdrew from the grand contest. When the advocates of cruelty, injustice, and misrule in England, were no longer able to delude the public by attempts to depreciate the genius of Wellington, and asperse the cause of the Peninsular war, they were base enough to

eulogize the ability of the French marshals, who were flying before our troops, while the bravery and strategy of our officers were passed over in silence. The Morning Chronicle informed the nation, "that Massena's retreat was covered by Ney, and our most experienced officers say, that it was conducted with a skill and ability that made it quite a lesson in tactics to every military eye." Had this high praise been accompanied with one encouraging word to our own brave fellows, who drove this "spirit of the fight" before them, it had been generous; or with an implication that those who vanquished did not need their eulogy, it had been just: but emanating from the uncompromising literary opponents of Lord Wellington, it was partial, ungracious, and mischievous. At the period of Wellington's most active pursuit, his force was much inferior to that of the enemy: perceiving that Massena would not accept battle on the only terms which he would propose, he detached a strong brigade to the Alemtejos from Condeixa, and strengthened that force by a second detachment soon after, which he designed should aid Beresford in an attempt to recover Badajoz. These drafts reduced the pursuing army below twenty-five thousand effective troops; but General Cole's route was so judiciously chosen, that, in moving on the Tagus to join Beresford, he threatened the enemy's flank at the same moment; while a parallel movement of Trant and Wilson guarded the Mondego, and intercepted all communication with Oporto.

While prosperity marked the progress of Wellington's arms in Portugal, dark and heavily-charged clouds were observed in the political and military horizon of Spanish affairs. After the fall of Badajoz, the enemy under Mortier moved, on the fourteenth, towards Campo Mayor, and broke ground before that place. It had been given over to the charge of Romana, at his own request, in the year 1810, but at this date the Spanish garrison had been first weakened, and then withdrawn, in a manner that was neither satisfactory to Lord Wellington, nor consistent with the honourable engagement to defend the place into which Romana had entered. A Portuguese force

was, however, thrown into it, and although it was a place of no strength, it was expected that they might defend it until Marshal Beresford, who was near Portalegre, should come to its relief. Intelligence also reached the head-quarters of the allies, that an Imperial decree had been published, appointing Marshal Bessieres to command in the sixth government of Spain, which included, with Castile, all the northern provinces. The troops allotted to this general were not, with the exception of the Imperial guard, which had been in Spain for more than a year, very efficient or disposable, but upwards of seven thousand men were then collected at Zamora. This force was destined to make an irruption into Galicia, and fall suddenly upon a body of sixteen thousand men under General Metz, on whom, as Lord Wellington placed no reliance, he calculated that the province of Galicia would be immediately overrun by the enemy. All these gloomy anticipations were added to the unpropitious prospect of future co-operation from the Spaniards, which the treachery of Inaz at Badajos, and of La Pena at Barrosa, had occasioned. Much inconvenience was also created by the vanity and misconduct of the Spaniards towards the Portuguese army under the command of Wellington. Pretending to express the most ineffable contempt for every individual of that nation, the lowly muleteers of Spain absolutely refused to become the carriers of Portuguese stores, or to convey the Portuguese sick and wounded, but, with a reprehensible want of charity, declared that Providence had established an obvious distinction in favour of the Spanish nation. This feeling of contempt could not be overcome, and the only mode of counteracting its mischievous consequences was, by concealing from the muleteers the precise nature of the engagement on which they entered, and by merging all distinction between the supplies for British and Portuguese, as the Spanish muleteers constituted the only means of transport then at the command of the British general.

The French withdrew their rear-guard from the river Ceira on the evening of the sixteenth, and the allies crossed that river and resumed the pursuit on the seventeenth. The light



division had passed through the river at considerable risk, and the remainder of the army crossed by a trestle bridge, which the staff corps, with amazing activity, had constructed on the morning of the seventeenth. The allies now had their posts on the Serra de Murcella, while the enemy took up a new and strong position on the right bank of the Alva. Under the cover of night, a part of their army had moved on towards the frontier, but a strong force continued to occupy the position behind the Alva, on the Sierra de Moita, having, by means of the very same mines which the British had formed for precisely the same object during their retreat in autumn 1810, blown up the Ponte de Murcella, and Ponte de Pombeira. They had intended to make a halt in this position, for the prisoners that were brought in all agreed in stating that the foraging parties which Massena had sent towards the Mondego, were all under orders to return to the banks of the Alva. This object, however, they were unable to accomplish, for the first, third, and fifth divisions of the allies, with the most unparalleled activity, passed over the Serra Sta. Quiteria, and succeeded in turning the enemy's left, while the light division manœuvred in their front, from the Serra de Murcella. These movements induced Massena to recall the troops which had marched the preceding night, while he withdrew cautiously the corps that was in position on the Alva, and at evening the whole of the enemy's force was assembled upon Moita, the advanced posts of the allies' right being near Arganil, and of their left across the Alva.

The enemy reluctantly abandoned Moita on the eighteenth, continuing their retreat with the utmost rapidity; on the day following, the allies occupied that position. Wilson and Trant watched them so closely from Fornos, that all escape in that direction was impracticable, and expedition was so necessary, that they were now obliged to abandon much of their stores; they destroyed many carriages and cannon, and whatever else was likely to retard the rapidity of their flight, and left numbers of prisoners to fall into the hands of the pursuers. Foraging parties, which had been detached towards the



Mondego, encountered the opposition of Wilson, who with his wonted bravery rode out against them, slew many, took numbers, and compelled the remainder to seek safety by flight, having abandoned the whole collection of plunder with which they were laden. The peasantry in some instances co-operated with the allies, nor tamely submitted to the cruelties of the French: but their efforts were ineffectual, or led to the infliction of still greater cruelties upon themselves, which vengeance prompted. Manteigas, a little town in the fastnesses of the Serra de Estrella, was fixed on as an asylum by the peasantry, and thither they conveyed their wives, their families, and valuables. The French, with their keen perception of the locality of plunder, discovered this retreat, and, assaulting it with violence, destroyed its defenders, and seized on everything which the place contained. "The officers carried off the most beautiful women, the rest were given up to the mercy of the men as brutal as their leaders: but everywhere the naked bodies of the straggling and wounded, which the English found upon the way, showed well what vengeance these most injured people had taken upon their unprovoked and inhuman enemies. In one place a party of them was surprised in a church digging the dead out of their graves in search of plunder."

From Moita, Massena redoubled his speed, as if by abandoning Portugal he would at the same time be enabled to shake off the weight of his enemies, that not only hung, but pressed upon him: he had pursued and tortured his victims in the preceding year, but, not being able to crush them, they had, during the torpor of a winter's encampment, acquired renovated strength, and now assaulted their persecutors with vigour, courage, and vengeance. On the twentieth, the flying foe was pursued most actively through Penhacos by the cavalry and Erskine's light division, supported in part by the militia on the Mondego; and the entire success of Lord Wellington's combinations had convinced Massena, that the evacuation of Portugal was the only chance then left him of escaping from the deadly grasp of the British chieftain. Having out-marched his supplies, Wellington was obliged to

halt the remainder of his army until the arrival of those which had been sent round from the Tagus to the Mondego. This halt was the more desirable, as nothing could be found in the country ; every day's march increasing the distance from the magazine on the Tagus, rendered the supply of the troops more difficult and precarious. What the enemy had not consumed or destroyed, the inhabitants had escaped with to some place of secrecy in the mountains, so that destitution of every sort was here complete. "The inhabitants of one little village, men and women alike, were found dead or dying in the street, their ears and noses being cut off, and otherwise mangled in a manner not to be described." The horror and indignation of the allies were raised to the highest pitch by this dreadful sight ; and the advanced guard coming up with some hundreds of the guilty troops, whose retreat had been impeded by the premature destruction of a bridge, gave them as little quarter as they deserved." On the twenty-first, the French main-body reached Celerico, and opened a communication with Almeida, while Regnier with the second corps retiring through Gouvea, and over the Estrella mountains, entered Guarda. This remarkable and picturesque town occupies a table-land on the summit of one of the Estrella peaks, and is supposed to stand on the most elevated site of any city in Europe. It is approached by a spiral line of road, wide enough to admit two carriages abreast, and sometimes passing along the edge of a steep precipice, whose front is clothed with lofty pines. This station was the Mons Herminius of the Roman empire, and the Guarda, a watch-tower, was erected by Sancho I. in the earliest age of the monarchy.

The narrative of the pursuit may be for a moment suspended, while the main body of the allies is halted at Moita, and Massena pent up in the lofty citadel of Guarda—permitting some few facts of personal feeling, relative to the opposing generals, to be briefly noticed. At Gouvea, a note was received by Lord Wellington, from the secretary of state, containing an abstract of the military operations in Portugal, drawn up for the use of his majesty's ministers by Colonel Bunbury, against which

his lordship felt, that he had just grounds for remonstrance. The British and Portuguese force had been, in this statement, very much overrated, no allowance having been made for the sick, prisoners of war, on duty in garrisons, or on command at Lisbon; and, as in stating the French force opposed to the allies, the return mentioned only the effectives in the field, it gave those to whom the contents were communicated, an erroneous notion of the comparative strength of the contending armies. Besides, in estimating the cavalry, the number of men, instead of the number of horses, had been reckoned. At such a crisis in the Peninsular war, and in such of state of parties as then existed in England, this return was dangerous. It would necessarily contribute to dishearten our allies by implying that we had done but little with so great a force, and would give the opposition journals a pretext for arraigning the extravagance of ministers, and inability of their favourite general. "Just to show," said, Lord Wellington, "how this mode of statement alters the relative strength of the contending armies, I mention, that in April 1810, Junot's return of the eighth corps was twenty-five thousand nine-hundred effective men. The total was thirty-eight thousand. Ney's corps was above forty-thousand total, the effective not more than thirty-one thousand: their returns of July were nearly the same, or rather more. The two together are called in the abstract fifty-seven thousand in July, which they were under arms; but, our total against them would have given us an equal army, whereas, I never had, British and Portuguese, thirty-two thousand in Beira. The Portuguese regulars in July are called forty thousand, including four thousand cavalry, and the British thirty-two thousand, and the militia forty-five thousand: there never were more than twenty-five thousand militia under arms, and of these seven thousand have been absent at the same time without leave. In the same manner the totals were stated for the effectives in the month of October." This remonstrance protected his lordship for a while from further assault upon his abilities and private feelings, by wresting a weapon from the hands of his enemies; and the retreat of Massena being no

longer disputable, the superiority of Wellington as a tactician, and man of high mental endowments, acquiring daily recognition in England, on the twenty-fourth day of March, several of those officers, who had on various pretexts retired from the Peninsula, hastened to the sea-side to embark, and return to the army. At Plymouth, Sir Charles Cotton, Captains Cox, Dudley, and Ross were received on board the *Scaflower*, just about to sail for Lisbon: Major-General the Hon. C. Stewart, Major-General Anson, Brigadier-General Craufurd, embarked on board the *Elizabeth*, of seventy-four guns, commanded by Captain Leveson Gower; and the Marquess of Tweeddale returned to Portugal with despatches in the same ship.

The movements of his own army solely did not occupy the attention of Wellington; his eye ranged over the wide-spread battle-field, and his mind and his memory comprehended a multitude of political and military operations all over Europe. The operations of the corps under Beresford were too near, however, to escape his careful observation; and when the gallant thirteenth dragoons, with that manly spirit that characterizes the youth of England, made a rash charge at Badajos, the commander-in-chief immediately reproved their conduct, in an order that presents a most happy compound of kindness and severity. "I wish," said his lordship to General Beresford, "you would call together the officers of the dragoons, and point out to them the mischiefs that must result from the disorder of the troops in action. The undisciplined ardour of the thirteenth dragoons, and first regiment of Portuguese cavalry, is not of the description of the determined bravery and steadiness of soldiers confident in their discipline and in their officers. Their conduct was that of a rabble galloping as fast as their horses could carry them over a plain, after an enemy to whom they could do no mischief when they were broken and the pursuit had continued for a limited distance; and sacrificing substantial advantages, and all the objects of your operation, by their want of discipline. To this description of their conduct, I add my entire conviction, that if the enemy

could have thrown out of Badajos only one hundred men regularly formed, they would have driven back these two regiments in equal haste and disorder, and would probably have taken many whose horses had been knocked-up. If the thirteenth dragoons are again guilty of this conduct, I shall take their horses from them, and send the officers and men to do duty at Lisbon." A variety of other subjects not immediately connected with the grand object of the expedition, obtained the anxious advocacy of Wellington: such as, the maintenance of the Portuguese troops by their own country or government; the establishment of hospitals; the expounding of matters of finance, for the better guidance of Lord Liverpool and the people of England: he also applied to the secretary for a supply of bullock-trappings for the faster moving of his artillery, and earnestly begged that the minister would give early attention to the deplorable want of shoes, under which both the British and the Portuguese then suffered. He suggested that in addition to the supply of shoes, one hundred thousand pairs of soles and heels should be sent at the same time. Now also, Lord Palmerston, the secretary-at-war, addressed a caution to his lordship against the payment of extra-bounty to deserters, and received such a reply as totally exonerated the commander-in-chief, and threw whatever blame did exist, upon the secretary's too great credulity, the information on which he acted proving totally unfounded. "I have to inform your lordship," writes Lord Wellington, "that the German legion were never authorized by me to give any bounty to any recruit on enlistment, beyond that stated in the letter of the deputy-adjutant-general. The object of the different orders from the secretary of state was to encourage desertion, with which the king's German legion had nothing to do. It was my business to encourage soldiers to desert from the enemy by every means in my power, under the orders from the secretary of state; and that of the commanding officer of the German legion, to enlist such men as chose to enlist in that corps, under similar orders, upon a bounty of four guineas, which was never altered."

These annoyances bore but a small proportion to the multitude with which the British commander was continually assailed, as a consequence and natural penalty of the elevated position in the history of mankind, to which he was daily and deservedly progressing; and it must have proved some consolation to his injured feelings, that while he, notwithstanding such multiplied impediments, advanced towards the goal of his ambition, his great rival, although less distracted by political strife, had been wholly unable to resist the combinations which he had formed for his discomfiture. At Guarda, Massena contemplated repose, and deemed it certain that the calm, cautious soldier who led the allies, would never venture on so hazardous an enterprise as that of assaulting the French eagle in his high-enthroned eyry; but it will presently be seen how totally Massena had mistaken his adversary, and how endless the resources, and boundless the daring, of the illustrious warrior before whom he fled. Guarda was, in many respects, a desirable position to the enemy; while he held that fortalice Massena might declare, after the manner of his countrymen, that he still occupied Portugal, and in this way elude the disgrace of being driven from that kingdom by the very army which he promised to drive into the sea; but, should he once cross the frontier, the command of the invading army was no longer his sole duty, the northern provinces being just placed under Bessieres' control. To evade these accumulating disappointments Massena opened a communication with Almeida, in order to establish there his hospital, and to deposit, permanently, those encumbrances that must have inconvenienced an army whose position was likely to be moveable. He also contemplated crossing the Sierra de Estrella, moving on Sabugal, and ultimately establishing a communication with the army of the south under the Duke of Dalmatia. But fortune had long since thrown off all care of her "spoiled child," and, in addition to the continuous pursuit of the enemy, Massena had now to contend with disobedience and mutiny in his own camp. Ney had always felt uneasy in this service, and exhibited an open contempt for the abilities of his commanding officer. The

contagion of his example affected the submission of Junôt, Regnier, and Montbrun, and, without knowing precisely their individual objects, they all agreed to censure the movements of Massena. The conduct of Ney, in abandoning the position of Condeixa, excited the indignation of the Prince of Essling, and remonstrance not only proved ineffectual, but led to an open rupture between these marshals, Ney having led his troops in a direction exactly contrary to that which he had been ordered. This decisive step left to Massena no other alternative than that of instantly depriving him of his command, placing him under arrest, and giving the sixth corps to Loisson. The disobedience of Ney had totally disarranged all Massena's plans—the movement on Elga could now be no longer thought of, and it only remained for him to hold resolutely his elevated position, which he conceived impregnable to the best efforts and ablest measures of Wellington. Provisions sufficient for a week, had been collected along the valleys in the Sierra de Estrella, and never was a commander more confident of ultimate success, than Massena was of his being able to maintain his quarters for eight days at least.

The opening of the second Portuguese war should have taught Massena that Wellington was as active as wary; Soult, himself a splendid soldier, had been surprised in one of the most secure positions ever occupied by an army; and the passage of the Douro, and Soult's precipitate flight from Oporto, are amongst the most unequivocal evidences of Wellington's courage and foresight. Deriving no benefit from experience, Massena rested in Guarda, careless of any combinations of his adversary; the allies, however, were following as speedily as the arrival of rations permitted, and, on the twenty-eighth, being collected in front of Celerico, a patrol under Colonel Ramsey cut off a detachment of the enemy at Avelans, while a party of the ninety-fifth obliged the French to retire from Freixadas; not, unhappily, before Major Stewart of that gallant regiment was killed. The dreams of security in which Massena indulged were, however, all dissipated on the morning of the twenty-ninth, when he beheld the allied army, in five

dense columns, ascending, by as many different approaches, to the citadel on the summit. The determination, the gallantry, the genius, the fortune of Wellington, became suddenly personified to the mind of Massena, and, after the example of his brave countrymen, he did not hesitate for an instant as to his future course, but retired upon Sabugal without firing a shot. Had he lived long enough to read a dispassionate history of those events, how much reason would he have had to commend his own prompt and prudent retreat; finding that the resolute ranks, that assaulted his almost impregnable position, were led by men of the most determined bravery; that Picton, Erskine, and Campbell were at the head of the British columns, and those indomitable spirits, Wilson and Trant, covered the movement at Alverça against any attempt on that side, and intercepting his communication with Almeida; it would appear that resistance would have been worse than vain—perhaps wholly ruinous. The main army of the allies did not pursue the enemy, that duty being again committed to the cavalry; but on the following day, Erskine fell on the rear of Regnier's division, on its march from Belmonte to the Coa to join Massena, and killed several of them. After this disgrace the enemy took a position on the upper Coa, having his right at Rovina, and guarding the post of Rapoula de Coa, with a detachment at the bridge of Ferreiras below that of Sequeiros, his left being at Sabugal, and the eighth corps at Alfayates. Having thus manœuvred the enemy out of Guarda, on the first of April the allies descended from the summit of the mountain to the Coa, and their right taking up a position opposite Sabugal, the left being at the bridge of Ferreiras, Trant and Wilson crossed the river below Almeida, and threatened the enemy's communication with that place, as well as with Ciudad Rodrigo. The Coa is a river difficult of access throughout its whole course, and the position the enemy had taken upon it was approachable only by its left. Lord Wellington on the third of April put the troops in motion, with a view to turn the enemy's left above Sabugal, and force the passage of the bridge and town. It was also intended to turn the left



of the second corps, which had their right upon a height immediately above the bridge, and their left extending along the road to Alfayates : and to effect this object, Erskine and Slade, with the light division and the cavalry, were directed to cross the Coa by two separate fords upon the right ; Picton and the third division, at a ford about one mile above the town ; and the fifth division, under Dunlop, with the artillery, at the bridge of Sabugal. Had this plan been successful, it is highly probable that Regnier and the whole of his corps would have been cut off, surrounded, and made prisoners ; but an accident, against which human foresight could not have provided, frustrated the attempt, and saved Regnier from captivity, but not from defeat. Beckwith was the first to cross the Coa, upon the right of the enemy : then the ninety-fifth and Elder's caçadores drove in their pickets, in which they were nobly supported by the forty-third regiment, under Major Patrickson. At this moment a rain-storm came on, which rendered it impossible for the allies to see for any distance before them ; and the troops that had crossed, pushing on eagerly in pursuit of the enemy's pickets, came upon the whole of Regnier's corps, consisting of twelve thousand infantry, supported by cavalry and artillery, the left of which force Beckwith intended to have turned. The riflemen reached the crown of the hill, but were soon driven back upon the forty-third ; and now the storm abating, and the mists clearing away, the enemy perceived that the body which had advanced against him was not strong enough for a direct assault, and prepared to attack it in a solid column, supported by cavalry and artillery. If fortune had been unkind to Beckwith in the first operations of the day, by enveloping his army in mists, and leading him into imminent danger, the same providence had given him a heart so firm, and a mind so resolute, that new plans were instantly conceived, and those in the face of an enemy infinitely his superior in numbers, position, and military means. Totally undaunted, Beckwith dashed in upon Regnier's dense column and forced it back some distance ; but, being attacked on the flanks by a fresh column and a party of hussars, he was obliged to retrace his

ground. Fortunately for the allied advance, the great masses of Regnier's corps were lodged on the low ground, for convenience of water, so that when summoned to action they had to encounter the ascent of a steep hill amidst a storm of musketry. This movement was performed in a style worthy of the military renown of the French, and was attended with partial success ; but the extraordinary presence of mind of Captain Hopkins, of the forty-third, baffled their further attempts, and checked the approach of such numbers as would have rendered the issue of the contest doubtful if not different. Suddenly seizing a projecting height, that commanded the line of ascent by which the French were advancing, and which was close to the enemy's guns, he poured down so sharp a fire upon their flank, as threw them at once into confusion ; thrice was this destructive volley repeated, and with equal effect, by which time part of the fifty-second came up to his assistance. Hopkins immediately rushed down with impetuosity upon the party, and compelled them to retreat. " Meanwhile the centre and the left of the forty-third were furiously engaged, and wonderfully excited ; for Beckwith, wounded in the head, and with the blood streaming down his face, rode amongst the foremost of the skirmishers, directing all with ability, and praising the men in a loud cheerful tone." Never was greater gallantry displayed than that of the British advanced guard on this occasion, and a most frightful havoc of the enemy would have followed, for the fifty-second had taken the howitzer with which they had been principally annoyed, but for the arrival of a fresh column of the enemy on their left, aided by a body of hussars, which charged their right, and compelled them to retire before this superior force. The skirmishers took post behind a wall, and there, under a heavy fire of grape, canister, and musketry, formed again : a squadron of the enemy's horse rode up to the screen, and just raised their pistols to fire over it, when a volley of musketry prostrated almost the whole of the party. Issuing from their cover, the British skirmishers again repulsed the enemy, not, however, without a second terrific struggle for the possession of the howitzer. This memorable implement of

destruction became at once an object of the most violent hatred and highest ambition ; it was the final resolution of one party to wrest it from its owners, or fall before it ; of the other, to retain it for their utter destruction. British bravery triumphed, for although the howitzer stood some short distance from the wall, and within a few yards of the French, not a single man could reach it alive—so steady, so unerring was the fire of the forty-third. There it stood on the brow of the hill, guarded by death, whom many a brave soldier had fatally encountered, until the skirmishers issuing again from behind their concealment, renewed the conflict. They had been joined by two battalions of the fifty-second, and the first caçadores, so that the small detachments which Regnier had economically sent to assist his rear-guard, did not much alter the relative strength of the combatants, and victory again declared for the British.

Irritated at the frequent frustration of his attempts to reinforce the rear-guard, and well aware of the disheartening fact, that it was by superior numbers alone he could have repulsed the British ; Regnier (too late, however,) commenced more skilful arrangements, and bringing together a body of six thousand infantry, supported by cavalry and artillery, he commenced a forward movement towards the height, having actually pushed on one column so as to outflank the left of the division. His last movement should have been his first, and the moment when it might have been available had passed away : now his first step was checked by a tremendous volley from General Colville's brigade, while Dunlop's column crossing the Coa, ascended the heights on the enemy's right flank, and the allied cavalry appeared on the high ground in rear of their left. This movement of the allies was conclusive, and Regnier perceiving the absolute necessity for retreat, retired across the hills towards Rendo, "leaving the howitzer in the possession of those who had so nobly won it : " from Rendo he fell back, together with the sixth corps, upon Alfayates, pursued hotly by the British cavalry. The loss of the allies in this bloody encounter, which did not last quite an hour, was nearly two hundred killed and wounded, that of the enemy was enormous.

Three hundred dead bodies were heaped together on the hill, the greatest part round the captured howitzer, and more than twelve hundred were wounded. "The disproportion in the number of the slain on each side has been attributed to the heavy rain, which gave the French only a partial view of the British; and also to the thick wood which ended near the top of the hill, leaving an open and exposed space upon which the enemy mounted after the first attack;" but an impartial examination of the accounts given by both parties, ascribes the result of this brief but bloody conflict to the unskilfulness of Regnier in handling masses of men, and to the true and constant fire of the British soldiers. This opinion is supported by the following passage in Lord Wellington's despatch of the ninth of April, containing the particulars of the combat of Sabugal. "Although the operations of this day were, by unavoidable accidents, not performed in the manner in which I intended they should be, I consider the action that was fought by the light division, by Colonel Beckwith's brigade principally with the whole of the second corps, *to be one of the most glorious that British troops were ever engaged in.*"

Continuing their flight from Sabugal during the night and the next morning, the enemy crossed the Spanish frontier on the fourth of April, and, although they seemed to attribute a species of charm to Spanish land, they never rested for an hour until the eighth, when the rear-guard crossed the Agueda. There was not now a Frenchman in Portugal, with the exception of those that formed the garrison of Almeida; and, to terrify them, the gallant little force under Trant and Wilson was detached: crossing at Cinco Villas the Coa rose rapidly in their rear, so that retreat was thereby completely cut off, and, at that moment Brenier, an experienced and brave officer, to whom the governorship of the fort was committed, would have sallied out, and attempted the destruction of the party; but Regnier, less confident than before the affair at Sabugal, hesitated, and it was during these moments of indecision that Lord Wellington had sent forward six squadrons of cavalry, under Sir W. Erskine, to reconnoitre the neighbourhood, and interrupt communication with the garrison. Finding a division

of the ninth corps at Junça, Erskine drove them across the Turon and Dos Casas, and took many prisoners. Whatever offensive movements Regnier meditated, were dissipated by the sounds of Bull's artillery, that came booming across the plain, and awoke the most horrible recollections of days just past; then forming his men into squares, and recovering the perfect discipline of the Imperial army, he withdrew calmly by the Barba del Puerco upon Ciudad Rodrigo.

The invasion of Portugal was now terminated, in a manner that was contrary to the vain vaunts of the French, to the suspicions and fears of the Spaniards and Portuguese, to the unnatural discouragements of the alarmists at home; but every single movement by which it was effected had been designed arranged, executed, according to the almost miraculous pre-science of the British commander. Wellington was looked upon by the French as a fortunate general—Massena, the favourite of that goddess, was sent against him: he was next discovered to be a consummate leader—Ney, the bravest and best soldier in the Imperial army, was associated in the command: and that he might be fully opposed in every quality of mind, requisite to constitute a resolute, skilful, and able officer—Marshal Soult was placed within Massena's call. But to all these combinations the British general proved himself superior: Soult was compelled to fly before Wellington by the first grand movement of the campaign; the last was, the total expulsion of Massena from Portugal.

It cannot be pleaded that Wellington was seconded in his Peninsular campaigns by the inhabitants; the agonies and sufferings of the people might have worked upon the manly and compassionate mind of the hero, and urged him to hasten the expulsion of their remorseless enemies; but, in Spain he was actually deceived by his allies; in Portugal, having first made soldiers of them, he was then left to feed them; so that his allies, in both cases, were not wholly free from the name and nature of an incumbrance. With these and a multitude of minor obstacles which arose every hour (and could only be repressed by the bold and dignified manner of the hero) to contend with, he yet completed the conquest of Portugal, and retorted upon

the Prince of Essling, his oft-repeated promise, "that the English should, before three months from the date of the invasion, be driven into the sea." Lord Holland had declared his readiness to believe that the Peninsula might be rescued from the French, if some great master-spirit in the art of war should arise, whose mighty genius and comprehensive plans would overwhelm Napoleon and his generals, but he regretted, at the commencement of 1811, that he saw no prospect of any genius of that sort arising amongst his countrymen. His lordship, however, is not a solitary instance of a false prophet, amongst the members of both Houses of Parliament, as to the issue of that momentous struggle, yet he possessed an advantage over some of his contemporary alarmists, in having secured to himself the reputation of sincerity, whence want of discernment appeared to be his only failing, while others have since proved themselves to have been deficient in both.

The glory of Torres Vedras might have been dimmed by the frowns of fortune—and the author of those great military calculations might have been deceived—nor was their value to the salvation of Portugal understood, felt, or appreciated, until the starving army of Massena began to fall back upon the frontier of the neighbouring kingdom. Then it was that the greatness, the grandeur, the military glory of Wellington shone forth with undiminished brightness; then Portugal understood that the few, in such cases, must inevitably fall to save the many; that evils must be endured, that good may follow; that patience under their sufferings was less noble than the military fortitude of the brave men who bled, for the inactive, in the field of battle. While the country of Portugal was visited with this useful, this happy feeling as to the services of the great man at the head of the combined forces, with his usual considerateness and exact knowledge in the appropriation of measures, Lord Wellington issued a proclamation, in which his own immortal services, with a degree of modesty never exceeded, are passed over in silence, and the details of the enemy's expulsion, along with a warning against the consequences of their return, given officially to the nation.

Proclamation of Lord Wellington to the people of Portugal, issued on the tenth of April, 1811.

“The Portuguese nation are informed that the cruel enemy who had invaded Portugal, and had devastated their country, have been obliged to evacuate it, after suffering great losses, and have retired across the Agueda. The inhabitants of the country are therefore at liberty to return to their occupations.

“The Marshal-General refers them to the proclamation which he addressed to them in August last, a copy of which will accompany this proclamation. The Portuguese nation now know by experience that the Marshal-General was not mistaken either in the nature or the amount of the evil with which they were threatened, or respecting the only remedies to avoid it; namely, decided and determined resistance, or removal and the concealment of all property, and every thing which could tend to the subsistence of the enemy, or facilitate his progress.

“Nearly four years have now elapsed since the tyrant of Europe invaded Portugal with a powerful army. The cause of this invasion was not self-defence; it was not to seek revenge for insults offered, or injuries done by the benevolent sovereign of this kingdom; it was not even the ambitious desire of augmenting his own political power, as the Portuguese government had, without resistance, yielded to all the demands of the tyrant; but the object was the insatiable desire of plunder, the wish to disturb the tranquillity, and to enjoy the riches of a people who had passed nearly half a century in peace. The same desire occasioned the invasion of the northern provinces of Portugal in 1809, and the same want of plunder the invasion in 1810, now happily defeated; and the Marshal-General appeals to the experience of those who have been witnesses of the conduct of the French army during these three invasions, whether confiscation, plunder, and outrage are not the sole objects of their attention, from the general down to the soldier.—Those countries which have submitted to the tyranny, have not been better treated than those which have resisted. The inhabitants have lost all their

possessions, their families have been dishonoured, their laws overturned, their religion destroyed, and, above all, they have deprived themselves of the honour of that manly resistance to the oppressor, of which the people of Portugal have given so signal and so successful an example.

“The Marshal-General, however, considers it his duty, in announcing the intelligence of the result of the last invasion, to warn the people of Portugal, that, although the danger is removed, it is not entirely gone by. They have something to lose, and the tyrant will endeavour to plunder them: they are happy under the mild government of a beneficent sovereign; and he will endeavour to destroy their happiness: they have successfully resisted him, and he will endeavour to force them to submit to his iron yoke. They should be unremitting in their preparations for decided and steady resistance; those capable of bearing arms should learn the use of them; or those whose age or sex renders them unfit to bear arms, should fix upon places of security and concealment, and should make all the arrangements for their easy removal to them when the moment of danger shall approach. Valuable property, which tempts the avarice of the tyrant and his followers, and is the great object of their invasion, should be carefully buried beforehand; each individual concealing his own, and thus not trusting to the weakness of others to keep a secret in which they may not be interested.

“Measures should be taken to conceal or destroy provisions which cannot be removed, and every thing which can tend to facilitate the enemy’s progress: for this may be depended upon, that the enemy’s troops seize upon every thing, and leave nothing for the owner.

“By these measures, whatever may be the superiority of numbers with which the desire of plunder and of revenge may induce, and his power may enable, the tyrant again to invade this country, the result will be certain, and the independence of Portugal, and the happiness of its inhabitants, will be finally established to their eternal honour.”

“WELLINGTON.”



An opportunity is now presented, without breaking too suddenly the thread of our narrative, of noticing those events in England that were closely, politically, almost personally connected with the conduct of Lord Wellington in the campaign of 1811. The news of Massena's dishonour, the firm, the eternal establishment of Wellington's military pre-eminence, as a soldier who had actually manœuvred the best marshals of Napoleon out of the possession of Portugal, had not reached the shores of England, and this dilatoriness of Fame prolonged the rancorous existence of the alarmists for a few brief days. On the twenty-first of March, while every word that fell from the pallid lips of his public slanderers was actually receiving a practical contradiction, by the complete success of Wellington's wise combinations, the Peninsular war was again made the subject of debate in the British parliament.

On the 12th of March 1811, the chancellor of the exchequer brought up a message from the prince regent, asking for such further aid and assistance to the Portuguese government, as would enable it to continue the contest in which England was engaged, which was, in the usual way, referred to the committee of supply. On the twenty-first of the same month, the Marquis Wellesley rose to move an address to his royal highness on the occasion. His lordship stated "that they all knew and felt that the present moment was the very crisis of the fortunes of our magnanimous ally: she was in the very zenith of her exertions, co-operating with us against the common enemy: and surely it was impossible to think that an idea or a desire could be entertained of checking or suspending the successful progress of our common exertions. The exertions made by Portugal, independent of the aid she received from this country, were of themselves considerable: but how much more efficacious these may be rendered, with due assistance from this country, may be inferred from what was now well known to have resulted from the aid already afforded by us to that country. She had been stimulated thereby to a degree of exertion unknown in the annals of that country; and those efforts, when assisted by and combined with those made by Great Britain,

had produced a tide of success unparalleled in the history of any country in Europe. Her present formidable military force has arisen from a lower scale of establishment and discipline than could be equalled in any country in Europe: but it had proceeded progressively, under the inspiring auspices of excellent and skilful British officers, to its present state of perfection. To prove the value and efficiency of the Portuguese troops, he need only add, that during the campaign that had just passed, they had been sharers in all the toils endured, and partners in all the glories achieved by the British soldiery. But this was not all. The system to which the royal message referred, had proved a pregnant and perennial source of other important advantages. It tended to exalt the Portuguese militia to a degree of vigour and activity worthy of a powerful regular army: and, further, it was the means of bringing forward an armed peasantry, who may well be styled the defensive mass of the country. The more the line of policy, which had been pursued, was considered, the more its advantages would appear. An organized militia was established, which could act in co-operation with a regular and powerful army in a central situation, and opposed to the main body of the enemy's force. The advantages derivable from such a military system of defence or annoyance were reciprocal. Each different description of force operated in favour of each other, and thus a two-fold advantage was obtained over the enemy. A question might be stated, or rather a point might be considered, what had been the result? To this he had to answer, "that it was by this that the country had been hitherto successfully maintained against the military power of the enemy." Under all these circumstances, a doubt could never have been entertained as to the general policy of defending Portugal. She had made every effort on her part; and, on every principle of national honour and sound policy, she should have the aid of our utmost efforts. To look further at this part of the question, he observed, he had never heard any person deny that the defence of Portugal was at the same time also a main instrument for the defence of the whole Peninsula: neither

could it be denied that from such a quarter we could act with the greatest advantage, in case of any great or favourable event occurring in Spain. The only remaining question to be considered, then, was, whether the proposed aid towards the defence of Portugal should be continued, or whether we should, with an untimely hand, after rousing the slumbering energies of this people, damp the spirit which had been thus created, instead of feeding it and renewing its vigour? whether we should not stimulate the exertions, encourage the hopes, and furnish aid to the patriotic efforts of a country nobly struggling for her independence? Whether we should not lend her additional assistance to strengthen and invigorate those powers which already exist, and are in a train of success, to improve those great and incalculable advantages, which such a train of circumstances, and such a state of things, naturally and obviously present? In addition to these and various other reasons for the adoption of the measure in question, he begged to advert to that unanswerable consideration, that it had stood the test of experience, and proved its merits. We were bound, he conceived, in interest and in honour, to continue our assistance.

Lord Grenville, who replied to the Marquis Wellesley, differed materially from him in his view of the result of the late campaign; he stated, that on the twenty-fifth of October, 1810, after all the glories and all the triumphs which this country had obtained, its situation was in no small degree disastrous and calamitous. Ministers had not arrested the wheel of the revolution that was going on; they had not arrested the progress of the calamity that had desolated Europe: he called upon the House to beware of the insidious manner in which this repeated aid was sought, the amount, which was to be double, being kept out of their view, and the ends to which it was to be applied were not detailed. This system, he protested, was hastening the country, with accumulating rapidity, to that ruin which seemed inevitable. The situation of the continent was such, that, without great assistance from the natives, it was impossible, with any military efforts of ours on the continent, to resist that power which had

awed all Europe,—the struggle could never be carried on by this country on the continent single-handed. This country, whose chief strength lies in her navy, could not successfully contend, out of her own element, without powerful military co-operation on the continent of Europe. If the question were, whether it was desirable that Spain and Portugal should be relieved from the French yoke, millions of treasure, and the *lives of thousands*, could not be better employed than in so noble a cause. Every emotion of the heart would prompt us to join in so glorious a behalf,—every freeman would rejoice that so iniquitous a plan of subjugation should be frustrated. With regard to Portugal, they had, in addition to that common feeling, the long continuance of treaties, and the strong sense of united interests, to influence them. But in the consideration of the political interests of a great country, it was not merely what was desirable that ought to be adopted; it should be primarily considered, whether a probability existed, that any efforts, which it was possible to make, could be successful. They had been told, that it was proper still to continue their efforts; and they were told this, as if up to that moment their efforts had been successful. Look back, said his lordship, to Spain—look to the immediate object of this motion, Portugal. What has been the fruits of the operations there? What return **has** been made to this country?—what benefit has she reaped from the immense exertions, the enormous sums that have already been expended in that cause? All that we have been told, in answer to this question, is, that the enemy has not yet been able to achieve the conquest and subjugation of Portugal; that the British army is still there. Yes, the British army is still there; but does it possess more of the country than the ground which it actually occupies? This is all that is held out respecting the present state of affairs in that country. As to the future, not a word is uttered to encourage our hopes, cheer our prospects, or afford the slightest consolation for all the efforts and sacrifices which have been *fruitlessly* made in pursuit of the same unattainable objects. His lordship declared that he would be the last person, whether by speech or

otherwise, to detract from the merit of brave men, armed and fighting in their country's cause ; but it was necessary before this, in any circumstances, and much more in the present, to inquire "whether there was any rational prospect that these two millions, added to the enormous profusion which had already taken place, would produce any adequate advantage to compensate such a burden."

His lordship having told, in weaker and less classic language than the public journal which set forth the sentiments of the opposition, this mournful and unfounded tale, called the attention of the House to the failure of the revenue in Ireland, a subject to which, he conceived, it might be more prudent to advert before supplying the deficiencies of Portugal. On the whole, therefore, Lord Grenville gave his decided negative to the motion, because he disapproved of the entire system ; because three campaigns had more and more shown its impolicy ; because every circumstance was then adverse to the prolongation of the contest ; finally, because he saw that system hastening the country fast into a gulf of inevitable ruin.

The character Lord Grenville had at this period acquired, and the esteem in which he was held by his party, rendered a reply to his opposition necessary, as it applied to the numerous party of despondents with whom he acted. Lord Liverpool, whose integrity and veracity have never been doubted, exposed Lord Grenville's fallacious reasoning, in one of the happiest replies he ever delivered, from which a few extracts only can be admitted here.

"He appealed to the policy of our ancestors, who had always regarded Holland and the Peninsula as those parts of Europe with which it was essential to our best interests to maintain a close connexion. In pursuance of this object, the best blood of England had been lavished a century before. That house had, at one period, come to the solemn resolution, that this country never could make peace with safety, so long as the crowns of France and Spain were united in one family. How different, and how much more menacing were the circumstances of the present time, and how much more formi-

dable were the projects of the emperor of France! It was desirable that all parts of the continent should be delivered from the domination now exercised over them; but there might be a period when it would be useless and imprudent to lend them any assistance, when it was at the same time an object of the wisest policy to persevere in every effort for the preservation of the independence of the nations on the Peninsula. As to the question of practicability, experience was the best test. If the house looked back to the commencement of the contest in 1793, he believed it would be impossible to name a conjuncture that presented a fairer prospect. The campaign of 1805 was over in three months; in as short a period the Russian war was terminated; and, in a still shorter, the Prussian monarchy was overthrown. If they looked to the duration of the war in Spain and Portugal, they found themselves in the third year of an unremitted struggle. In 1809 it was said it was vain to contend against the power of France; in 1810 this prediction was repeated; and now, in 1811, they still heard the same assertion.

As to the dull attempt at retaliation, by asserting "that Wellington's army possessed no more of Portugal than the circumscribed space within its entrenchments," these words were transmuted from his own inimitable despatches; there were four provinces in that kingdom, which not a French soldier had hitherto entered, and the position of the army was chosen by its commander. Had not the character of the French wars and French armies been somewhat changed by the events of the last three years? Was the tone of that government what it used to be, when the French ruler proclaimed his march to be irresistible, and announced, with such presuming confidence, his intention of driving us into the sea? As to the argument derived from the failure of the Irish revenue, Lord Grenville's fancy preceded his judgment in its adoption. His lordship here concluded a speech, characterized by good sense, integrity of purpose, and patriotism, with these practical observations, "Should all the exertions that had been made ultimately fail, and the conflict be at length

transferred to our own shores, we should still reap this important advantage from the present measures, that we would have an experienced army to depend on. When the fate of Russia and Prussia so clearly showed that it was not to regular forces that the safety of nations could be always securely confided, if those forces were without experience, it must be gratifying and consolatory to know, that in the last extremity there would be a British army, who had acquired a practical skill in the art of war, who would be then entrusted with the defence of their native land." Although the minister gave way too much to the clamour of the opposition, by allowing the probability of the enemy invading the British isles, there were still some members of the despondent party too just, generous, and brave to lend the sanction of their names to measures of ingratitude or pusillanimity; amongst these was Earl Grosvenor, (Marquis of Westminster,) who, while he regretted that this country could no longer look for the voluntary exertions of the natives in the Peninsula, who were henceforth to be dependent on our subsidies, yet he could not acquiesce in the sentiments of his friend Lord Grenville. The original motion was then carried without a division.

This motion, for a new aid of two millions, originated in the lower house, and was introduced there in a clear and lucid speech by the chancellor of the exchequer, on the eighteenth of March. The usual arguments for the continuance of the war, and in the Peninsula more especially, were repeated to the house, but as ineffectually as before. Mr. Ponsouby, a very strenuous supporter of the despondents, ridiculed that part of the minister's speech, which went to pledge this country "never to acknowledge any sovereign of Portugal but the legitimate heir of the unfortunate house of Braganza." He employed all his powers of satire to throw contempt upon the assertion of the minister, founded on the contents of Lord Wellington's despatches, "that the French only occupied the ground they stood on," and finished a climax of the bitterest sarcasm with these words, "The fact is, that our success consists in having lost almost the whole of Portugal, and that our army is

now confined, or hemmed in, between Lisbon and Cartaxo." Other passages of Mr Ponsonby's address, particularly those relating to the loss of thirty per cent upon all monies remitted to the Peninsula, received the respectful attention of both parties in the house; the learned debater having acquired a very high reputation, not only as an equity lawyer, but as a financier. —Mr. Freemantle next assailed the ministers. He accused them of having betrayed their allies, and abused the unexampled confidence which the country had reposed in them. He condemned that foreign policy, which made the British principals in the contest with Buonaparte, when they should have been contented with the rank of auxiliaries. He pointed to the campaign of 1808, in which Sir Arthur Wellesley had so signalized himself, but which ended in the abortive measure of the convention of Cintra. "The second campaign," observed Mr. Freemantle, "commenced under that gallant and most excellent officer Sir J. Moore, who, contrary, and in direct opposition to his own military judgment, and in the teeth of all the remonstrances he had made to this country, upon the danger and folly of pursuing a system founded on such erroneous and dangerous principles, was directed to march into Spain, and to undertake once more a contest with Buonaparte's armies in the Peninsula. This devoted soldier advanced accordingly, and nothing but his extraordinary abilities, judgment, temper, indefatigable and unwearied exertions, rescued the army entrusted to his command from annihilation. The issue of the second campaign was even more deplorable than that of the first."

"When Sir Arthur Wellesley was appointed to repeat the hazardous practice of attempting to overwhelm the myriads of Buonaparté by British forces solely, "nothing could be more unpromising, nothing could be more disastrous than the state of Portugal; his genius, his promptitude, his zeal, and his extraordinary military talents, were necessary in the instant, to extricate and relieve his small army from its embarrassments, threatened as it was on the north, on the south, and on the centre. It is not necessary to detail here the gallant exploits



of the British army, but it is in the recollection of every man in the country, who has a breast to feel, or a mind to glory in the valour of his countrymen, the manner in which Wellington destroyed the army of Soult, arrested the progress of Victor, and effected a junction with the army of Spain." Again the impolitic system of meeting the French in the field of battle was pursued, and Wellington, in obedience to the infatuated edict "advance," marched against them: he fought, and he achieved (what must always be considered one of the most brilliant victories this country ever witnessed) the victory of Talavera—a victory gained under greater difficulties, and with more desperate and infuriate fighting,\* than is recorded in modern warfare. Yet the consequence of this campaign, so glorious to our arms, was the loss, by sickness and famine, of nearly half our army." The next campaign, the commencement of which Mr. Freemantle makes simultaneous with the appointment of Massena to the command of the "Army of Portugal," did not appear to him to hold out more reasonable hopes of a prosperous conclusion. It opened with the retreat of our army before Massena; and, although the

\* It is a well-attested fact, that the desperate charge made by a regiment of horse at the battle of Talavera, saved the British army, and even forced back victory to her accustomed shelter, from whence she had fled, dismayed at seeing the banners hitherto triumphant begin for the first time to droop in despair. Part of this band of heroes escaped from the immense French force that surrounded them; but the means by which they were enabled to do so, is particularly interesting, and deserves, with the other examples of "*cis animi*," shown on that eventful day, to be handed down to the admiration of future ages. A few days previous to the battle, a German, who had been a trumpeter, deserted from the French, and was drafted into one of our regiments; it fortune to be the very body of men, of whose gallant daring we have attempted to give a feeble idea. The German shared the dangers of his new comrades until there was no possibility of escape, when the fate he was certain to meet with, as a deserter, struck his mind; he became desperate, rushed towards our trumpeter, whose instrument hung loosely by his side, "Gif me de trumpet, gif me de trumpet," he exclaimed with agitated tones; and at the same time snatching it, as if by inspiration, he blew with shrill and loud notes, the "French order of retreat." The enemy hearing it, supposed some part of their army were in danger, and retreated; by which means the remnant of our brave fellows were enabled to retire leisurely, till they joined the rest of their forces.

enemy received a severe check at Busaco, at this moment (18th of March) Wellington was incapable of quitting his intrenchments, and only waiting the result of such movements as the enemy were disposed to make. "It rests with Massena," added this speaker, "to choose his day, and make his own dispositions to wait for his reinforcements: it rests with him to say whether he will continue to blockade you, or whether he will give you a fair opportunity of contending with him in the field. If we are to judge by the publications in France, he will decide upon the former, and in this he will judge wisely. This then is the history of our Spanish war, and these the results of all our victories, of all our expenditure in men and money, of all our exertions, of all our waste of the military resources of this country, namely, that, our army at Lisbon is insulated, incapable of acting but at the discretion of the enemy; our allies in every other part of the Peninsula overwhelmed, and only manifesting partial and unavailing hostility; our own resources exhausted, and our hopes of ultimate success, to every mind not blinded by enthusiasm, completely annihilated. Such has been the result of the system pursued by the government of England. Will any man say this has been a wise system? will any man, who is not determined, under any circumstances, to support the measures of a weak and misguided government, contend that it has been successful? that it has answered either the promises to our allies, or the hopes to our country? that it has contributed to their security or our own benefit?"

Mr. Freemantle pursued his deprecation of the foreign policy of ministers to a much greater length, but, during his laboured progress he was visited by occasional doubts as to the manner in which after-ages would estimate his sincerity in the investigation of truth. Having disclaimed every intention of imputing blame, however slight, to the army or its commander, (the commander being virtually the author of the condemned policy,) he proceeded to record, in the most lasting manner, his total want of foresight as to the gathering ills of Europe, and to exhibit his complete incompetence to form a judgment upon those great military and political combinations of Lord Wellington,

which had, at that moment, succeeded in defeating the armies of Napoleon, and had driven his famishing hordes across the Portuguese border, without their daring to withstand a single charge from the British. This record is too remarkable an evidence of the error, or the bias of party, and too decided a proof of the determination, by which the Wellington military policy was opposed by the despondents, to be passed by heedlessly here: "Sir," said Mr. Freemantle, "*we have been reproached on this side of the house with hazarding false predictions; we have been taunted with having held out to the country the ultimate failure of our objects in Spain, I am prepared to defend at this moment such predictions.* I still maintain that you cannot by such a system relieve your allies, or benefit yourselves; that in pursuing it, the former must surrender, and, if you are not already, you will soon be placed in a situation of imminent peril."

This protracted statement of the wrong measures, evil policy, infatuation, extravagance, and other lamentable failings of ministers, was an indirect impeachment of the operations and views of Lord Wellington; the speaker felt that the world would understand it in that sense, would see it in that light, and he anticipated their murmurs by introducing an explanation, and by pledging himself, before he was accused, that he did not intend to censure the conduct of the commander-in-chief. His apology was not deemed satisfactory, or sufficient, to those who understood more clearly the position of political affairs in Europe, and who wisely trusted to the towering genius of Wellington, as the sheet-anchor by which the British possessions were to be secured, while the fortunes of many other kingdoms suffered shipwreck. Foremost among this class of individuals was Mr. Peel, who rose, with indignation, to turn the poisoned shaft aside, that had been insidiously aimed at the character of one of the most gallant heroes, and upright statesmen, that England ever saw. With a spirit of counter prediction, he not only refuted all direct charges, but asserted the folly, and prophesied the failure, of every expectation in which the despondents appeared to indulge: "We have been told,"

said this eloquent advocate of ministerial measures, "that Lord Wellington was guilty of a gross error in not attacking Marshal Ney before the siege of Ciudad Rodrigo, but the circumstance which would have rendered such an attempt impracticable had been overlooked. Lord Wellington's forces were reduced by detachments being disposed of at different points, while the French general had concentrated a force of 60,000 men, and had a great superiority of cavalry, in a situation where that description of force was most capable of acting."

"The *accusers* of Lord Wellington had, throughout, manifested the greatest inconsistency; for, while they at one period condemned his rashness, they inveighed, at another, against his caution. And why the latter accusation? Because he did not attack the enemy with a force, half of which was composed of those reviled and calumniated Portuguese. If Lord Wellington had done so, and been defeated, what then would have been the language of the despondents? They would have had recourse to their predictions, and have censured the measures they now recommended. He considered that many advantages had resulted from the late campaign; and if the army were then on the point of embarking for England, he saw no reason for altering that judgment. He believed that France no longer looked on her armies with the same confidence, since Wellington had interrupted their career of victory—that the Prince of Essling would recollect with regret the glories of General Massena—and the Dukes of Elchingen and Dalmatia seek for the memorials of their fame under the names of Ney and Soult. Mr. Peel defended the guerilla warfare as adapted to the circumstances of the Peninsula, as a species of attack which baffled more scientific soldiers, and had already been attended with the most decided success. The efforts of these partisans alone had diminished the French force, within the previous ten months, by forty thousand men. Finally, he apologized for detaining the attention of the house, but he could not help reminding them, that, perhaps at that very hour, while they were deliberating on the

vote which they should give, Lord Wellington might be preparing for action to-morrow : and when he reflected on *the venal abuse which had been disseminated against that illustrious character*, he felt a hope, that if a momentary irritation should ruffle his temper on seeing those malicious effusions, he would console himself by the general feeling which existed in his favour, for his country would remember that he had resigned every comfort, in order to fight her battles and defend her liberties ; nor would his glory be tarnished by the envy of rivals, or the voice of faction. He cherished the sanguine expectation that the day would soon arrive, when another transcendent victory would silence the tongue of envy, and the cavils of party animosity ; when the British commander would be hailed by the unanimous voice of his country, with the sentiment addressed on a memorable occasion to another illustrious character, "*Invidiam gloriæ superasti.*"

Whenever the reader's notice has been directed towards the increasing opposition of Earl Grey and Lord Grenville to the military policy of Wellington, he should remember, that those noblemen were leaders of an opposition party in parliament, that they were supposed to have maturely weighed every opinion they propagated in their places in that assembly, that they were eminently qualified to form competent judgments, and that they had, like ill-omened birds of prey, repeatedly augured the fall of Wellington, and the confusion of all his hopes of glory. Perhaps the hero himself was the only Briton who heard these solemn warnings without any agitation. But it was impossible for the honest members of both houses, unconnected directly with party, and who saw but one common object before them—the rescue of Europe from the tyranny of Napoleon—to bear in silence such injurious, factious, unnatural assaults upon the character of England's greatest benefactor. This was the laudable feeling which called up Mr. Peel, who, although young in years, was old in political experience, and who himself subsequently attained the highest station in the British cabinet, not only to defend the character of the British chief, but, in time, to utter a counter-prediction, one calculated

to allay public apprehension, to encourage the brave fellows who were at that moment risking their lives to maintain the freedom of England, and which not only originated in the noblest motives, but every tittle of which it pleased a wise Providence to accomplish. The eloquent indignation of the young statesman at the unjust aspersions on the absent hero, were not sufficient to subdue the hostility of General Tarleton, whose opposition to Lord Wellington, fortunately for himself, was not extended to the battle-field—there he sought no rivalry; the commons house of parliament was his arena of contention always, and the ambition rather than the services of the great captain formed the object of his assault. He declared on this occasion that the situation of Lord Wellington was not different from that of any other officer that might be appointed to lead our armies. We had sent, he said, fifty thousand men to the Peninsula, and two millions sterling in bullion, and we had lost the whole of the Peninsula, except that spot that lay between Cartaxo and Lisbon. We had, during the whole period we were engaged in the contest, been making retrograde movements, and ruin alone could be the result. The gallant general next proceeded to make an invidious comparison between the situation of Sir John Moore and that of Lord Wellington, spoke in the most disparaging terms of the Portuguese that had been trained by Marshal Beresford, and declared that the contest was merely one of finance, and which never could be attended with any advantage: “The fatal truth,” added the general, “must at length be told, that we could not maintain ourselves in that country: the question was not now how our army was to get away out of Portugal; but when that should come to be the case, he was afraid it would be found to be a difficult matter.”

This unsoldierlike speech closed the debate, and the manner in which the resolution was carried, no division having been demanded, evidenced happily, and sufficiently, that a genuine British feeling was predominant, which overwhelmed the feeble voice of faction in that house. But two days had elapsed, after the delivery of these predictions as to the fate of

Wellington, when the telegraph communicated to the inhabitants of the metropolis the gratifying intelligence of Massena's retreat, and the entire success of all the great plans, which the British commander had designed and executed, for the defeat and annihilation of the imperial army; and the immediate arrival of despatches, from Admiral Berkeley in the first instance, and afterwards from Lord Wellington, confirmed the important information, completed the discomfiture of the opposition party, by falsifying all their predictions, and secured confidence in the ministry by fulfilling their's.

It was upon the twenty-eighth of March that the measure of the nation's gratitude to General Graham, was filled, by the proposal of a vote of thanks, to that wise and brave soldier, in the upper house of parliament. His services had eminently entitled him to this reward, and the hearts of the people overflowed so completely with gratitude to the brave fellows who fought their battles in the Peninsula, that no honours were deemed above their merits.

Before Lord Liverpool submitted to the house the well-merited reward which he felt it his duty to propose, he requested permission to particularize the bravery of two corps of foreign soldiers, that had acted conjointly with the British, one a German body of cavalry, whose conduct on this occasion had been praised in the highest and strongest terms by the officers who commanded, the other a Portuguese regiment, raised under the system recommended by Lord Wellington, and carried into operation by General Beresford. His Lordship concluded by proposing a vote of thanks to Lieutenant-General Thomas Graham, for his meritorious conduct on the occasion of the brilliant victory gained over the French at Barossa, on the fifth of March, 1811.

The Earl of Liverpool, in bringing forward the motion, reminded the house of the remarkable and very glorious circumstances attending this splendid victory. "Besides the cannon and standards which were taken from the enemy, a great number of prisoners were compelled to yield; and no fewer than three generals fell—a number greater than was

attached to the British army itself. In addition to all this, the very unusual and extraordinary circumstance should be observed, the first time most probably of its occurrence, which was, that in an action so contested, there was, on the part of the British troops, not a single man lost as a prisoner, or even missing, and the field of battle remained undisputed in the occupation of the British army. Borrowing that language of national devotion, which shed such a charm around the sailor-life of the great Nelson, Lord Liverpool expressed his conviction, a conviction so justly entertained by all intelligent and unprejudiced men in Europe, that when British troops are opposed to the troops of any nation whatever, in nearly equal numbers, their superiority is marked and decided. In speaking of the army, it was impossible to avoid speaking of the general who commanded it, and he could not avoid regarding with applause this signal display of the most perfect presence of mind, and promptitude of decision, those great and leading qualities of a general. To his spirit and decision, in the arduous moment of difficulty, the success of the day was attributable.

On the eighth of April the Marquis Wellesley presented a message from the prince regent, respecting the distresses into which part of the inhabitants of Portugal were plunged, by the barbarities exercised against them by the French army in its retreat, and expressing a desire that the house would concur in enabling him to afford the sufferers speedy and effectual relief. On the day following, his lordship moved an address to the regent, in answer to his communication, in which he took occasion to observe, that "Every man must agree, that, by the whole system, all the attempts of the enemy had been frustrated; that the whole of this great combination of measures for defence, had tended to exalt our military character in the highest degree, in every sober, steadfast, regular consideration of such a subject. It had manifested the wisdom of the commander, and had defeated the enemy in all his efforts. On this great military diversion, founded on public spirit and fortitude, depended the hope of any favourable alteration in Europe, and, in no small degree, our own particular safety. Hitherto,

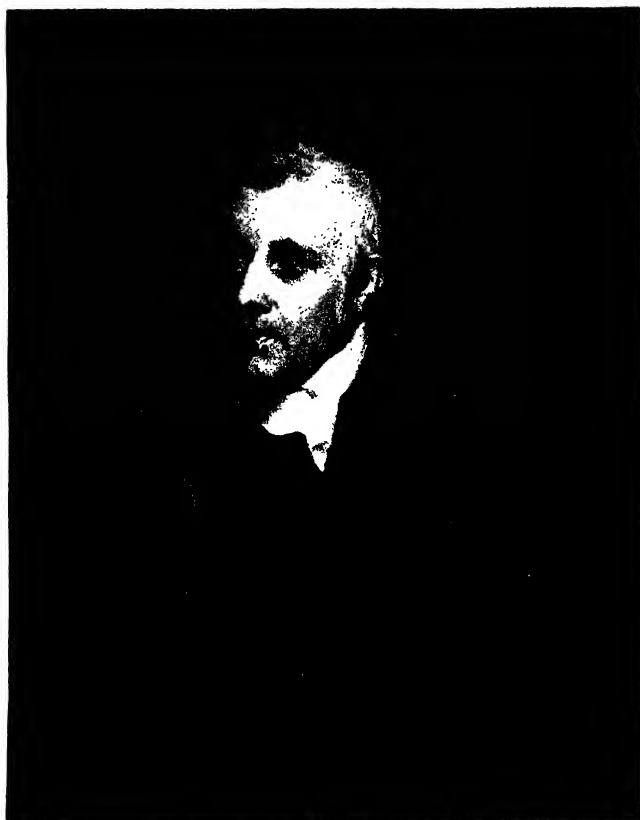


(said his lordship) we have given our aid liberally, and there were the best reasons for continuing to do so; England had acted on a broad, fair, and liberal scale. He hoped he had not lived to see the day, though he had sometimes been surprised by hearing something like it, when it should be said, that ancient faith, long-tried attachments, and close connections with our allies, were circumstances to be discarded from our consideration; and, that they should be sacrificed and abandoned to the mere suggestions and calculations of a cold policy."—His lordship then proposed that the sum of £100,000 should be granted for the relief of the suffering Portuguese.—Lord Harrowby declared that "Europe had never witnessed such barbarities as had been perpetrated by the French; the country through which they passed had been plundered and exhausted to such a degree, that British humanity alone could afford it the common and necessary means of existence; and, if the aid was not speedily granted, it might come too late to effect its object."—The Marquis of Lansdowne, with an honourable candour, declared, "that even if Lord Wellington should be again compelled to retreat, still he would vote for the present motion, convinced that by affording thus timely assistance to the distressed inhabitants of Portugal, we should manifest a conduct so appositely contrasted with that of the enemy, that it could not fail to make an impression in Europe highly favourable to the British character, and tend to place that contrasted conduct in the strongest point of view."—The address was agreed to without a division.

On the following day the same benevolent question was proposed to the members of the lower house, by the chancellor of the exchequer, in a speech that is deserving of being noticed in history. "If," observed the minister, "we would inquire into the grounds upon which such a measure is recommended, we should first look to the wants and merits of the country in whose behalf we were applied to; we would also consider whether that country had not some claim upon our interference; we would ask whether those for whom we felt an affection







THE 1ST BORN DUDELY RYDER D.C.L. 1ST EARL OF HARROWBY

*Kanaty*



were likely to be gratified by the act; and, lastly, we would decide whether policy, humanity, and mercy concurred to recommend the claim, and strengthen the obligation." The chancellor of the exchequer here produced a letter from Lord Wellington to the Earl of Liverpool, dated the twenty-seventh of October, 1810, in which the opinions of the gallant soldier, with respect to the wants and the merits of the Portuguese, were strongly and distinctly delivered,\* from which he read the following extract:—"It happened unfortunately that the Indian-corn harvest, which is the principal support of the inhabitants of a large part of Portugal, was on the ground at the moment of the enemy's invasion. This of course could not be carried off; the enemy's troops had, as usual, destroyed what they could not move, and nothing remains. If, therefore, the result of the campaign should be to oblige the enemy to withdraw from Portugal, it is much to be apprehended that the greatest distress will be felt in those districts through which the enemy's troops have passed, which there are no means whatever in this country of relieving." His lordship then strongly urged upon the British nation the claims of these suffering patriots, and expressed his confident belief that he did not appeal in vain. "I do not," continued the chancellor of the exchequer, "quote these extracts to the committee for the purpose of showing the modesty of the noble lord, a modesty which disdained to boast of annihilating a great army, while he anticipated the probability of forcing it to evacuate the country, and was satisfied to express, with moderation, what the event has proved he foresaw with much clearness, and planned with consummate skill; in order to prove the deserts and the wants of the Portuguese people."

"It will assuredly afford a satisfaction to the English people to reflect, that while Wellington was occupied in the business of a protracted warfare, while he was surrounded with the cares and dangers to which his situation exposed him, and suffering the hardships that are inseparable from the soldier's life, he was at the same time occupied in contemplating the

\* Vide p. 463, Vol. ii.

*the distresses and providing for the relief of the afflicted.* The merits, the sufferings, and the services of the Portuguese had become greater since the date of that benevolent letter. Would not the wish of the house to gratify an individual, who had so distinguished himself, form a considerable motive towards the adoption of the measure? Was it not natural also that the prince regent, the short period of whose government had been marked with so many brilliant events, should wish to mark that period by a distinguished act of humanity? When the famishing Portuguese were driven within our lines, the British officers made a subscription for their relief; will the representatives of the people of England be the only persons indifferent to their situation?

“If, suppressing the influence of such motives, the English should look barely to their interest, nothing could be more obvious than that mercy was imposed upon them as a duty. It was important that, in the moment of our elation and triumph, we should hold up a contrast to the world, not only between our own character and that of the enemy himself, but between our real character and that which he has ascribed to us.\* For the English part of this character, I refer to the application of Lord Wellington in behalf of those very Portuguese whom he is charged with oppressing and destroying; and, for the French part, I do not see how I can better meet it than by Lord Wellington’s last despatch, which exhibits in proper colours their hollow and insidious promises. When all the reasons for the grant are combined, and I am enabled to call for a decision upon their united force, I believe that the difficulty will be rather to resist a too enthusiastic compliance, than to procure a reasonable one; and, that we shall find it a harder task to do enough, than we should to do too much for them, in justice to our own situation. I am also desirous to show that we feel the value of what we grant, and offer it, not as the boon of superfluity, but as the contribution of necessity to suffering; and on this account would limit the present aid to one hundred thousand pounds.” One of the ablest and

\* Vide Proclamation of General Massena, dated the 4th of August, 1810.

most virtuous public men in the ranks of the opposition arose, and begged permission to second the resolution; this was Mr. Ponsonby : he declared that the present was a measure not less due to the spirit of Portugal than to the magnanimity and generosity of Great Britain; that it was as consistent with our interest, as it was material to our honour. The only regret with which it was accompanied, on his part, proceeded from the reflection, that the vast expenditure of this country should have rendered it necessary to limit the vote to so small a sum.

The chancellor of the exchequer had concentrated all the just reasons for granting this aid to Portugal, into his opening address to the house, and any members who followed on his side could merely have varied the manner, leaving the matter unaltered. As to Mr. Peel's support, it was a momentary burst of honest indignation against those who seemed insatiable in malice; few men, possessed of his honest purpose, sincere devotion to the institutions and government of his country, and pure quality of eloquence, would have neglected such an opportunity of repelling calumny, and vindicating the character of an individual so eminent, and a public servant of such inestimable worth. The resolution of the house was in perfect accordance with the sentiments of the nation: and, as the "uncertain people," now running with one peculiar current of feeling, frequently tack, and run in a direction almost the contrary, so that very public that had lent its credulous ear to the voice of the opposition, and imagined that Wellington was accelerating the inevitable doom of their country, were now as confident that he deserved to be hailed as their greatest benefactor. They deprecated the infamy of political partisanship, and the venality of trafficking with the people's judgment. No longer hoodwinked by noisy declamation, they saw nothing but the greatness, the wisdom, the patriotism of their general; and the tyrant's name had lost half its terrors, when they reflected upon the heroism of their own chieftain. In every large town in the kingdom subscription-lists were prepared, and the principal persons in each place wrote their names at



the head, to encourage, by example, the less wealthy inhabitants of that locality. In all instances the most efficient mode of argument that was employed, was that of reading Lord Wellington's letter of the twenty-seventh of October, 1810, which was now viewed as one of the most extraordinary instances of a provident spirit that any very recent times had exhibited; and the accomplishment of the predicted sufferings, detailed so clearly in that document, added materially to the veneration in which that great man's character now begun to be held by all parties in the state.

The city of London, at the instance of an individual, whose motives possibly were pure, had deviated too far from their usual wise limits, by presenting an address to the crown, praying that Wellington might receive for his victories remonstrance rather than reward. Generously acknowledging their fault, they now encouraged public meetings, on the faith of the letter just mentioned; and a very numerous assemblage of merchants took place, in April, at the City of London Tavern, to consider the propriety of opening a subscription for the Portuguese who had suffered by the barbarities of the French. The chair was filled by Mr. Whitmore, who read a letter from Mr. Villiers, in furtherance of the object of the meeting; after which the three resolutions following were unanimously adopted:—First, “That the uniform good and patriotic conduct of the Portuguese nation during the French invasion, and the consequent sufferings of a great portion of that brave and loyal people, entitle them to the benevolent consideration and assistance of every individual in this empire. Secondly, That this meeting, feeling most sensibly the distresses and wants of the unfortunate sufferers, and convinced that the vote of parliament, although liberal, is not adequate to the humane intention, is anxious not only to contribute individually, but to recommend, in the most general and efficacious manner, an object so truly benevolent and praiseworthy. And, thirdly, That a general subscription be opened.” This was a redeeming act; and well did such generosity compensate the magnanimous hero, who only valued his great genius

in proportion as he found it capable of being directed to the happiness and emancipation of the human race. In a few days, upwards of eighty thousand pounds were obtained from private donations; and the total amount of contributions, raised throughout the kingdom, chiefly upon the recommendation contained in Lord Wellington's letter, fell little short of three hundred thousand pounds. Never was prince or people more grateful than the regent of Portugal and his suffering subjects; in the fulness of feeling he protested, that such liberality could only be equalled by the generosity with which the British had succoured his country: he ordered the lists of subscribers to be printed, and distributed amongst the distressed districts; where, after having been publicly read in the chapels, they were to be placed amongst the archives of the respective districts. As to the original list which was forwarded from England, "let that document," said the prince, "be deposited amongst the royal records in the Torre de Tombo, at Lisbon, as a lasting memorial of the humanity of one nation, and the gratitude of the other."

This strong sense of gratefulness was not limited to the glowing breast of the prince of the Brazils, his provisional government felt the debt as deeply, and acknowledged the obligation as thankfully as their ruler. They assured the people of Portugal that their day of glory had now arrived; that they had passed through that fiery ordeal, by which patriotism is tested and purified: they rendered thanks to the great Ruler of the universe, for having placed over them a prince wise enough to have established a broad basis of defence, and for granting to them the aid of the British, whom they had found faithful and liberal, and admirable for their honour, probity, and steadiness of principle. They called down heaven's best rewards upon the hero Wellington, whose sagacity and consummate military skill had been so eminently displayed, who had never fought that he did not triumph; and concluded by this strong appeal to the feelings of their suffering countrymen: "Portuguese, the effects of the invasion of these barbarians, the yet smoking remains of the cottage of the poor, of

the mansion of the wealthy, of the cell of the religious, of the hospital which afforded shelter and relief to the indigent and the infirm, of the temples dedicated to the worship of the Most High; the innocent blood of so many peaceful citizens of both sexes, and of all ages, with which those heaps of ruins still are tinged; the insults of every kind heaped upon those whom the Vandals did not deprive of life—insults many times more cruel than death itself, the universal devastation, the robbery and destruction of everything that the unhappy inhabitants of the invaded districts possessed—this atrocious scene, which makes humanity shudder, affords a terrible lesson, which you ought deeply to engrave on the memory, in order fully to know that degenerate nation, who retain only the figure of men, and who in every respect are worse than beasts, and more blood-thirsty than tigers or lions; who are without faith and without law; who acknowledge neither the rights of humanity, nor respect the sacred tie of an oath.”

This address confirmed the veracity of Lord Wellington's statements, both as to the merciless character of Massena's army, the sufferings inflicted by those inhuman monsters upon the rural population of Portugal, and the unbounded confidence which the government of that ill-used country reposed in the honour and ability of the British hero. The moment chosen for its publication was peculiarly apposite, it was the same that was seized upon by the despondent journals in England, to disparage Lord Wellington's genius, and insinuate that Massena would again wheel round, when sufficiently reinforced, that the catastrophe of Portugal was only delayed, and, even that was effected by an useless display of British valour. They begged the British public not to be deceived by the retreat of Massena; that general had only changed his position: the word of Napoleon was pledged that Portugal should fall, and the resources of that monarch were as boundless as his ambition. Having endeavoured to create dismay, and wantonly spread alarm over the country, by assertions put forward with some semblance of fact, with a degree of wickedness that seems to have been confined to the despondents of

that period, they actually supposed cases of danger, and doubt and difficulty, in which it was possible in the revolution of events our brave army might have become entangled, in order to kindle a flame of odium against a man, every act of whose life, from the early age at which he became a public servant, had a direct tendency to the benefit of his country. "Had Massena," said the despondents, "received adequate reinforcements in his position at Guarda, into what a predicament would the allies have been drawn? and what *might* at this very instant have been the perilous position of Lord Wellington, if a large force had actually been concentrated under the command of Bessieres!"

If the morality of the address from the Portuguese government be objectionable, as cherishing a vindictive sentiment, the cruelty of the enemy may at least be pleaded in extenuation of the error: but who will undertake to justify, or to palliate the conduct of men who could perceive no instance of admirable valour, or skilful strategy, but in the ranks of the enemy, who endeavoured to distort the brightest victories that Britons ever won, so that they should appear but so many escapes from a more able adversary, who, in short, appeared to have no community of feeling, of interest, of enjoyment, but with the enemies of their native land? Fortunately for the councils of England, they were not influenced by the morbid minds of those, who would probably have felt a secret joy at witnessing the fulfilment of their predictions, even at the expense of a great national calamity.

Nothing now, however, was heard in England, but the long, loud sounds of joy and triumph: "Wellington and Victory!" re-echoed through the land, and every voice was raised to praise him, every heart felt proud to honour him, almost every hand was stretched forth to succour him. It was now the object of each man's ambition to be foremost in the ranks of gratitude, and the minister whose duty it became to propose another vote of thanks to the hero of the Peninsula, declared that the highest honour he had ever enjoyed, the proudest moment he

had ever experienced, was, when he rose for that purpose in his place in parliament.

On the twenty-sixth of April this additional mark of public gratitude to Lord Wellington, and our brave army was proposed in the House of Lords by the Earl of Liverpool. He recapitulated all the circumstances of the late campaign, alluded to the disheartening predictions of the despondents, and placed several points, that were important to the military and political character of Lord Wellington, in a new and happy light. Speaking of the Lines of Torres Vedras, his lordship remarked that those great works, which had been silently, unostentatiously completed, formed the great basis of the defence of Portugal; that this plan of our great general was an original one, and entirely his own. It was formed on no former plan for the defence of the country; it was the result of his own excellent judgment, and was then sanctioned by the tribute paid to its merit by the conduct of the enemy himself. His lordship pursued the narrative of the campaign, and reaching the breaking up of Massena's army, before the Lines, and subsequent retreat, alluded in clear and concise language to the verification of Lord Wellington's assertions as to the necessary result of his military measures: "What but a well-considered previous system could have enabled him, on the enemy's retreat, to march after him thirty days' together without intermission? If there were no other proof of his previous opinion respecting ultimate success, it was demonstrable from his readiness for the pursuit of Massena. This campaign had shown that we had a general equal to the best examples of modern warfare. It had formerly been said by the French, of a celebrated general of ours, when speaking of his great successes against them, that he lived in days when the greatest French marshals were either dead or not employed. They could not say this of Wellington. It had been his fortune to be opposed to almost all the first generals of France; generals whose career of successes had made their names proverbial. He had first met and beaten Junôt—he had beaten Soult—he had beaten Victor—he had beaten Jourdan—

and now he had beaten Massena, whose name had risen the highest for familiarity with victory !" With some observations, chiefly tending to prove that British valour had hitherto been more conspicuous in maritime than military affairs, only because the former had been the favourite mode of warfare adopted and cultivated by this insular kingdom, but that whenever the national courage of Britons was employed on land, the results never failed to prove honourable in the most eminent degree; his lordship concluded a sensible and impartial recapitulation of Lord Wellington's services, by moving, that the thanks of the House be given to Lieutenant-General Lord Viscount Wellington, for the ability, fortitude, and perseverance which he had displayed in the important services he had performed in the defence of Portugal against the enemy.

Some observations that fell from the minister on this occasion, inadvertently (for sarcasm, or unkindness, formed no part of his character) reflected upon the stubborn resistance of the despondents to the policy of Lord Wellington, their uniform acknowledgments of the bravery of British soldiers, and their studied reserve as to the smallest admission of merit due to the skill and ability of the general. The unaffected, simple, natural manner, in which Lord Liverpool stated the cool concession of admiration made to our generals on a former occasion, took Earl Grey by surprise, and obtained from him a retraction of past opinions, which evinced a victory over himself, highly honourable to every pure and philosophic mind. His lordship rose with some degree of agitation, and stated, "that there were additional motives, of imperative force, and of a nature *personal* to himself, which induced him to feel anxious to follow the noble earl, and to second the present motion. In proportion to the pain which he felt in withholding his assent on a former occasion, was the pleasure which he now experienced in contributing his mite of approbation for services, as to the merits and effects of which there could be no doubt; and which, indeed, could hardly be too highly appreciated. The Earl of Liverpool had avoided the introduction of any invidious topics, and omitted

all allusion to those former differences of opinion, which might have tended to interrupt the unanimity that ought to prevail on such an occasion. There was one point, however, on which he (Earl Grey) felt it impossible to be silent; and that was, the apparent contrast, or contradiction, as some might call it, between the sentiments he had now delivered, and the opinions he had expressed on former occasions, when the nature and policy of the campaign in Portugal were the subject of discussion. He was ready to acknowledge, that on the invasion of Portugal by the French armies, and in the course of their progress, he did anticipate a very different issue to the campaign to that which had since happily taken place. The grounds on which he formed that desponding opinion were conscientious. He now felt great and signal satisfaction, that the event had not corresponded with the fears he felt, nor confirmed the anticipations which pressed upon his mind.

“To that House and to the public this explanation might be of no importance; to himself, however, and to his own character, he felt such an explanation not only due, but of consequence, and he trusted it would be believed, that the opinions he had formerly delivered, though now happily contradicted by the event, were at least the sincere and honest dictates of his mind, taken up from no illiberal or invidious feeling. He had now no hesitation to qualify and retract them, and this very circumstance, perhaps, gave a value to his vote, which would render it probably not less grateful to him who was its object. Those who looked forward to success, at all periods of the campaign, were bound to acknowledge the valour and consummate skill of the commander, but that acknowledgment was still more amply due from those who, like himself, did conceive the difficulties in which Lord Wellington was placed to be such as to threaten him, and his army, with the greatest danger, and greatly to diminish the hopes of a successful issue. This was the only use he wished to make of those recollections and allusions, which only seemed to exalt in his mind the character of this consummate commander, and to heighten his gratitude for that transcendent skill and valour which had

surmounted such formidable difficulties." His lordship dwelt emphatically upon the small lavishment of blood in the securing of so great a victory, and in eloquent language expressed his sympathy for the Portuguese, who had been the victims of French falsehood and inhumanity, and his earnest hopes that the delusion, under which the Spaniards laboured, might be quickly dispelled, and sincere co-operation on their part at length obtained.

This honourable retraction, and confession of error, by Lord Grey, was of the utmost importance to the future successes of the Peninsular war. He who shall hereafter study the political characters that were contemporary with Wellington, and whose countenance or contradiction had an influence on his fortunes, will see cause to regret that a man of so much senatorial influence, had not earlier felt that Wellington, having before repelled the invaders from Portugal, possessed reputation sufficient to sustain the character of being again able to accomplish that object a second time; Lord Grey also was too familiar with the history of his country to be ignorant, that the commander of our armies had seen much service, had encountered and defeated the most wily adversaries, in short, had fought many battles for his country, in not one of which had he ever been defeated. These considerations constitute a subject of regret, not only for the past fortunes of Wellington, but for those of the eminent statesman himself, who, however, did redeem, as far as it was possible, his hazarded fame, by the fairest, fullest, and most candid retraction of all his despondent and premature opinions.

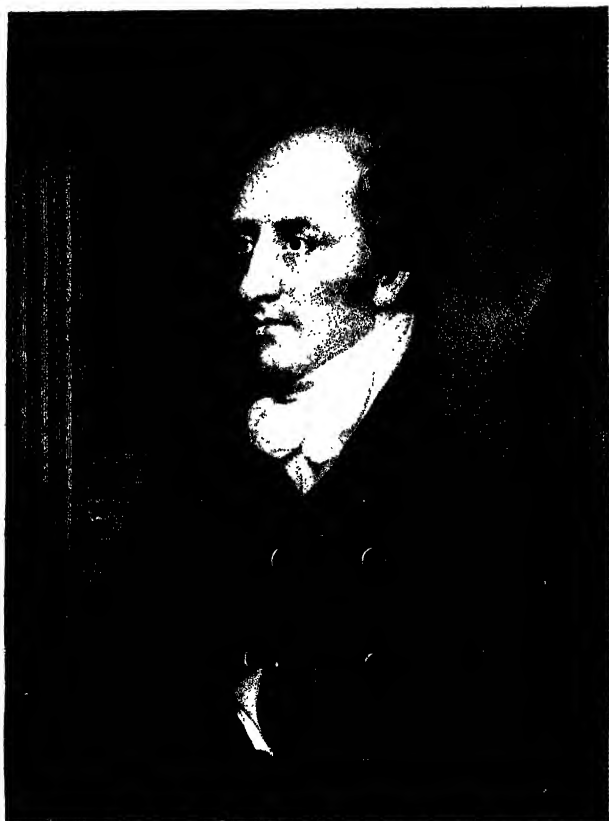
Earl Grey's recantation was the death-knell of the despondents: confusion was succeeded by the dismay and the dissolution of the cabal. This noblemen had never been fully identified with the anti-ministerial party in the state; he professed to stand on neutral ground in the political arena, not prohibiting and certainly not courting the adhesion of the discontented. He had the good fortune, although professing, from early life, what were subsequently designated liberal principles in politics, not to be reckoned amongst the victims of the prince regent's



caprice; he started on the merits of his own right views, and that ample stock of abilities with which providence had furnished him for their maintenance and advocacy. His position in parliament, therefore, was highly independent and commanding; and when his adhesion was withdrawn, the despondents knew that the leaders that were left would be taunted with factious motives.

The tones of his retraction had not yet reached the outer rings of their vibratory medium, when a similar vote of thanks to Lord Wellington was proposed in the commons house of parliament, and carried almost by acclamation. The resolution was moved by the chancellor of the exchequer, in a speech tantamount in character to that of the Earl of Liverpool, but introducing some new points of argument rather singular than solid. Alluding to the achievement of Wellington's victory over Massena with so little loss of life, he used this novel illustration: "I will call to the recollection of the house one of the most distinguished victories in our naval annals, the battle of Trafalgar. I will appeal to gentlemen if they do not well remember, that, on receipt of the intelligence of that most glorious victory, there was not a suspension in the public mind whether to consider it an event of joy or grief—a doubt whether the extraordinary advantages which the country derived from the occurrence were not counterbalanced by the loss of Nelson and the brave men who fell with him! I am satisfied if the question had been put to the nation, whether they would agree to efface that day from our history, on the condition of recovering those to whom the glory of it was attributable, many voices would have declared for relinquishing the victory, if by so doing the victors could be redeemed." The minister did not contend that this mode of reasoning was politically correct, but reminded his auditors that it was undoubtedly honourable to those who entertained it. In his official eulogy upon the great military hero, he called attention not only to his skill, activity, exertion, and success, but to his caution, moderation, forbearance, regard for the lives of his soldiers, and, above all, for that intuitive foresight





Painted by J. Stowatson.

Engraved by W. H. All

LE TRÈS HON<sup>OR</sup> GEORGE CANNING

*Geo Canning*





by which, at the commencement of the campaign, he anticipated its close. This singular quality, this remarkable degree of prescience in military, and even in political operations, Lord Wellington certainly possessed to an extent that marks the clearness of his perception; and the chancellor of the exchequer distinctly proved to the House that Wellington foresaw the exact result of every move which Massena must, and would make, during the campaign, from passages in his despatches written at various dates before, and during the retreat. Having spoken at length in favour of the Portuguese, and palliated the culpable inactivity of the Spaniards, the minister concluded his enthusiastic address in these words. "All we can do on this occasion, is only the commencement of Wellington's glory, for as long as a vestige of the present eventful times remains on record—as long as it shall be congenial to the heart of man to be gratified with military glory, acquired not in extending the ambitious projects of a tyrant, but in resisting tyranny, and defending the oppressed—as long as execration shall follow the contemplation of violence and injustice—as long as praise shall be deemed due to the most zealous and patriotic exertions in a righteous cause—so long shall the character of Wellington be rewarded by posterity, and be embalmed in the memory and gratitude of mankind."

Mr. Canning, who rose with eagerness to second the motion, reminded the House, that this was not a case of insulated action, in a series of operations, or even of a single campaign of a war brilliantly terminated, not an occasional acquisition of glory, but the fruit of two years' exertion—of the application during that period of *an understanding of the first order, combined with military talents scarcely ever equalled in history*, to a state of difficulty unparalleled, and crowned with exemplary success. He looked upon Lord Wellington, in the accomplishment of the success he had achieved, as the instrument in the hands of Providence for the deliverance of Portugal. In pursuing his eloquent eulogium upon the deliverer of Portugal, Mr. Canning departed from the mild example of his

brother minister, in the other house of parliament, by placing before his hearers a true, but strongly coloured picture, of the untoward circumstances under which Lord Wellington effected his great object. "How," said the orator, "could the House sufficiently appreciate Wellington's merits, when they followed him from the fatigues of the day to repose in his tent, and contemplated his feeling, while looking for consolation from home under his laborious duties, when, instead of consolation, he found accusation—instead of encouragement, misrepresentation and obloquy; when he found all his dangers magnified, and all the means of the enemy uniformly exaggerated; when every one of his measures was traced to temerity or compulsion, and all the movements of the enemy to wisdom and military skill? When they took all this into their consideration, it was impossible not to conceive what his feelings must necessarily have been, and not to ascribe his steady and unaltered perseverance, in the plan he had previously laid, to its final and glorious accomplishment, to real magnanimity and true valour. Whilst exposed to such misrepresentations, he never deigned to notice any of the unfounded statements he saw published on the subject: he determined not to reply to them in words, but to let the result put the calumnies and calumniators to shame. During this time he saw all his plans ripening into maturity; and steadily prosecuting his purpose, he forbore throughout the whole of his correspondence, from introducing one word expressive of discontent. If there was anything which could not be contemplated without admiration, it was the case of a man exposed to such misrepresentation, and yet disdaining to indulge in any expression of his feelings; deliberately and successively charged with the two most opposite feelings, of a general temerity and procrastination, and yet calmly and steadily pursuing that wise and salutary course which had brought his country to that happy state, when parliament could look back without regret or look forward with hope. There were some persons who doubted whether we could bring our military means, with any prospect of success, into competition with those of the enemy, whether our strength

was not necessarily confined to one element, in short, whether some eternal fate, by some fixed and irrevocable decree, had not separated the trident from the sword? Mr. Canning did not think with those who distrusted our military means, but leaned to those who thought that this country should either become a great military power, or a vassal of France. England had now become such, not against the hopes certainly, but against the fears of those who had doubted of her sufficiency. It was also the settled opinion of this able statesman that England ought to engage as a principal in the war, in preference to the sending of desultory expeditions to the coast of Portugal.

Although he denied that the eloquence of Mr. Canning had produced any impression, however slight, upon his judgment or feelings, General Tarleton, the most inveterate despondent of that period, at length relented, and confessed the great services and abilities of the British chief. "To this vote he gave his entire assent. He was not surprised at anything that could be achieved by English courage, Irish spirit, or Scotch intrepidity. An army composed of such materials must be irresistible. He still entertained his former opinions, and considered the system not judicious. If Buonapartè did not make some great effort to retrieve his losses, his imperial throne would be shaken; his iron crown would with its weight gall his own head, and the king of Italy be an outcast from his cradle. But the war was not yet finished. He trusted that Wellington would be successful in making the Peninsula rally round him, and Europe make an effort for her deliverance. *No honours that the crown could bestow would be too great for him.*"

Wellington's star was now completely in the ascendant; to his other conquests was to be added that over the despondents, whom he had completely vanquished: Earl Grey was the first and noblest victim of the party, General Tarleton the most harmless, but least compromising; however, it could not fail to be a serious source of gratification to Lord Wellington, that he had at last overcome envy.

Amongst the other members who addressed the House on



this gratifying occasion, few spoke with more enthusiasm or right feeling than Lord G. Granville. He conjured the House not to bestow its thanks with a reluctant consent, but unanimously. "Let it not be imputable to us," said the noble speaker, "that when the tongue of Buonaparte himself is stripped of half its rancour, and when he even bears his unwilling testimony to Lord Wellington's military fame, that his country, that the British House of Commons, is the last organ to pronounce his praise. Let him not, on his return to his native country, after the malignancy of those who are continually his enemies, because the enemies of his country, is silenced, let him not find his fair fame tarnished by a contested and half-willing vote of thanks." Thus closed what can hardly be called a debate, as no difference of opinion existed amongst the members—a struggle, a rivalry, occasionally arose from the ambition which members displayed of being recorded as the grateful admirers of the hero of "the hundred fights." The vote was agreed to unanimously.

One more public transaction, connected with the parliamentary history of this period, in relation to the Peninsula, remains to be narrated, before we return to the field of battle, and those measures in which Wellington took an immediate and an individual part; this was the reception and reading of the simple, but very feeling reply of the gallant Graham to the vote of thanks, which had unanimously passed both Houses of parliament, for his courage and prudence on the eventful field of Barossa,\* it was addressed to the speaker, and read amidst the plaudits of the house of commons on the second of May, 1811.

\* Answer of Lieutenant-General Thomas Graham to the speaker's letter, conveying to him the vote of thanks of the House of Commons:—"Isle de Leon, fifteenth of April, 1811. Sir, I had yesterday the honour of receiving your letter, conveying the unanimous vote of thanks of the House of Commons to me, to Brigadier-General Dilkes, and to the officers, non-commissioned officers, and private soldiers of the division under my command, on the fifth of March, in the action of Barossa. The House will readily believe that the noble spirit displayed on that occasion by these brave men, springs from the honourable principle of loyal and devoted attachment to their sove-

The effect produced upon the mind of the people in England by the expulsion of Massena, and the establishment, for ever, of Wellington's military glory, was most extraordinary and extravagant. Humbled Europe beheld the torrent of conquest which had prostrated her people, arrested by the genius of a man who had always been celebrated for honesty of purpose, but almost ridiculed by a faction, that would have brought ruin upon his country, had their infatuated counsels been pursued, and who had plunged so deep into "the slough of despond," that they were ashamed to return if they could, and confess their wickedness; and some even cast themselves headlong into the crater to avoid exposure, in their ill-judged haste forgetting, that the sandal might yet be thrown up, and discover the imposture.

It was now apparent that the inroads of revolutionary fanatics might be successfully resisted by the combination of well-disciplined, regular troops, associated with patriotic bands and enthusiastic partisans; and the light which flashed from Wellington's victory in Portugal shed its cheering gleams into the mournful valleys of Austria, where thousands were awoke from their dreams of sorrow to visions of new-born hope. Torres Vedras was the type, also, of Russia's future defence: the people of that cheerless clime beheld, with admiration, the deliberate measures of the British chief, and learned from the

reign and to their country; and that therefore they receive as a most flattering reward, this distinguished testimony of the approbation and applause of the representatives of the people. Though I am myself conscious that the signal success of that day is entirely due to the combination of discipline and bravery, of the troops whom I had the good fortune to command, yet it would ill become me to disguise my feelings on this occasion; for I well know the inestimable value of those thanks to a soldier. I have formerly often heard you, Sir, eloquently and impressively deliver the thanks of the House to officers present, and never without an anxious wish that I might one day receive this most enviable mark of my country's regard: this honest ambition is now fully gratified; and I am more than ever bound to try to merit the good opinion of the House. I trust, Sir, you will, on my own part, and on that of my gallant comrades, assure the House of these our grateful feelings. Permit me, Sir, to request that you will accept my sincerest thanks for the kind and flattering expressions with which you have accompanied the resolutions of the House, and that you will be assured of the high regard with which I have the honour to be, Sir, &c. Thomas Graham.—To the Speaker of the House of Commons.'

mode by which he checked the rapid progress of the fiery fanatics of France, how their inhospitable regions were hereafter to be defended against similar aggression. The joy of the English nation left no space or leisure for reflection. The despondents at home, the nations of Europe generally, looked on the struggle going forward in Portugal as the most hopeless that any nation had ever engaged in, and as an effect of England's indomitable pride—a pride, however, that adopted for its guidance the ancient motto, of "*possunt quia posse videntur*;"—a pride that led her to persevere in one element until she swept her enemies from the seas of the universe, and which now impelled her to enter the lists in another, with the most successful conqueror the world ever saw. It is due to England, however, to state, that her's was not the pride of conquest, the lust of power, the aggrandisement of a nation; it was the assertion of right, the maintenance of virtue, the extension of benevolence and humanity to injured nations; and never was any nation more happy in the selection of a hero to wield the sword of justice, or uphold the shield of defence, than England in the appointment of Wellington as the opponent of Buonaparte.

While the clouds were gathering over Wellington's prospects, and retreat into Portugal, although part of his comprehensive plan, seemed to the anxious observers of the contest to be his only alternative, despondence increased almost hourly: the flash of the British artillery at Busaco dispelled the gloom for a moment, and caused some to doubt whether Wellington could be so readily reduced to extremities, and to ask, "Why is it, since he can thus check the game of Massena, that he does not throw the gauntlet down, and challenge him to the fight?" But when they perceived retreat resumed, and the conqueror of Vimeira, Roleia, Oporto, and Busaco, giving way to the pressure of Massena's force, the anchor fell from the hand of Hope, and defeat alone was the expected portion.

In human passions the most sudden transitions are generally the most extravagant; when love by jealousy is extinguished, it quickly turns to hate; some that have been conspicuous for

unusual sagacity have rapidly lost the admirable exercise of their faculties ; and it is well known, that an assumption of universal knowledge is often succeeded by universal doubt. The English, participating in the gloom that was spread over Europe, were, with resignation, abiding their hapless fate, when intelligence arrived that Wellington had silently, secretly fortified the chief province of Portugal, so as to render it impregnable ; that Massena's army was suddenly arrested in its progress, and that Portugal was saved ; their joy became boundless, uncontrollable, extravagant. Had the Chinese wall been transported by the enchanter's wand, from Asia to Europe, the effect could not have been more paralyzing ; Wellington, they declared, had saved not merely the Peninsula, but England, Europe, the world, from the modern Alexander, and his glory was eternally recorded by the Lines of Torres Vedras. All men were now engaged in admiring the military combinations, the military manœuvres, the able tactics by which Massena was lured to Torres Vedras, and kept there, a prey to time and to famine.—The maxim of Henri Quatre, "If you make war in Spain with a small army, you are beaten, with a large one, you are starved," appeared wise because it seemed to correspond with the strategy of Wellington : but those who then revived the aphorism, perceived not that the success of Wellington impeached the veracity of the first member of the sentence. Napoleon, possibly, despised the paucity of numbers which England could bring into the field of battle, and trusted to Spanish jealousy for depriving them of the position of principals in the contest, the only situation in which they could have materially impeded his objects, the only one in which their sense of national dignity would allow them to act. In one respect he was correct, for it was not possible that the government, the generals, the people, it may be said, of any country professing alliance with another, could have behaved more falsely, with greater cowardice, or baser ingratitude ; and, with reference to the latter part of the emperor's conclusion, the despondents in England strained every nerve to raise a national outcry against England's becoming a principal in the war. These false theories induced Napoleon to dis-

perse his Peninsular army, and perhaps difficulty of subsistence may be added to the reasons which rendered such policy advisable. The British cabinet seconded the views of Wellington, as far as they dared, consistently with the avoidance of popular clamour, although they were actually ignorant of his plans, and as unacquainted with his scheme of fortifying a chain of mountains as the despondents and their much-abused votaries. Still no succours were withheld that could be spared from the protection of the country, and no confidence could be greater than that which the existing government reposed in the commander-in-chief of the allied armies. During every step of his retreat, during every moment of his blockade within the Lines, his language was of the same confident, hopeful character, and his unshaken determination is one of the strongest proofs of the loftiness of that intellect, which enabled him to see clearly the rays that were just beaming through the gloomy sky—harbingers of the brightness that was to follow.

The senatorial enactments of England having now been continued to the date at which the narrative of the Peninsular campaign was suspended, that history, therefore, may be resumed and continued, without further reference to domestic annals, until the battle of Albuera. It will be remembered that Marshal Beresford joined in the pursuit of the enemy as far as Ceira, where Lord Wellington first received the unwelcome news of the surrender of Badajos by the traitor Imaz: here a circumstance occurred which marks in a peculiar manner the thoughtful, dispassionate temperament of our hero's mind. Being informed that an influential, able Spanish officer, who had conducted the correspondence between his own countrymen, in those provinces occupied by the French, and the allied army, was made prisoner, and that he immediately asked permission to enter the service of the usurper, Lord Wellington had a letter conveyed to him, couched more in the language of sorrow than of anger. To this person it was suggested, that to fall from allegiance, under difficult circumstances, might be excusable; but there were other acts of treason which were not

pardonable, and which he had not yet committed. The hint arrived in time to secure the secret of the correspondence, and to reserve the individual for the enjoyment of a handsome reward from his country, when the instability of fortune rendered it advisable that he should return to the standard he had forsaken. The fall of Badajos also demanded Lord Wellington's attention; it released a considerable force which the enemy might employ elsewhere; and, to meet this exigence, Marshal Beresford was detached to his particular command on the south of the Tagus.

Massena entered Portugal with one of the finest armies that was ever marshalled under the standard of France; supplied with every description of warlike muniment, and confident in the experience, ability, and fortune of their leader. He quitted the kingdom, having sacrificed twenty-five thousand brave men in a fruitless effort, and with the loss of that high renown which he carried with him from the ensanguined field, which he replaced by the unenviable reputation of being one of the most heartless, and inhuman monsters, that ever dishonoured the profession of arms. He did not possess the ambition of being considered an honourable man, even by his noblest enemies; Lord Wellington placed no reliance upon his word. When the adjutant-general anxiously urged a negotiation for an exchange of prisoners on the eighth of April, his lordship replied, "Massena executed, with so little good faith, the only agreement for an exchange that I ever made with him, that it is impossible to propose another, to get out of his hands the few prisoners he may have. Upon that occasion, having, as he stated, one hundred and twenty British soldiers and Captain Percy, and Lieutenant Carden, and a midshipman of the navy, as prisoners, he detained the three officers and sixty of the soldiers, and sent, instead of them, Portuguese militia and ordenanza to be exchanged for French soldiers. He has since made repeated propositions for the exchange of Portuguese officers, for he has none British, excepting Lieutenant-Colonel Waters, (taken by accident on the third instant;) but I have refused to attend to any proposition for a cartel, till

the plan first proposed by himself, and accepted by me, shall be strictly carried into effect."

Colonel Waters, here alluded to, was a man of undaunted bravery, extraordinary enterprise, and possessed of a mind ever fruitful in expedients. While reconnoitring too close to the enemy's position at Belmonte, he had crossed the Coa alone, and was looking at the enemy through a spying glass, when four hussars pounced upon him. His loss produced a sensible effect upon Lord Wellington, who communicated "the bad news" to Lord Liverpool, to Marshal Beresford, and others, caused all prisoners brought in to be examined as to the capture of a British staff-officer, and seemed to feel poignantly the mystery in which Waters' fate was involved. Such, however, was the reliance he placed upon the ingenuity and energy of this brave officer, that he uniformly replied to those who offered the consolations of friendship, "that Waters would not be long absent, and that he had ordered his baggage to be brought to head-quarters, to meet him on his arrival." In this opinion the wise chieftain was as well assured as usual, for, when the head-quarters reached Villa Formosa, Waters was seen returning alone, to join his countrymen. "Confident in his own resources, he had refused his parole; and, when carried to Ciudad Rodrigo, regardless of consequences, mentioned his intention of escaping to the Spaniard in whose house he was lodged. This man betrayed him; but a servant, detesting his master's treachery, secretly offered his aid, when Waters coolly desired him to get the rowels of his spurs sharpened. When the French army was near Salamanca, Waters being in the custody of gens-d'armes, waited until their chief, who rode the only good horse in the party, had alighted, then giving the spur to his own beast, he galloped off!—an act of incredible resolution and hardihood, for he was on a large plain, and before him, and for miles behind him, the road was covered with the French columns. His hat fell off, and, thus distinguished, he rode along the flank of the troops, some encouraging him, others firing at him, and the gens-d'armes, sword in hand, close at his heels; but suddenly

breaking at full speed, between two columns, he gained a wooded hollow, and, having baffled his pursuers, evaded the rear of the enemy's army, and on the third day reached head-quarters.\*

Massena having fallen back on Salamanca, Wellington invested Almeida, the allies being disposed on both sides of the Coa, fixed his head-quarters at Villa Formosa, and dismissed the militia to their homes. The Portuguese regulars, owing to the shameful neglect of the army by their government, were now in a deplorable condition; without money or stores of any kind, desertions took place almost hourly—added to this was the extreme difficulty which the British experienced in removing munitions for the army, the very fickle nature of the Coa and Agueda rivers, all which circumstances collectively rendered the blockade of Ciudad Rodrigo a work of danger, and that of Almeida an event unimportant in its results; the only pretext for sitting down before it was, that as the garrison had only provisions for one fortnight, possession might be had without loss of lives, and the success of the blockade would give additional confidence to the troops.

It was at this crisis that Lord Liverpool, labouring under a timidity produced by the eternal lashes of the despondents, urged the commander-in-chief to send home several battalions. This weakness was sustained by the powerful arguments supplied by Wellington, who addressed such an epitome of England's foreign policy to the minister as enabled him to crush the mischievous insinuations of his opponents. "If," said Wellington, "the British government are determined to do no more in the Peninsula than to maintain themselves in Portugal, thirty thousand effective British troops would be sufficient, to be aided by a reserve maintained in Great Britain or Ireland, and ready to sail at a moment's notice. But these troops ought to be effective; and I would refer your lordship to the letter I addressed to you on this subject on the fourteenth of November, 1809. Circumstances have enabled me to attempt to reduce Almeida by blockade, at the same time

\* Colonel Napier's History of the Peninsular War.



that I attempt to obtain possession of Badajos by siege. A few days must bring the blockade to an issue ; but if I find that I can neither maintain it, nor bring the enemy to a general action, on terms which I shall think advantageous, I shall have no scruple in giving it up, as I undertook it not as a part of a plan, but as the consequence of my preceding operations during Massena's retreat, upon finding, by intercepted letters and other intelligence, that the place was but ill supplied with provisions. If I should obtain possession of Badajos, circumstances may render one or other of two lines of offensive operations expedient—namely, *one* directed to the south for the relief of Cadiz, remaining on the defensive in Beira: the *other*, supposing Almeida to have fallen by blockade, to undertake the siege of Ciudad Rodrigo ; or, if Almeida should have fallen by the blockade, to undertake the siege of both places, and afterwards to push on our operations into the heart of Spain, and open the communication with Valencia. This latter plan, if practicable, would relieve Cadiz and the south of Spain as soon, and as effectually, as the first mentioned.” This grand conception of Lord Wellington's would have recovered Madrid from the usurper, would have effectually separated the northern and southern armies, would have allowed the English and Spanish an opportunity to concentrate their forces, and strike one or two great and decisive blows for the liberties of the Peninsula.

Confiding in the able provisions made for the continuance of the blockade, and calculating upon Massena's inability to impede it, Wellington now directed his anxious looks towards the Alemtejos, whither Beresford had departed, and his situation, and relief engaged his chief attention. Whenever he had, during his Peninsular campaigns, been able to bring the enemy to a stand-still, his lordship immediately devoted his abilities and best exertions to civil, diplomatic, and private subjects. Minor griefs had accumulated around him during the flight of the French ; and, having replied to the official interrogations of the secretary at war, these painful subjects were next considered and disposed of. Amongst the first of the personal debts of

feeling, was a kind, explanatory letter to Major Ridewood, (who was afterwards mortally wounded at Vittoria,) in which he relieved that gallant officer's mind from a false and distressing impression, under which he laboured, as to the intent of Lord Wellington's despatch: his lordship, "stated that he was much concerned that any letter he had written should have given Major Ridewood one moment's uneasiness. It was impossible, (he observed) to enter into an explanation on the contents of a public despatch, but it must have been totally misunderstood by the major, if he supposed that it contained any expression, which could convey a notion, that his lordship was not convinced that officer had done his duty, or that he was not satisfied with his conduct, or that any expression was omitted, by which omission such a meaning could be conveyed." Having satisfied every scruple that the most sensitive mind could have discovered, by this precise and full explanation, he pursued the labours of the bureau, to exculpate himself from a charge still more extraordinary, and of a singularly novel character, this was, that he had actually corresponded with Marshal Massena upon the subject of the birth of the king of Rome, and that the marshal had informed him of his intention to celebrate that event by a *feu de joie*. The complaint came from the secretary of state, and therefore demanded a serious answer, which Lord Wellington returned in words as follows: "The fact is that no such communication ever took place, and the whole story is a fabrication of the English newspapers. I believe that in one of the communications which my aide-de-camp, Major Gordon, had with an aide-de-camp of Regnier, the conversation turned upon a strong reconnaissance which the enemy had made a day or two before, towards our posts on the upper part of the Rio Mayor: and the French aide-de-camp said that we should hear some heavy firing in a day or two, when they should receive the news of the birth of the king of Rome, but that it need not create any alarm to our posts on the Rio Mayor. I confess I thought for some time that the intention of this communication was to mislead me when they should make an attack, which I thought not im-

probable, on Beresford's posts on the Tagus: but I believe the officer was serious, as they did announce the birth of the king of Rome to the army on the second of April, by firing one hundred and one pieces of cannon."

Offences, of the despondents' own creation, were daily committed, and as uniformly explained and dissipated, not, however, without a serious trespass upon the valuable services of the British chief. But he was neither moved to anger by the virulence of calumniators, nor elevated to extreme vanity by the praises of the rational portion of his countrymen. Through his eventful life, he had always a well-founded suspicion of public addresses of thanks and congratulation, viewing them as the covering of some prospective operation of equivocal propriety; and, as to what is called popularity, his opinion on this subject deserves the deepest reflection of public men. "However desirable," said his lordship, "popularity may be to individuals, it will not form, or feed, or pay an army, will not enable it to march and fight: will not keep it in a state of efficiency for long and arduous services. The resources which a wise government must find for these objects, must be drawn from the people, not by measures which will render those popular who undertake to govern a country in critical circumstances, but by measures which, for a moment, must have a contrary effect. The enthusiasm of the people in favour of any individual never saved any country. They must be obliged, by the restraint of law and regulation, to do those things, and to pay those contributions, which are to enable government to carry on this necessary contest." The wise definition, involved in this letter, had an obvious reference to the very unpopular measures which imperious necessity compelled him to enforce, such as obliging the rural population to abandon their humble dwellings, and waste their abundant crops on the approach of the enemy, and to his shaming the pitiful association, called the Oporto Wine Company, into the contribution of a few pounds towards the maintenance of the war. But, at the moment that he was thus necessitated to speak of popularity as a glittering bauble, and to extenuate those rigorous measures of which he

had been the author, he was actually performing innumerable acts of benevolence, kindness, and mercy. It appeared that a commissariat officer in the fort of Peniche, had presumptuously refused to obey the orders of Brigadier-General Blunt, who was then in the Portuguese service. A violent altercation followed, in which the general so far forgot himself as to employ intemperate language to the commissary, and subsequently made a complaint of his disobedience to Lord Fitzroy Somerset.

Lord Wellington, who, of all the great heroes we read of in history, was perhaps the most ardently attached to strictness of discipline and due military subordination, perceived that the situation of the commissary was one of difficulty and delicacy, and leaning therefore to the side of mercy, took upon himself to decide the complaint of General Blunt, rather than suffer it to go to a court-martial; his conclusion was "that under the circumstances it was desirable that General Blunt should endeavour to conciliate the commissariat officer, and prevent the complaint from coming forward." This lenient opinion saved the commissary for this time, but, on a future occasion he received a more severe measure of justice, being dismissed from the service.

A second, but more extraordinary case presented itself at the same period to Lord Wellington, in which both his honour and humanity were concerned, but from which his character came forth more bright from the very species of the involution. An individual who had been implicated in the Irish rebellion of 1798, escaped from that country, and sought an asylum in France, where he was admitted into a regiment called the Irish legion, and was soon placed at the head of that body. Disgusted at the system of fraud and robbery that prevailed in the French service, he wrote to Lord Wellington, stating his anxious wish to be permitted to return to his country, if he could be assured of being unmolested by the government in consequence of his having served in the French army. His lordship replied, by desiring that he should communicate to him all the circumstances of his case, concealing nothing, as he might depend upon it that

every circumstance respecting him was known ; and, should it appear that he had been guilty of no act which would necessarily prevent government from recommending that he should be pardoned, he would ask Lord Liverpool to permit him to return to his country, under the security of his majesty's pardon. During the correspondence the Irish exile was unluckily made prisoner by Don Julian's guerillas, by which his life was at once placed at the mercy of the British government ; but Lord Wellington, conceiving that he had given him a promise of assistance in his misfortunes, did not hesitate to make application to government for that pardon and privilege which he had before supplicated from the secretary of state. This was Cæsar's mode of being revenged of those, who had, for a moment, forgotten the love and duty they owed to their country.

With language of condolence, it was Lord Wellington's lot, also, to be obliged, occasionally, to intermingle some words of wise reproof. The present was not the only occasion on which the impetuosity of the gallant young Englishmen, who so chivalrously left the homes of their fathers to tread the paths of military glory, had endangered the safety of a whole squadron, and deranged, consequently, the previously prescribed plan of operations. This description of fault was punished by the following severe and public admonition, after the affair of the eleventh of May, before Almeida. "The frequent instances," said his lordship, "which have occurred lately of severe loss, and, in some instances, of important failure, by officers leading the troops beyond the point to which they are ordered, and beyond all bounds, such as the loss of the prisoners taken in front of the village of Fuentes, the loss incurred by the thirteenth light dragoons, near and at Badajos, the severe loss incurred by the troops in the siege of Badajos on the right of the Guadiana, and the still more recent loss at Almeida, have induced me to determine to bring before a general court-martial, for disobedience of orders, any officer who shall in future be guilty of this conduct. I entertain no doubt of the readiness of the officers and soldiers of the army to advance upon the enemy ; but it is my duty, and that of

every other officer in command, to regulate *this spirit*, and not to expose the soldiers to contend with unequal numbers in situations disadvantageous to them: and, above all, not to allow them to follow up trifling advantages to situations where they cannot be supported, from which their retreat is not secure, and in which they incur the risk of being prisoners to the enemy they had before beaten. The desire to be forward in engaging the enemy is not uncommon in the British army; but that quality which I wish to see the officers possess, who are at the head of the troops, is a cool, discriminating judgment in action, which will enable them to decide with promptitude how far they can and ought to go with propriety; and to convey their orders, and act with such vigour and decision, that the soldiers will look up to them with confidence in the moment of action, and obey them with alacrity." The sentiments contained in this letter were some of Wellington's established military maxims, often repeated to his officers, and which he now felt it expedient to embody in this form, and to have copies distributed amongst the officers of the army.

A circumstance of a very inconvenient and injurious tendency occupied Lord Wellington's serious consideration at this period; this was the return of French deserters to the ranks of their own countrymen from the British lines, and at a time when they knew that their own army was enduring hardships and privations to which it might have been supposed that the human frame was unequal. His lordship attributed this disposition of foreign recruits to desert from our armies, to the regularity of system, and to the strictness of discipline which existed, and must necessarily be upheld, in order to keep a British army in the field in a state of efficiency for any length of time. He considered that the French deserters preferred the profits derivable from the plunder acquired in their marauding parties, even though attended with extreme labour, and hardships, and privations, to the plenty and comfort of the British army, accompanied, as these must be, by regularity of habit, and by the maintenance of strict discipline.

To this cause of uneasiness, upon which he communicated with General Graham, was to be added the increasing irregularity and misconduct of the Portuguese government with respect to their own troops. Various plans of reform had been proposed by the commander-in-chief, and assent uniformly given to each by the constituted authorities; but still nothing whatever was done towards ameliorating the condition of the Portuguese army. At length the hero forwarded an indignant remonstrance to our envoy, Mr. C. Stuart, in which he puts forward the truth of the case in homely yet pointed language:—"We are now getting beyond trifling upon these important subjects; and I must draw the serious attention of government to the state of things here. I assure you, that in a very short time there will be no Portuguese army left, if all the military departments are not reformed as proposed, and all connected with them are not made liable to punishment for neglects, under the military law. There is Barbacena's brigade, which is not now so numerous as one of our squadrons. General Campbell sent me a regiment of it the other day, which he reported to consist of sixty horses. Is this to be borne? Can the war go on in this way? Everything else is the same. The sick and wounded are taken care of by our medical officers; the artillery have no mules, and the guns must be sent away: they have no ammunition; and we are this moment picking up the French ammunition in our camps, to make up again with powder and materials furnished by us. It is because the departments at Lisbon do not take care to find means to move forward the reserves; and then, in order not to lose a battle, the British commissary-general must find means of transport for the musket as well as the gun ammunition of the Portuguese army; which means of transport ought to be used, to bring up food for the horses and soldiers of the army. All this falls upon me. I am involved in a most serious situation; and it is quite impossible for me to allow matters to proceed as they are."

Even less assistance and more inefficient co-operation were expected by Lord Wellington from the Spaniards than from the

Portuguese: the inordinate vanity of the former obscured the distinct perception of their true policy; and their old jealousy of England completed the fatal folly. The absurd and false statements of the despondents in England had so far preyed upon the honest mind of Lord Liverpool, that with the flagrant examples of Cuesta at Talavera, and La Pena at Barossa, still fresh in his recollection, he yet deliberately applied to the commander-in-chief for his opinion upon "a descent by a British auxiliary force upon the coast of Spain." The serious, solemn, sound reasoning of the hero's reply convinced the minister and the government; and that particular despatch contains so much that is material to the history of the campaign, that frequent extracts have been already made from it. The following passages reply directly to the question of the invasion, and show the futility of relying on the Spanish government to a greater extent than we did upon the Portuguese; a fact that disproves, incontestably, the assertion, "that England should not be a principal in the war:"—"I earnestly recommend your lordship not to undertake any of the maritime operations on the coast of Spain, upon which you have desired to have my opinion. Unless you should send a very large force, you would scarcely be able to effect a landing, and maintain the situation of which you might obtain possession. Then that large force would be unable to move, or to effect any object at all adequate to the expense or to the expectation which would be formed from its strength, owing to the want of those equipments and supplies, in which an army landed from its ships must be deficient.

"It is in vain to hope for any assistance, even in this way, much less military assistance, to such expeditions, from the Spaniards. The first thing they would require, uniformly would be money; then arms, ammunition, clothing of all descriptions, provisions, forage, horses, means of transport, and everything which your expedition would have a right to require from them; and, after all, this extraordinary and perverse people would scarcely allow the commander of your expedition to have a voice in the decision on the plan of operations to be



followed, when the whole should be ready to undertake one. Depend upon it, that Portugal should be the foundation of all your operations in the Peninsula, of whatever nature they may be; upon which point I have never altered my opinion. If they are to be offensive, and Spain is to be the theatre of them, your commander must be in a situation to be entirely independent of all Spanish authorities; by which means alone they will be able to draw some resources from the country, and some assistance from the Spanish armies."

When Soult returned to Andalusia, Badajos having fallen, he left Mortier to pursue the advantages which that event would necessarily have given him; and that general immediately proceeded against Valencia d' Alcantara, Albuquerque, and Campo Mayor. The first of these places was taken without resistance, by a *coup de main*, and its whole parc of ordnance, seven brass guns, captured; but, being without carriages, they were useless to the captors, who in consequence caused them to be spiked. Albuquerque made a show of resistance, while Latour-Maubourg was advancing; but the first discharge of artillery completely carried away their courage, and, surrendering without striking a single blow for their freedom, they were sent away prisoners to Badajos, their seventeen fine brass guns accompanied them, and the works of their town were razed to the ground by the French. Campo Mayor acquired a nobler name by its brave resistance to the enemy. Tallaia, a Portuguese engineer, conducted the defence, in which he displayed so much courage and ability, that for five days he frustrated the most determined efforts of Mortier, and, even after the wall was breached by the constant fire of twenty pieces of heavy ordnance, repulsed a vigorous assault of infantry. But the garrison was not only weak in numbers, but contemptible in conduct, and would not have made any more gallant resistance than their Castilian neighbours, had they not been inspired at the moment by Tallaia's great example. During the siege of Campo Mayor, Marshal Beresford, who had a force of twenty-two thousand men with him in the Alemtejos, was advancing cautiously, yet expeditiously, not

only to relieve that place, but to invest Badajos, and had reached Portalegre on the very day that the brave Tallaia was obliged to surrender. The marshal regretted the misfortune of the gallant fellow, who had held so weak a place even for so many days, but felt convinced that it was not tenable by the enemy: putting his troops in motion on the twenty-third of March, on the morning of the twenty-fifth, his advanced guard, of two thousand cavalry, accompanied by a strong detachment of infantry under Colonel Colborne,\* reached Campo Mayor, and came by surprise upon Latour-Maubourg, who was then marching out, with the determination of abandoning the place totally.

The enemy's design of destroying the trifling works at Campo Mayor, was completely frustrated by the unexpected arrival of Beresford's advanced guard; and flight to Badajos was the best, the only course left them to adopt. But this object, the spirit and gallantry of the British cavalry anticipated: pursuit was instinctively resolved upon, and while Colborne followed on the right with the infantry, the thirteenth light dragoons under Colonel Head overtook and closed with the enemy's flank, while the British heavy cavalry remained in reserve. The country was open, level, and suited to the evolutions of cavalry, and the French retreat was covered by a strong detachment of hussars. This body having vainly endeavoured to beat off their pursuers, four regiments of French dragoons were next drawn up to oppose them. But the chivalrous spirit of British cavalry is not to be restrained by the rigid rules of exact discipline, when engaged in pursuit of the foe. The thirteenth light dragoons, more like a numerous field of dashing sportsmen, rode entirely through the French regiments, hewed the gunners in pieces who were conducting the battering train, and halted not till they headed the French column in march. Even then ambition was not satisfied, but pursuing rashly their successes to the mouths of the guns on

\* Afterwards, in the Peninsular war, Lieutenant-General Sir John Colborne, and subsequently raised to the peerage by the title of Baron Seaton, of Seaton in the county of Devon, on the sixth of December, 1839.

the ramparts of Badajos, several of them were made prisoners. Never was there a more bold, spirited, gallant adventure, but discipline has in few instances in the campaign be more entirely forgotten. Not only the thirteenth light dragoons, but the Portuguese cavalry, catching up the inspiration, rode madly through the plain, cutting down their enemies without mercy, and exhibiting a personal courage unknown previously in their national character. Neither did the veterans of France yield themselves an easy prey to their pursuers: in some places a few were seen flying from equal numbers with naked weapons close upon their quarters; in others, when the combatants confronted each other, they often rode so fiercely up, that numbers on both sides were dismounted by the shock. An extraordinary instance of physical power and manly resolution is recorded of one of our own brave fellows. "Colonel Chamorin, of the twenty-sixth French dragoons, was encountered by a corporal of our thirteenth, whose comrade he had just before shot through the head: each was master of his horse and weapon, but at length the corporal, striking off the helmet of his enemy with one blow, cleft his head down to the ears with another." The thirteenth attempted to justify their heedless precipitation by asserting that the ground being open, they expected that the heavy cavalry would have come to their assistance, but when Baron Trip saw them gallop through the French cavalry, and the enemy's columns close up, and shut them out, wholly ignorant of the individual superiority of British soldiers, he immediately informed Marshal Beresford that the thirteenth had been totally cut off. This unfortunate mistake was the groundwork of the marshal's decision not to send forward the heavy dragoons, observing, "that the loss of one regiment of cavalry was enough in one day." The enemy lost, in this brilliant display of courage on the part of both the great nations that contended, three hundred killed, one howitzer captured, and their colonel slain: the loss of the allies did not exceed one hundred. The brave thirteenth returned by the same perilous way they had advanced, namely, by cutting their way through the legions of Gaul: a reprimand from the commander-

in-chief was the consequence of their impetuosity—the boundless admiration of their fellow-soldiers, their reward.

The enemy effected their escape to Badajos without further molestation : Beresford not conceiving himself to be in a condition to follow up these successes, and invest Olivença, and Badajos. His troops were much harassed, and the fourth division, particularly, in want of shoes : he cantoned his troops, therefore, at Campo Mayor, where they found a supply of rations, at Elvas a place almost impregnable, and in the surrounding villages. Here, if Portuguese faith had been worthy of confidence, magazines were to have been collected for the army, but this much-abused nation had neither power, nor unhappily inclination, to observe their plighted promise, so that Beresford decided upon halting in this position, and accomplishing the orders of Lord Wellington by other means than immediate pursuit.

It was now resolved upon to construct a bridge over the Guadiana, as a *tête du pont*, at Jerumenha, for which the Portuguese had promised that every species of material should be supplied at the appointed hour. Captain Squires of the engineers, with such materials as could be procured, formed a bridge upon trestle piers, and connected by boats; this hasty structure was completed on the third, but the waters rising during the night beyond their accustomed level, carried the bridge away, and the river was no longer fordable anywhere. This disappointment was repaired by the immediate construction of a second bridge formed of casks principally, and of six pontoons belonging to the British army, which had been sent to Elvas for that purpose, while some Spanish boats were found serviceable as flying bridges for the artillery and cavalry.

Latour-Maubourg remained in culpable ignorance of Beresford's motives, and did not offer the slightest resistance to his passing the Guadiana. While the allies were subduing this difficulty, the French general was scouring the fields of Estremadura, emptying the granaries, and sweeping every species of stores and provision away into Badajos. His activity, seconded by the zeal of Philippon, succeeded in levelling

the trenches, restoring the glacis, stopping the breach, and putting the place into a state of substantial and secure resistance. The allies had all passed safely across the frail bridge under Jerumenha, before Maubourg awoke from his slumbers of security, and beheld the tide of death flowing irresistibly along towards the walls of Badajos. Advancing, on the seventh of April, with three thousand five hundred infantry, a squadron of cavalry, and four pieces of ordnance, he had the boldness to assault our pickets; he surprised a squadron of the thirteenth dragoons in front of Olivença, entered during the night the very villages where the British head-quarters were fixed, exchanged shots with the guards, and returned without carrying any object but that of exciting useless alarm.

On the morning of the ninth, as soon as the mists had evaporated, and the face of the country was discernible to an extent sufficient to render the relative positions of all things distinct, Beresford moved on Olivença, with his army in three columns. He imagined that the enemy would either have given him a reception on that spot, or more probably on the opposite bank of the Valverde river, which would have been a position highly favourable to them: but in these expectations he was disappointed, they had withdrawn from Olivença, leaving there a garrison only, and fallen back upon Albuera. No serious resistance was anticipated, and the place was therefore immediately summoned, but the commander stoutly refused to listen to any overtures or negotiation. Nothing now remained but to reduce the place by siege, and Major A. Dixon was despatched to Elvas to bring up the battering train, and everything requisite for breaching the place; the siege was now committed wholly to the fourth division, the remainder of the army moving on the Valverde, through the wood of Albuera, until the twelfth, when they reached St. Martha. The enemy receded, pace for pace, with the advance of the allies, and their rear-guard generally evacuating the village into which the advance of the allies was entering. Here the army halted, waiting the supplies, which they had out-marched, until the

*fifteenth, on which day the vapouring governor of Olivença did not long withstand the fire of Dickson's artillery, but surrendered at discretion after a few heavy discharges. The garrison certainly was too weak, four hundred and eighty in number, to make any lengthened resistance; but the place was strong, and his enemies might have got tired of the contest, had he kept them at bay for a few days more.*

There were some peculiar circumstances, connected with Olivença, which would have rendered its recapture the subject of an angry contention between Spain and Portugal. The British recommended both parties to lay aside their individual grievances for the present, and give precedence to the great cause of the Peninsula: this friendly advice was accepted by the Portuguese, to whom most undoubtedly Olivença belonged. The territory on the left bank of the Guadiana, on which the town of Olivença stands, was included in the dowry given by Alfonso the Wise, king of Castile, with his daughter in marriage to Alfonso III. At that time the grant was deemed to be an arbitrary act, an illegal cession of national rights, yet it was publicly confirmed at a subsequent period by a formal treaty between kings Dinez and Ferdinand IV. The Spaniards, however, always conceived that nature had intended the Guadiana to be the boundary of both countries, and for five centuries kept a jealous eye fixed on this single spot: during international wars, its possession became a point of honour, and for twenty years after the close of the Peninsular campaign, the proprietorship of Olivença continued to be as warmly contested, between these contiguous people, as if the arbitrary grant had but recently been made.

Many minor movements were in progress in the district around Badajos, in which both armies were involved, and various parts of the machinery contrived and fashioned by the enemy for the great work, were occasionally dislocated or broken by coming in contact with some correspondent movement in the allies' plan of operations. Two regiments of French cavalry were occupied at Usagre in raising contributions, and had succeeded in collecting considerable stores, when

the duty of the thirteenth British dragoons conducted them to this spot. The reader is already familiar with the heroic character of this body, and on this occasion they behaved as usual. Putting spurs to their chargers, they rode at full gallop against the devoted objects of their indignation, pursued them at a rapid pace for upwards of six miles, and, during the chase, slew three hundred of the enemy without the loss of one Briton.

At this moment Cole arrived from Olivença, Alten with his German infantry from Lisbon, and Lord Wellington reached Elvas, where he was received by Marshal Beresford. On the following day, taking a squadron of cavalry and the German infantry with him, he forded the Guadiana, pushed close up to Badajos, and made a careful reconnoissance. A convoy approached the walls, which the British observing, immediately endeavoured to cut off, but the governor threw out three battalions to skirmish with his enemy, by which means the convoy escaped, and the allies lost nearly one hundred men.

It was now obvious that the enemy meant to keep possession of Badajos at any price, and, therefore, that if the allies should bring up their battering train, and be at all the labour and cost of preparing for the siege, Soult would immediately come to the relief of the place; on this account, his lordship required that the Spanish generals Blake, Castanos, and Ballasteros should previously accede to a combined plan of operation, that the British army should be in the second line, and, in the event of a battle, that Albuera should be the point of concentration. Having arranged thus far, his lordship was impeded in his projects by a sudden rising of the Guadiana, nine feet in the course of a single night, by which the bridge at Jerumenha was totally swept away. This was a point that required to be nicely weighed. Elvas was the only place from which he could derive stores or ordnance for carrying on a siege, and this accident rendered the communication with that place uncertain; and should it be necessary to fight a battle with a relieving army before Badajos, there was nothing that a general should more carefully avoid than having such a turbulent stream in his rear. Wellington ordered the marshal, therefore, to act cautiously, and

protract the siege until either the bridge should be restored, or the river rendered fordable: in the mean time he directed a free communication with Portugal to be maintained by way of Merida, and the blockade of Badajos to be continued with perseverance and resolution, as an event that was to be accomplished.

Lord Wellington had, several months previously, urged the Spanish officers to remove all the boats and useful materials from Badajos to Elvas, but five only had been secured when the unfortunate affair of St. Christoval occurred, and rendered further efforts impracticable. When the enemy entered Badajos, they found the material for a temporary bridge, which was generally kept there, but the hasty structure which Beresford had raised was ill calculated to resist the impetuosity of such a river. Time did not permit of further suggestions for the conduct of the army of Beresford; his lordship would gladly have learned the decision of the Spanish generals, as to the points which he requested should be settled amongst them, before his return to Beira, but these quarrelsome, jealous persons could not be persuaded so readily to act reasonably, and his lordship was called away to Almeida by intelligence of Massena's resuscitation, leaving the Spanish officers to digest his memoranda for their conduct, of which the following is a copy.

“The corps of allied British and Portuguese troops, under Marshal Sir W. Beresford, being about to be employed in the siege of Badajos, it is desirable that the Spanish troops in Estremadura, the Condado de Niebla, and Andalusia, should co-operate in and protect that operation. It has been reported, and there is reason to believe it is true, that the enemy have fortified their magazines and establishments at Seville; and, therefore, no diversion which might be threatened, or even attempted upon that city, will have the effect of drawing off the enemy's attention from the measures which he must adopt to relieve Badajos. If that relief should be attempted, therefore, it will be by the whole force which the enemy can bring from the blockade of Cadiz, and from his several corps in Andalusia, Granada, and elsewhere; and it must be resisted



by the whole force of the allies *en masse*, and the following plan is proposed for the consideration of the Spanish officers.

“Sir W. Beresford’s corps will carry on the operations of the siege; and it is requested that General Castanos will aid him with three battalions to work in the trenches. In case the enemy should endeavour to interrupt the siege, and Sir W. Beresford should think proper to fight a battle to save it, he will probably collect his troops in the neighbourhood of Albuera. It is proposed, that the troops under the Conde de Penne Villemur should observe the enemy towards Guadalcanal, reporting all that passes daily to Marshal Sir W. Beresford. In case the enemy should advance in force, the Conde de Penne Villemur should retire by the road of Usagre, Villafranca, and Almendralejo, to the left of the position of the allied British and Portuguese army, ascertaining and sending daily intelligence of the enemy’s force and movements. It is proposed, that the troops under General Morillo shall continue to occupy Merida, and observe all that passes towards Almora and the passages of the Tagus. In case of the advance of the enemy, General Morillo should break up and march by Lobon, and be prepared to join the allied British and Portuguese army, either by Talaverauela, or by a more direct route. It is proposed, that, during the siege of Badajos, General Ballasteros shall have his quarters at Burguillos, and communicate by his left with the Conde de Penne Villemur, and observe the roads through the sierra by Fregenal and Monasterio; taking care to involve himself in no serious affair, and sending daily information to Sir W. Beresford of all that passes. In case the enemy should advance, General Ballasteros should retire by the road of Barcaratta upon Valverde, in order to join the army upon the right. When General Blake’s corps shall land, it is proposed that it should take its station at Xeres de los Cabaleros; and, if the enemy should advance, it shall fall back by the same road as that pointed out for General Ballasteros. It is proposed, that the troops of the several nations shall carry on these operations under the command of their respective chiefs,

*of course communicating constantly with each other; but, in case of joining for the purpose of giving battle to the enemy, it will be necessary that the whole should be under the orders of the officer of the highest military rank. The Spanish general-officers are requested to state to Sir W. Beresford, whether they will, or not, co-operate with him in the manner above proposed, in carrying on the siege of Badajos, and what the number is of the effective men, of cavalry, infantry, and artillery, under their several commands.—Wellington."*

Although not unprepared to meet the danger, Lord Wellington was not aware that it was so imminent; he had placed his army in a strong position, and where any designs of the enemy might be successfully resisted; but it excited very great surprise to be informed that Massena had found Promethean fire in such abundance, that in fifteen days after the last fragment of his famishing followers had stolen across the border, this hardy veteran was again at the head of an army of forty thousand infantry and six thousand cavalry, all well clothed, appointed, and in the finest condition, advancing to the relief of Almeida. This new and effective force was not concentrated in this able manner by the prescience or strategy of Massena in any way; it was purely the result of an accidental combination of events, in which Massena personally had no share. However, nothing could exceed the elasticity of character displayed by this beaten general, as soon as he perceived the faintest gleam of light to break through the atmosphere of misfortune, disgrace, and disappointment, in which he had for some months struggled for existence.

About this time it was that Joseph Buonaparte, alarmed at the steady progress of the allied arms, at the increased insolence of his subjects, who saw the sun of liberty rising again, and, by the reports of affairs in the north of Europe, had abandoned Madrid, and made a visit to Paris. This event released a large force from garrison-duty in the capital, and permitted them to pass over to the standard of Massena. There were large dépôts in Galicia belonging to the enemy, and guarded only by a few thousand men; from some motive, which is not

explicable, but is by no means unparalleled in Spanish history, Don Nicolas Mahy, already distinguished for a readiness to postpone the most important duties upon the most frivolous pretexts, and who was at the head of the Spanish Gallician force, which was sufficiently powerful to have wrested the depôts in that province from the enemy, to have augmented his own stores, and still further straitened the army of Massena, permitted every requisite to be removed to the enemy's head-quarters without even a show of opposition; so that by the flight of Joseph, Massena acquired numbers sufficient to resume operations, and, by the scandalous supineness of Mahy, obtained stores in abundance for their maintenance and comfort. When the mischief was perfected, and the error irretrievable, the Gallicians complained against the suspicious conduct and shameful apathy of Mahy, crying out, "that when he had filled the prisons with his own countrymen, he seemed to think any other operations unnecessary." This remonstrance was successful in causing Mahy's dismissal, and in procuring the appointment of Abadia to succeed him. The Spanish government was an imbecile body: their patronage was despised, because they wanted the means of rewarding their servants; and their anger was held in equal contempt, as they possessed neither power nor energy to enforce their orders. Abadia did not take the trouble to join the army upon his promotion, but passed away those moments which might have been rendered so valuable to his country, in the gaieties of Lisbon.

Lord Wellington arrived at Villa Formosa on the twenty-eighth, and being then in possession of an accumulation of facts, proving incontestably the strength, condition, and total renovation of the enemy, he perceived from his movements that the relief of Almeida would be the first experiment of his powers. This Lord Wellington had resolved with equal firmness upon preventing, although his force was inferior in number to that of the enemy, consisting of thirty-four thousand men only, including those who were occupied in the blockade. Before Massena descended into the beautiful valleys of the Agueda and the Coa, whose waters he was again about to discolour

with the blood of thousands, and lavished in one of the most unprovoked attacks that had ever been made upon the rights of a nation, recovering his moral courage, he audaciously harangued his soldiers, in language which would have borne some characters of truth, had he never entered Portugal, or encountered the British lines; but, at the period of its delivery, it could only be received as national military bombast, then frequently indulged in by the generals of the emperor, in the composition of their harangues, proclamations, and despatches. "Soldiers of the army of Portugal," said Massena, "after six months of glorious and tranquil operations, you have returned to the first scene of your triumphs; but the enemies of Napoleon the great have the audacity to blockade a fortress which they dared not previously attempt to defend. Soldiers, if your valour then intimidated their columns, will it not now punish them for their temerity? Will not you bring to their recollection that you are still the same brave men who drove them to their trenches at Lisbon? Some regiments of cavalry, and reinforcements from his majesty's guards, conducted by the marshal of the district, assist in your efforts and your duties. Forget not that it is your courage which must maintain that superiority of heroism and intrepidity which forms the subject of the admiration and the envy of other nations. Through you, the honour of the French armies will render renowned the hitherto unknown banks of the Coa, as you have made the rivers of Italy and of the north for ever memorable. Soldiers, a victory is necessary, in order to procure you that repose which the equipment and administration of the regiments require. You will obtain it, and you will prepare yourselves in the leisure that will result from it for marching to new triumphs."

The field of operations, within which Wellington and Massena were now about to manœuvre, was one of surpassing natural beauties, and the retirement of simple life, which the peasantry of the district around Fuentes d'Honor appeared to enjoy, excited the liveliest feeling of interest amongst the British army, but subjected them to the more marked and merciless vengeance of the French. The north of the district is bounded

by the Agueda, the south by the Coa. The Dos Casas, and the *Turones* traverse the centre, nearly parallel with each other, and generally flowing between steep and rugged banks. *Fuentes d'Honor* occupies an eminence near to the source of the Dos Casas. A third central river, the Azava, runs in a course nearly parallel with the two minor streams just mentioned, and falls ultimately into the Agueda below Marialva.

For a day or two the swollen waters of the Azava discouraged any attempt on the enemy's part to march out of quarters, and in two or three movements of reconnoissance, made towards Marialva, they sustained a heavy loss. On the second of May, however, the Azava subsided, and the whole French army, elated by Massena's military harangue, was seen marching forth from Ciudad Rodrigo. The British light troops, after skirmishing at Gallegos, withdrew from that place and Espeja, falling back upon *Fuentes d'Honor*. Lord Wellington's object in maintaining a position between the Coa and Agueda after the enemy should have retired from the former, was to blockade Almeida: and, as he had learned from intercepted letters, that the garrison was ill-supplied with provisions; and, as the enemy were infinitely superior to him in cavalry, he did not give any opposition to their march, and they passed the Azava on that evening in the neighbourhood of Espeja, Carpio, and Gallegos. Continuing their march, on the morning of the third they approached the Dos Casas in three columns. The allied army had been cantoned at this place, and on the sources of the Azava, but all the outposts and light-troops had gradually fallen back upon *Fuentes d'Honor*. The first, third, and seventh divisions were collected here: the sixth division, under Major-General Campbell, observed the bridge at Alameda, the fifth division, commanded by Sir W. Erskine, watched the passages of the Dos Casas at fort Concepcion and Aldea del Obispo: Pack's brigade, with the queen's regiment from the sixth division, kept up the blockade of Almeida, and Lord Wellington had prevailed upon Don Julian Sanchez to occupy Nave d'Aver with his corps of Spanish cavalry and infantry. The extent of this position was not less than six miles,

the left resting on the ruins of Fort Concepcion, the right on Nave d'Aver. The village of Fuentes d'Honor was in the *right of the centre, close by the Dos Casas, on a sloping bank, and concealed by the ground*; that part of the line between the village and the ruined fort was protected by the rocky tortuous channel of the Dos Casas, its banks being everywhere, but more particularly on the enemy's side, precipitous and rugged, its channel utterly impassable by cavalry, and the passage easily defensible by a force comparatively small. Head-quarters were fixed at Villa Formosa, behind the Turrones, and just two miles from Fuentes d'Honor, and the positions occupied by the troops were accessible to cavalry on every side, except where masses of rock protruded, and formed an insurmountable difficulty. Massena conceived that he had found, at last, a fatal error in his great adversary's tactics; this was, that behind him he had the wild and capricious Coa, with only a single carriage communication, in itself abundantly difficult, by the little town of Castle Bom. This sole line of retreat, the French marshal at once boldly resolved on seizing.\*

Advancing in three columns abreast against Fuentes d'Honor and Fort Concepcion, the enemy menaced the left of the allies, where the light troops had been pushed across the Dos Casas, to reinforce the sixth division; but such was their impetuosity to recover that glory of which they had been despoiled by the British, that Loisson, without waiting for the orders of Massena, attacked the village of Fuentes d'Honor with a large force. They were resisted, not with obstinacy, but almost with fury, by Williams; and such an awful havoc did this brave officer with a few battalions create amongst the impetuous Frenchmen, who ran shouting with triumph into the very jaws of death, that their violence subsided, and Lord Wellington found an opportunity of despatching the seventy-first, seventy-ninth, and twenty-fourth, to Williams's aid, in the event of a second attack, which

\* Massena does not seem to have been aware of the fact, that Lord Wellington had caused two bridges to be constructed over the Coa below Almeida; Captain Tod and two companies of the royal staff corps were employed in their construction, during the whole of the night preceding the battle of Fuentes d'Honor.

was momentarily expected. In this affair, Williams was badly wounded, and two hundred and fifty of his brave men killed; *the enemy's loss must have been little less than double.* The French were completely beaten back across the *Dos Casas*, while the British kept possession, and two regiments slept in the village the night after the battle, the light infantry and the eighty-third being withdrawn by Lord Wellington's orders.

The French marshal appropriated the fourth to reconnoitring the position of the allies; accompanied by Bessieres, he was observed passing to and fro, and at length having found, as he supposed, a weak point between the village of Nave d'Aver and Pozo Velho; during the night he marched the corps of the Duc d'Abrantes from Alameda to the left of the position occupied by the sixth corps, opposite to Fuentes d'Honor. From the course of the reconnoissance Lord Wellington soon penetrated his purpose, and in the evening of the same day moved the seventh division under Major-General Houston to the right, in order to protect the passage of the *Dos Casas* at Pozo Velho. Massena had purposed carrying on his plans under the mask of night, but want of promptness and alacrity somewhere amongst his officers, retarded the advance of his force until broad daylight, when Wellington could see perfectly, if he had not previously foreseen, all his objects and manœuvres. At daybreak on the fifth, the following movements took place amongst the allied troops, corresponding with the obvious intentions of the enemy upon Fuentes d'Honor. The cavalry was placed on the left of the seventh division; the light division then marching from Alameda was to take up the same station; the third division had bivouacked on an eminence between the *Turones* and *Dos Casas*, and the first on its right, the divisions being all connected, and the village itself, the main object of the enemy's assault, being occupied by troops from both divisions, and both were so placed as to support the little garrison.

It was just daybreak on the morning of the fifth when the eighth corps appeared in two columns, with all the cavalry, under Montbrun, on the opposite side of the valley of the *Dos Casas*, and Pozo Velho, and, as the sixth and ninth corps also

made a movement to their left, the light division, which had been brought back from the neighbourhood of Alameda, were sent with the cavalry under Sir Stapleton Cotton, to support Houston, whose advanced guard was immediately attacked, and compelled to retire. The enemy now established himself in Pozo Velho, his cavalry turned the right of the seventh division between Pozo Velho and Nave d'Aver, from which place Don Julian Sanchez had withdrawn with rather more expedition than seemed either necessary or creditable. To cover the retreat of some battalions of the seventh division, Houston advanced, took possession of a rocky eminence, and there formed the Chasseurs Britannique under Colonel Eustace. This well-timed movement, supported by such gallant fellows, put a sudden stop to the enemy's progress, whose impetuosity only led to his more signal chastisement, and his being obliged to fall back, leaving Colonel La Motte, of the thirteenth chasseurs, taken fighting hand to hand, by General Charles Stewart, and many prisoners in the hands of the allies. This repulse added rage to the disappointment of the enemy, the main body of their cavalry now advanced against the very inferior numbers of the British, and charging through the pickets of the eighty-fifth, pursued our horsemen up the hill, and seemed resolved on conquest. The ground, however, was impracticable for cavalry, being broken with rocky eminences, and intersected by rude stone-walls thrown up with a view to clear the surface for agricultural purposes. Scattering themselves like Somatenes amongst the crags and cliffs, the Brunswickers and Eustace's chasseurs lay close, until the French cavalry, with their horses jaded and blown, and on most unequal ground, came on a line with their front, then pouring a tremendous cross-fire through them, created such havoc, and excited such a sudden panic, that every living soldier wheeled and fled. Lord Wellington, who had his eye steadfastly fixed upon the great mass of French cavalry that laboured up the hill, feared for the fall of the Brunswickers, and was much agitated at the critical position in which they were placed, but, owing to their own heroism, they sustained a comparatively trifling loss. These brave



fellows nearly met their fate otherwise, a few minutes afterwards, when the Portuguese, from the colour of their caps, mistaking them for enemies, were just about to fire upon them. In the first charge of the main body of the French cavalry, much confusion was created amongst the allies, the light division became exposed, but promptly forming itself into squares, resisted successfully all assaults, and kept their ground; Captain Ramsay, however, with the horse-artillery was cut off and surrounded. This accident, ruinous in any other army, gave occasion for the display of that high order of courage, which seems a peculiar feature in the British character. He did not surrender himself, his guns, his horses, or his men, to the great army by which he was surrounded, but felt as confident of being able to beat the whole army of Massena as ever Nelson was when engaging with a French fleet. The ranks of the enemy had closed upon his parc of artillery, and for an instant his light of hope was extinguished, but just as the cavalry had been beaten, routed, and were returning in dishonour to their camp, "a great commotion was observed amongst the French squadrons: men and officers pressed in confusion towards one point, where a thick dust was rising, and where loud cries, and the sparkling of blades and flashing of pistols, indicated some extraordinary occurrence. Suddenly the multitude was violently agitated, an English shout arose, the mass was rent asunder, and Norman Ramsay burst forth at the head of his battery, his horses breathing fire, and stretching like greyhounds along the plain, his guns bounding like things of no weight, and the mounted gunners in close and compact order protecting the rear." Thus far the allies were successful, but the French were more fortunate in another direction, and had made some progress in the wood, and it was now plain that the original position must, at any sacrifice, be recovered. Lord Wellington determined, in this posture of affairs, to concentrate his force towards the left. He had occupied Pozo Velho, and that neighbourhood, in the hopes that he should have been able to maintain the communication across the Coa by Sabugal, as well as to provide for the blockade—which objects, it was

now obvious, were incompatible with each other : he therefore abandoned that which was the least important—looking with just confidence to victory, rather than to any likelihood of retreat, and drew in the right of the army. He commenced by placing the light division in reserve behind the left of the first and the seventh divisions, on a commanding height beyond the Turon, which protected the right flank and rear of the first division, covering the communication with the Coa, and preventing that of the enemy with Almeida by the roads between the Turon and that river. This change of purpose and position was a momentous one, an anxious moment to Wellington, and “in all this war there was not a more dangerous hour for England.” In order to execute these movements, the light and the seventh divisions were necessitated to retire fully two miles in the face of a numerous, well-appointed body of cavalry, under, perhaps, the best cavalry officers in the imperial service. This duty was performed under the judicious conduct of Brigadier-General Craufurd with great ability and coolness. Having covered the passage of the seventh division across the Turon, he retired slowly over the plain in squares, having the British cavalry on his right flank. The enemy followed in the most intrepid manner, outflanking the allies continually, and occasionally cutting off small parties that could not be protected ; in one of these affairs of the sabre, Lieutenant-colonel Hill, of the third regiment of guards, and fourteen men, were made prisoners. Montbrun made many assaults upon the squares of the light division, and would have attempted to break them by the most violent means that his military preparations enabled him, but he came unwillingly to the conclusion that they could not be moved, contrary to their will, while life continued to animate them. “At this instant the whole plain as far as the Turon was covered with a confused multitude, amidst which the squares appeared but as specks, for there was a great concourse, composed of commissariat followers of the camp, servants, baggage, led-horses, and peasants attracted by curiosity, and finally the broken pickets and parties coming out of the woods.” Having hovered about the squares, Montbrun, at length, withdrew,

and abandoned the plain, upon which the light division pushed on, and became a reserve to the first division, throwing out sharp-shooters amongst the rocks, so as to continue the communication with the seventh division, and Don Julian's infantry at Frenada. The new position of the allies now extended on the high ground from the Turon to the Dos Casas, and this new front, so deeply lined, so suddenly formed, astounded the enemy: halting, unexpectedly, in our front, they commenced a heavy cannonade, but this was answered with still greater vigour, and the impetuosity of their fire soon abated. The enemy's cavalry fell back during the cannonade, and a large body of infantry, that endeavoured to steal a march down the glen of the Turon, was intercepted, and repulsed with dreadful loss by the sharp-shooters and the light troops.

While these momentous events were in progress, a scene of slaughter, never exceeded in ferocity of character, was enacting in the village of Fuentes d'Iionor. The possession of this place seemed to have been Massena's most anxious object from the commencement of the struggle; and the blood which he spilled, in the attempt to gratify his ambition, could not have been atoned for by the conquest of a kingdom. Drouet had been ordered to carry the village of Fuentes, and for two successive days he tried to execute the orders of his chief; but the determined resistance of the twenty-fourth, seventy-first, and seventy-ninth regiments, under Colonel Cameron, at length obliged him to retire: every house in the lower town was taken and retaken in the course of the day, and one by one abandoned as the entrances became choked up with dead. In this scene of slaughter two companies of the seventy-ninth were made prisoners, and brave Cameron fell mortally wounded. This catastrophe did not bring the struggle to a close; the British, retiring into the upper town, fortified themselves within the chapel; and so hotly and stiffly was the contest maintained, that the numbers that were brought in to reinforce Drouet produced but little effect. One tremendous inundation of Frenchmen poured into the chapel, passed out on the opposite side, and actually attempted to

*form there ; but their triumph was transitory.* Wellington, having all his reserves in hand, had detached largely to the relief of Fuentes d'Honor, and Colonel Mc Kinnon, at the head of three full regiments, charged with such impetuosity the victorious French, that greater havoc was never made, perhaps, in a space so brief. The chapel was recovered ; every Frenchman driven out of the upper town ; and, as to the lower, neither party seemed anxious to claim that city of death. The enemy made use of the darkness of night as a pretext for discontinuing the contest, and retired about a cannon-shot from the British lines. The brigade of the light division succeeded the brave garrison of Fuentes d'Honor, and the enemy made a slight demonstration in the vicinity of Fort Concepcion ; but this was instantly checked by the gallantry of the Lusitanian legion. With this weak effort, the struggles of Massena for the promised throne of Portugal, and for the glory of driving the British leopard into the ocean, expired. Although no further movement was discoverable in the enemy's lines, Lord Wellington, during the sixth and seventh, continued to raise breast-works amongst the rocks at Fuentes d'Honor, and entrench that part of his position which was immediately behind the village ; so that, should the enemy succeed in carrying the village, they would again be brought to a stand-still. On the night of the sixth, Massena's army appeared in motion ; but whether this movement was preparatory to some fresh attempt to raise the blockade of Almeida, or whether it was one of decided retreat, was not easily discoverable. On the eighth, however, they fell back upon the woods leading to Espeja and Gallegos, maintaining their posts at Alameda and Fuentes ; and, on the tenth the whole army of Portugal, following the crest-fallen child of victory, without having been subjected to any molestation from the allies, or natives, passed over to the Spanish side of the Agueda ; the sixth and eighth corps by Ciudad Rodrigo, the second by the bridge of Barba del Puerco, and the fort of Val de Espino.

Both sides claimed the victory in the fight of Fuentes d'Honor, and never was greater bravery displayed than by

both French and English on this great occasion : but suppose that in heroism both were equal, the reader of history naturally inquires whether the aggressor accomplished the object of the assault? In this instance Massena was the aggressor, and he totally failed in passing on through Fuentes to the relief of Almeida, and was compelled to retire with frightful loss of men. The English were more successful than they anticipated ; for, with inferior numbers they not only arrested the enemy in his progress, but inflicted such severe chastisement as to disable him for several days, while they held the “ debateable land,” and strengthened themselves against future assaults. The loss of the allies, in killed, wounded, and missing, exceeded one thousand seven hundred ; and those writers most favourable to the imperial cause, allow that the loss of the French, on this occasion, was certainly treble that of the allies.

Almeida, the prize for which Wellington and Massena indirectly contended at Fuentes d’Honor, was under the command of General Brenier, a brave and loyal soldier. He had long before received advice from Bessieres and Berthier as to the course to be pursued in the event of relief being delayed too long, and when Massena’s ultimatum reached him by a private soldier who made his way through the English lines unobserved, Brenier was in a state to destroy the works, and to carry off his garrison. The governor has caused one hundred and forty cavities to be pierced and left ready for charging, guns were fired from the ramparts daily, and it was not unusual also to discharge heavy guns at intervals during the night. Hence it happened that when he begun to blow up the works on the morning of the tenth, the queen’s regiment, and the others employed in the blockade, did not suspect any thing new or unusual, nor was any discovery made until the principal parts of the fortifications were destroyed, the ammunition thrown into the ditch, and the heavy guns spiked. The work of demolition continued with unabated energy until night-fall, when Brenier, calling his followers around him, explained to them how the service of their imperial master had been fulfilled by his

preventing the fort from falling into the hands of their enemies while it was in a condition of defence. It now only remained for them to follow him, cut their way through the enemy's pickets, and rejoin their comrades in arms. In the most solemn silence the auspicious watch-word of "Buonaparte and Bayard" was given out, and at one o'clock, as the mines were exploding, Brenier was hewing down our sentinels, and passing over their carcasses into the open country. He marshalled his men in two columns, the baggage being placed at the rear of each—a sacrifice to allure and detain his pursuers. By his perfect and accurate knowledge of the country, he was himself enabled to act as guide, and having given the most solemn injunctions that not a shot should be fired, by the light of the trembling moon-beams he led his men between the two divisions of British that had been posted to support the pickets. Pack, ever attentive to his duty, and possessing every quality that is requisite to constitute a perfect soldier, on the first sound that fell upon his ear at Malpartida, understood the folly and the idleness of his fellow-soldiers, and suspected the conduct of the brave governor of Almeida. Commencing a hot pursuit, he kept up such a continuous fire as formed a beacon for the allies, and, picking up a few English horsemen, he pushed them on to harass and hang upon the tail of each column, and, at all events, delay them, in hopes of reinforcements coming up. This handful of men was just driven off with great violence by the enemy, when the thirty-sixth and fourth regiments, who had been roused from their culpable lethargy by the tremendous noise which Pack kept up with that precise object, were rapidly gaining ground.

In agony of disappointment, at the escape of the garrison through the midst of their quarters, they became infuriate: knapsacks were flung away, and, dashing on at full speed they came up with Brenier's rear just as his columns were commencing the descent of a ravine called Barba de Puerco. Consciousness of fault added fuel to their rage, and so hotly, so heavily were the blows of these angry Britons dealt, that in a few minutes several hundred Frenchmen were slain, five hundred taken prisoners, and all their stores and baggage abandoned.

*As to the activity of the thirty-sixth, one of the best regiments in the service, "General Campbell's dispositions were neither negligently made or negligently executed," for they quickly answered Pack's call, and followed his gallant example :—the fourth regiment had been ordered "to occupy Barba de Puerco," but the officer who received the orders never transmitted them. "Had Sir W. Erskine given the fourth regiment its orders, the French columns would have been lost." At the close of this great adventure, planned with consummate wisdom, executed with the most admirable courage, Brenier found his countrymen ready to welcome him, and, at the bridge of San Felices, Regnier was in waiting to receive the garrison, and incorporate them with his corps, for the future service of their master. Amongst the French this exploit excited the highest admiration, and was extolled as an achievement unexampled in modern warfare : Massena, who caught at every flitting shadow of glory or greatness, declared this achievement belonged to him, was performed under his auspices, that the evacuation not the relief of Almeida was the object of the sanguinary struggle at Fuentes d'Honor, and that "the operation which had put the army in motion was thus terminated." His bombast, falsehood, and failures, however, were no longer palatable to the emperor. Victory might have sheltered Massena under her wings in northern Europe, and given him a triumph over rude and undisciplined men, whose ardour in their country's cause obscured their wisdom, but she most certainly denied him all future favours from the moment that her "spoiled child" became the direct opponent of a British army. His sun was now set ; a brief summons arrived from St. Cloud depriving him of his command, and appointing Marmont to succeed him ; and, accompanied by Ney, Junôt, and Loisson, Massena returned to Paris, leaving in Portugal and the Peninsula a name branded with everlasting infamy. The once great army of Portugal went into cantonments upon the Tormes, head-quarters being fixed at Salamanca, and Lord Wellington taking advantage of this repose from active warfare, set out for the Alentejos, in consequence*

of intelligence received from Beresford that Soult was advancing into *Estremadura*.

It would be unfair to the fame of Wellington to pass from the evacuation of Almeida, in which such extraordinary culpability attached to the besieging army, without showing how keenly, poignantly, the hero felt the misconduct of his officers. His letter of the eleventh of May to General Alex. Campbell, expressed the deepest mortification at his having permitted the garrison to escape, while the force under his command was four times more numerous: and, on the following day he wrote to Marshal Beresford relative to the same unfortunate circumstance, which he protested he looked on as "the most disgraceful military event that had yet occurred to the British."

But the following official communication to Lord Liverpool contains so full an exposition of his private feelings on the escape of the garrison, that while it contributes to prove the peculiar fitness of the individual for the very arduous duties that were imposed on him, it exculpates him in the most entire manner from any shadow of culpability in the transaction; every precautionary measure, that the clearest foresight could have dictated, having been adopted by Lord Wellington, as far as he was individually capable of discharging the duty. His lordship's despatch, which is dated Villa Formosa, fifteenth of May, 1811, is to the following effect:—"Your lordship will receive by this post the account of the blowing up of Almeida; and, although I believe that we have taken or destroyed the greatest part of the garrison, I have never been so much distressed by any military event, as by the escape of even a man of them. The enemy having retired across the Azava during the night of the ninth, I went forward in the morning to observe their subsequent movements. About one o'clock of the day of the tenth, having seen their whole army in march to recross the Agueda, I sent orders for the right of their army to resume their cantonments on the Dos Casas: the advanced guard and cavalry upon the Azava and Upper Agueda; the fifth division (Sir W. Erskines) to send a regiment to Barba de Puerco; and the sixth division (Major-General Alexander Campbell's) to



resume the blockade of Almeida. Sir W. Erskine was dining with Sir B. Spencer at head-quarters, and received his orders about four o'clock; and he says he sent them off forthwith to the fourth regiment, which was stationed, under former orders, on the Dos Casas, half-way between Aldea del Obispo and Barba de Puerco. General Campbell called on me about half-past five or six o'clock, and told me, that, before dark, his division would have resumed their position for the blockade.

At about half-past twelve the place was blown up; and the garrison had about fourteen miles to march to Barba de Puerco, and nearly the same distance to the only fords on the Agueda, the whole of which were occupied by our dragoons. General Pack and General Campbell both expected that the garrison would attempt to escape, and were both at Malpartida, about four miles from Almeida, on the road towards the Agueda and Barba de Puerco. Pack joined the pickets, and followed the enemy with ten men, and kept up a fire upon them, as a guide to the other troops, which he supposed were then following. Campbell did follow, with eight companies of the thirty-sixth regiment. The eighth Portuguese regiment, under Lieutenant-Colonel Douglas, which were at Junça, on the south-west side of Almeida, marched when the explosion was heard, and arrived at Barba de Puerco before the French; but finding nobody there excepting a picket of cavalry, they passed the Dos Casas, and thus missed them. The queen's regiment, which were within a mile of Almeida, on the road to Malpartida, were not aware that the place was blown up, and did not march at all; and the fourth regiment, which it is said did not receive their orders before midnight, and had only two and a half miles to march, missed their road, and did not arrive at Barba de Puerco till after the French, and along with Pack and Campbell: and the flank battalions of the fifth division, which Sir W. Erskine had detached from Aldea del Obispo, (so long after he had heard the explosion, that he had sent an officer to Almeida, between five and six miles, to ascertain what it was, and this officer had returned,) arrived nearly at the same time. The other corps of the sixth division had

marched different distances in pursuit of the enemy; but excepting the thirty-sixth and the eighth Portuguese, none had crossed the Turon. Thus your lordship will see that, if the fourth regiment had received the orders, issued at one, before it was dark at eight o'clock at night, or if they had not missed their road, the garrison must have laid down their arms; and the same would have occurred if Lieutenant-Colonel Douglas, had remained at Barba de Puerco; and possibly the same would have occurred had the pursuit been judiciously managed.

Possibly I have to reproach myself for not having been on the spot; but really when the enemy's whole army had crossed the Agueda, with the exception of one brigade of cavalry, in front of Ciudad Rodrigo, I did not think it probable that the attempt to escape would be made; and having employed two divisions and a brigade to prevent the escape of fourteen hundred men, whom I did not think it likely would attempt to escape, the necessity of my attending personally to this operation, after I had been the whole day on the Azava, did not occur to me. However, it is that alone in the whole operation in which I have to reproach myself, as every thing was done that could be done in the way of order and instruction. I certainly feel every day more and more the difficulty of the situation in which I am placed. I am obliged to be everywhere, and if absent from any operation, something goes wrong. It is to be hoped that the general and other officers of the army will at last acquire that experience which will teach them that success can be attained only by attention to the most minute details, and by tracing every part of every operation from its origin to its conclusion, point by point, and ascertaining that the whole is understood by those who are to execute it."—Wellington.

The disappointment and indignation of the commander-in-chief were not confined to the few expressions of regret contained in the preceding letter, in which the misconduct of two of his generals is too kindly passed over, he addressed a harsh remonstrance to one of those individuals, and a general admo-

nition to the whole army, from which it may be perceived how much he was stung by the reflection that his men wanted that steadiness of discipline which is the most beautiful feature in the art of war. "The officers of the army," observed his lordship, "may depend upon it, that the enemy to whom they are opposed are not less prudent than they are powerful. Notwithstanding what has been printed in gazettes and newspapers, we have never seen small bodies, unsupported, opposed to large; nor has the experience of any officer realized the stories, which all have read, of whole armies being driven by a handful of light infantry or dragoons."

In the midst of circumstances personally distressing, and calling for the immediate exercise of that moral courage which few men ever possessed to an equal extent, Lord Wellington suspended his political duties for a while, to pay a just tribute to bravery and friendship. The son of the gallant Cameron had received his death-wound, and Wellington thought that it might be some alleviation of the father's anguish if the painful intelligence were communicated by him; and never were the gentle qualities of his nature more beautifully depicted than by some feeling passages in his letter of condolence to the bereaved parent. "You will always," wrote his lordship, "regret and lament your son's loss, I am convinced; but I hope you will derive some consolation from the reflection that he fell in the performance of his duty, at the head of your brave regiment, loved and respected by all that knew him, in an action, in which, if possible, the British troops surpassed everything they had ever done before, and of which the result was most honourable to his majesty's arms. At all events, Providence having deprived you of your son, I cannot conceive a chain of circumstances more honourable and glorious than those under which he lost his life in the cause of his country. Believe me, however, that although I am fully alive to all those honourable circumstances attending his death, I most sincerely condole with you upon your loss"

When the exultation caused by the escape of Brenier and his chosen band had subsided, Lord Wellington visited

Almeida, took a calm review of the extent of the mischief done to that fortress, and made an estimate of the difficulties that would attend its restoration. He found, to his great satisfaction, that the destruction was by no means as complete as the governor had intended. All the outworks were entire and uninjured, excepting that in front of the gateway, the counter-scarp was uninjured, the exterior revêtement of the rampart unremoved, and the rampart itself so little harmed, that when his lordship, accompanied by his staff, walked upon it, it was not perceived that the interior revêtement had been blown away; three-fourths of the exterior revêtement remained whole, and when it was blown up the foundation remained undisturbed. The mines had been opened on a level with the *terre pleine* of the fort, and carried thence along the exterior revêtement, which being the least line of resistance was blown away, while the rampart itself stood firm, and the guns generally remained still in their embrasures. The place contained much ordnance, a large accumulation of shot, and better carriages than the allies left in it originally. By a small expenditure of labour, the rubbish might be cleared out of the ditch, the earth of the rampart scarped down where the revêtement had been blown away, and then, by stockading it at top and bottom, the place would be rendered secure against a *coup de main*, after which government might repair it at their leisure. This very favourable report of the state of the fortress was forwarded to the regency with an urgent request, in fact a remonstrance, calling on them to repair the dilapidations within one fortnight from the date of Lord Wellington's notice, or that he would withdraw the allied troops from the place, having first blown up the remains of the works.

The army of Portugal had fled over the border, the boasts of Massena were almost forgotten, but the check which the glory of France received at the Lines of Torres Vedras, the discomfiture of the enemy at Busaco, and the violent struggle at Fuentes d'Honor, in which the enemy fought most inveterately to recover the pedestal from which he had been dethroned, and which ended in his being flung back with a violent shock

upon the Spanish border, began to make a sensible impression upon all Europe.

*Massena was defeated, and driven from Portugal, and by an army composed of discordant materials, and very inferior in numbers to his own. This achievement was Wellington's alone, not aided by the British cabinet, and supported warmly by the generals in his service, but notwithstanding the coldness of the cabinet, the calumnies, outcries, and wickedness of the opposition, and against the judgment of every general officer in the service, part of whom had skulked home upon pretence of business or indisposition, while those that remained in the field pressed daily upon the commander-in-chief, the advisability of embarking the army, and of returning to England. But Wellington showed himself equal to the occasion: when the Portuguese government relaxed, he threatened an immediate embarkation of the British: when the British minister pressed him, he promised, and he invariably performed his promise, such a victory as would secure their places to his coadjutors and himself; when his officers hinted the inutility of the contest, he talked of duty, and the advantage of possessing faculties exactly fitted to the nature and extent of those duties that devolved upon each individual.*

His unflinching firmness and uninterrupted series of successes now took hold upon the judgment of the English people; and as popular men retain their popularity precisely so long as they represent and run with the popular opinions of the day, without any reference to their private views, the popular orator in the House of Commons at this period, Samuel Whitbread, felt himself called upon to turn with the flowing tide; and, after the manner of Earl Grey, he made a public atonement at the altar of his injured country, for the calumnies against Lord Wellington, to which he had lent himself for years, and which, had he been so unlucky as to have persuaded the country that his opinions possessed intrinsic worth, must have produced national ruin as their consequence. Mr. Whitbread, warned by the voice of conscience, now addressed a letter of atonement to Lord Wellington, confessing his guilt, and

begging forgiveness, Lord Wellington despised his heartless enmity, and left him to his best accuser, his conscience, but, *for the sake of his country, he welcomed those signs of returning vigorous health to the morbid body of the opposition, and thus replied to Mr. Whitbread's letter.* "My dear Sir—I was most highly gratified by your letter of the twenty-ninth of April, which I received last night: and I beg leave to return my thanks for the mode in which you have taken the trouble of informing me of the favourable change of your opinion respecting affairs in this country.

"I acknowledge that I was much concerned to find, that persons for whom I entertained the highest respect, and whose opinions were likely to have great weight in England, and throughout Europe, had derived erroneous opinions, as I thought, respecting affairs in this country: and I prized their judgments so highly, at the same time that I was certain of the error of the opinion which they had delivered, that I was induced to attribute their conduct to the excess of the spirit of party. I assure you, that, highly as I am gratified and flattered by the approbation of (Earl Grey, most probably) and yourself and others, that which gives me most pleasure, in the account which I received last night from England, is to be convinced that such men could not be unjust towards an officer in the service of the country abroad; and that the opinions which they had delivered, however unfavourable to him, were the real dictates of their judgments, upon a fair view of all the circumstances that had come to their knowledge. To the gratification arising from this conviction, to one who appears destined to pass his life in the harness, you have added that which I received from your obliging letter: and I assure you I am very sensible of the kindness towards me, which induced you to write to me.—Wellington. Elvas twenty-third, May 1811."

While the Duke of Ragusa, strengthened by the addition of the garrison of Almeida, retired towards Salamanca, Lord Wellington, leaving the first, fifth, and sixth light divisions under Spencer, on the Azava, and detaching another force

upon Badajos, prepared to move to the south. Hearing the portentous news that Soult, once again in arms, had laid aside the defensive, and was now in full strength prowling around Estremadura, seeking whom he might destroy, Wellington sent forward the terror of his name, which before had paralyzed the marshal's arms, and Soult, perfectly comprehending its value, resolved on attacking the legion while it lacked the charm of Cæsar's presence; and before Wellington could reach Beresford's force, a bloody battle was fought, and a victory dearly purchased. A memorandum had been submitted to the Spanish generals, suggesting the most prudent measures of co-operation, and treating those rude cavaliers with all the ceremony due to disciplined and regular soldiers; but these morose and self-sufficient persons paused to reflect upon the best mode of consulting their dignity, and Latour-Maubourg meanwhile filled his magazines to overflowing, and would have proceeded to waste, but for the extraordinary courage, activity, and ability of Colonel Colborne, (Lord Seaton,) "who, with a brigade of the second division, two Spanish guns, and two squadrons of cavalry, curbed the French inroads, and raised the confidence of the people. Colborne, a man of singular talent for war, by rapid marches and sudden changes of direction, in concert with Villamur, created great confusion amongst the enemy's parties." He intercepted convoys, drove the foragers out of Fuente Ovejuna, and several other border-towns, and imposed upon Maubourg so completely, that the latter thought a large force must be in the vicinity, and, in consequence, evacuated Guadalcanal; while Colborne was riding up to each baronial castle, and, like a knight-errant summoning the holders to surrender to his royal master, the Spanish chiefs were enabled to decide upon Lord Wellington's memorandum, to the contents of which all now professed their readiness to accede.

Badajos was fully invested on the fifth of May, and this, the first important siege undertaken by the English in this war, commenced with means such as would have reflected discredit upon the most imbecile government in Europe: "With-

out a corps of sappers and miners, without a single private who knew how to carry on an approach under fire, the British were compelled to attack fortresses defended by the most warlike, practised, and scientific troops of the age: the best officers and the finest soldiers were obliged to sacrifice themselves in a lamentable manner, to compensate for the negligence and incapacity of a government, always ready to plunge the nation into a war, without the slightest care of what was necessary to obtain success. The sieges carried on by the British in Spain were a succession of butcheries, because the commonest resources of their art were denied to the engineers.”\* Long and laborious efforts, directed by able engineers, ended in the construction of one small battery mounting five guns, upon San. Christoval; but the besieged made a desperate sally, slew numbers of the besiegers, and disabled four out of the five guns. A second battery was constructed against the bridge-head, but this was quickly overmatched and silenced; and intelligence of Soult’s army being in motion, determined Marshal Beresford upon giving him a meeting at a distance from Badajos, and in fact the ground on which he had been previously ordered to contend with Soult was Albuera.

On the tenth, Marshal Soult marched from Seville, with thirty guns and sixteen thousand men; he was joined in his progress by Marasin and Latour-Maubourg, with above five thousand more. When within thirty miles of Badajos, he caused his heaviest guns to fire *salvos* during the night, in expectation of the sounds reaching the garrison, and proclaiming the approach of relief; but this plan failed totally, and the enemy entered Santa Marta on the fifteenth, without having experienced any interruption, or having accomplished any achievement. On the night of the twelfth, Marshal Beresford raised the siege, contrary to the entreaties of his engineers; and, on the thirteenth he held a conference with the Spanish generals. At this solemn council the advice of Wellington was the only guide; in conformity with its tenor, all agreed that Albuera was to be the place whose name was

\* Napier’s History of the Peninsular War.



to be rendered famous in story; and, to lull all jealousies between Blake and Castanos, the supreme command was vested in Marshal Beresford. The allied army was formed in two lines, on the front of a hill that rose with a gradual ascent from Albuera, and covered the road to Badajos and Albuera. At the rear of Beresford's position was the Aroya Val de Seville, and in front flowed the Albuera river, fordable in many places, and crossed by a bridge near to the village. Beresford had calculated with too much certainty upon the mode in which the enemy would attack; and, under this false view, looking on the Valverde-hill as the key of his position, placed Blake with the Spaniards on his right, and the British wherever the greatest physical force seemed likely to be required. Major-General Stewart's corps continued the line to the left, which was closed on the extreme left by Hamilton's division. The second line of the Spanish and Portuguese army consisted of a brigade of Hamilton's corps, and a body of troops under General Cole. The right of this line for some time had no existence but in the plan of Marshal Beresford; for not a soldier took up his position there. Blake had been requested by the marshal to occupy that honourable ground, and he promised that he would be on the position with his corps by noon at the latest; but he did not take his place before eleven o'clock on the night of the fifteenth. Soult now examined carefully Beresford's position; and, perceiving a hiatus in one part of his line, and being fully aware of the motley character of the army, and not having the terror of Wellington's name to contend with, he resolved on attacking the allies in their weakest points on the following morning. One result of Soult's reconnoissance was, that he discovered a hill which completely commanded the allies' line of battle, and which Beresford had neglected to occupy. With a knowledge of his art, in which none of his countrymen were his equals, and a boldness which he had brought with him *ab initio* into his profession, during the night he marched silently up to this eminence a body of fifteen thousand men, accompanied by forty pieces of heavy artillery; and this immense force was

thus placed within a few minutes' march of the allies' right wing, without the excitation of the least alarm amongst them for their safety, or the least suspicion of what would be most probably Soult's plan of attack.

The arrival of Cole and Blake during the night strengthened the ranks of the allies; but Soult did not appear to consider his adversaries as opponents worthy of so great a nation as that which he there represented, and any accession of Spaniards, particularly, did not seem to attract his attention. The battle commenced by the advance of Godinot's corps upon the bridge of Albuera; he was supported by ten guns, and followed by Werle with the reserve. The battery established at the bridge raked Godinot's columns; and, as his attack was but a feint, he fell back rather more speedily than Beresford had expected. It was now plain that the battle was to be fought in some other part of the field—his right, most probably; and the marshal immediately sent orders to Blake to form a new front at right angles with his former, and to Cole's division to form obliquely to the rear of the right. Spanish pomposity kept so tenacious a hold of Blake's intellects, that he never made the least change in his front until Beresford came in person, on one side, and Soult's veterans began to appear on the other, within a few hundred yards of his position. The misconduct of the Spaniards had nearly led to the total destruction of the British on two or three serious occasions; and Lord Wellington generally placed these "necessary evils" where they could neither betray nor escape. In this instance they created the utmost confusion; and the enemy would have been in the midst of our line before it was perfectly formed, had not Marshal Beresford, with wonderful presence of mind, assumed the command of the Spaniards, and wheeled them all into line according to the new front.

The plan of the enemy's attack was now fully developed, for the fifth corps was actually ascending the hill at nine o'clock; Godinot was keeping Alten's brigade employed at the bridge of Albuera; and Werle, obviously in obedience to previous instructions, leaving a small support with Godinot's

corps, countermarched with the remainder, and with the greatest expedition joined the fifth corps in their attack upon the allies' right. Similar orders appeared to have been given to the light cavalry in *Godinot's division*, for they galloped off almost simultaneously with Werle's movement, and, passing beyond the rear of the fifth corps, proceeded until they came in front of Lumley's horse, where they halted suddenly, and took up a position immediately adjoining that of Latour-Maubourg's cavalry. Beresford's line was still in confusion when the French burst in upon him, nor could the personal exertions of that brave soldier, and the influence of his noble example, succeed in animating the Spaniards; he could not push forward the first Spanish division so as to bring up the second into a position convenient for its support; and, while he was in the act of reducing these obstinate people into order, the French cannon from the adjacent hill began to play amongst them, the French infantry, advancing close to their position, poured in volleys of musketry with fatal effect, and the enemy's cavalry outflanking their front, sabred them as they gave way under a rolling fire of grape and musketry. At this crisis in the battle, Major-General W. Stewart, with Colborne's brigade, was brought up to support the Spaniards, and reached the foot of the hill at a moment that was fraught with the greatest peril: without consideration or delay, Stewart dashed up the hill in columns of companies, and, finding that one of the closest fires that ever issued from a column of infantry did not stir the enemy from their vantage-ground, he ordered a charge with bayonets: while in the act of charging, a body of Polish lancers, which a heavy storm of rain, the smoke of the firing, and the nature of the ground had concealed, turned Stewart's flank. Even when they were perceived by the brigade, mistaking them for Spanish cavalry, they did not fire on them, but suffered them to accomplish their intended manoeuvre. The consequence of this unexpected attack on the rear was, that the brigade was unfortunately broken, and suffered immensely. A gust of wind succeeded the fall of rain, and cleared the smoke away so much, that Lumley saw the lancers riding

about, and cutting down the stragglers from the broken lines. Detaching a strong party of horse in pursuit of them, he retaliated with a dreadful vengeance, numbers of the Poles being hewn down, and the remainder driven off the ground. "*In the tumult, a Polish lancer fell upon Beresford, but the marshal, a man of great strength, putting his lance aside, cast him from his saddle.*" The thirty-first regiment being the left of the brigade, and not having deployed, alone escaped this fatal charge, and firmly kept its ground until the arrival of the third brigade under Major-General Houghton, when the weather becoming clearer, the allies fairly, and in the broad light of day, front to front, attacked the enemy, and revenged their comrades in a frightful manner, the carnage amongst the enemy exciting the utmost alarm in the mind of their commander-in-chief. This decided check sufficiently convinced Soult, that although his plan of attack was most ingenious, the courage of the English was of such an indomitable character, that they were not to be subdued by the same means and manœuvres that had so easily reduced the continent of Europe.

The French infantry, stunned by the violence of Houghton's musketry and Dickson's artillery, which kept up such an unremitting fire, fell back a little, staggered in their movement, and appeared uncertain as to retreat or advance, but soon their gallant officer cheering them to the attack, the struggle was renewed. The French fought in close column, by which much of their efficiency was restricted; the English, according to the Wellingtonian tactics, always in line: the British officers were conscious of the advantage of this method, and never was it more obvious than in this desperate conflict. The enemy endeavoured to open their ranks, but the English plied them so rapidly with grape, canister, and musket-balls, that every attempt ended in confusion. "It was an incessant fire, very often at the distance of twenty paces, only interrupted at intervals, on the part of the British, by partial charges of the bayonet. The French, treble their number, fought in their best manner, and made incredible efforts, but in vain; nothing could shake or overcome the troops that were opposed to them; and

this period of the battle was fruitful beyond all former example in traits of devoted heroism, and contempt of death." The fight continued fierce and furious; the English, although pressed by the weight of such superior numbers, and raked by Rutý's artillery at only half-range, would not yield an inch of ground, and in this furious onslaught Stewart was wounded twice, Colonel Duckworth was slain, and Houghton, in the act of cheering on his brigade to the charge, fell pierced with wounds; of the fifty-seventh regiment alone, Colonel Inglis, twenty-two officers, and four hundred rank and file had fallen; still no abatement of fury appeared on either side. It was imagined that Beresford now wavered, and hesitated between continuance or retreat; his ammunition was just exhausted, the best part of his brave countrymen slain, the fire of his troops obviously slackened, and six of his heavy guns captured. Whether he wavered, or beheld with inexpressible anguish his brave countrymen falling in hundreds before an enemy of countless numbers, he never issued such an order, nor shrunk one moment from that part of the field where the fight was most furious, and the danger greatest; but while doubt seemed to dwell upon his tongue, Colonel (Sir Henry) Hardinge, with the most extraordinary presence of mind, coolly assumed a supreme authority, and, riding up to General Cole, as if with orders from the commander-in-chief, desired him to advance; then passing on to Abercrombie, who was in command of a brigade of the second division, repeated the order, and waited until he saw both reinforcements engaged stiffly with the enemy.

This assumption of supremacy at such a crisis left Beresford no choice; Hardinge cast the lots for him; and, however, the game might end, he must be content to submit to the responsibility. At this moment Werle's reserves were coming rapidly up, passing over heaps of carcasses, and Houghton's brigade was obviously sinking with exhaustion, but the arrival of reinforcements in a moment changed the prospects of both sides. The gallantry and prudence of Cole, Arbuthnot, and Abercrombie soon rectified the mischiefs which had befallen the allies, by recovering the guns, driving off the Polish lancers,

and marching their men in the most beautiful order to the right of Houghton's brigade: the French did withstand the violence of the shock for some time, but the close compact manner in which the British reserves now advanced, in one solid body with concentrated powers, like a mass that was assailed and pushed forward by some land-flood, ready to smother and bury every obstacle that vainly or unfortunately opposed its progress; or as some engine, such as science in modern times could construct, with power almost incalculable by its makers, and that often destroys its authors and all obstacles that oppose its ungoverned fury. The reserves advanced, trampled down, bayoneted, and fired, at a few feet distance only, into the dense columns of the French, who, no longer able to resist the physical strength of Englishmen, fell back, wheeled round, and fled in the utmost confusion down the hill, followed by the desperate men whom they had so vainly encountered, until their officers considered further pursuit unsafe and imprudent. The following impassioned description of this memorable moment in the battle of Albuera, occurs in Colonel Napier's history. "Such a gallant line, issuing from the midst of the smoke, and rapidly separating itself from the confused and broken multitude, startled the enemy's heavy masses, which were increasing and pressing onward, as to an assured victory; they wavered, hesitated, and then, vomiting forth a storm of fire, hastily endeavoured to enlarge their front, while a fearful discharge of grape from all their artillery whistled through the British ranks. Myers was killed; Cole and the three colonels, Ellis, Blakeney, and Hawkshawe, fell wounded; and the fusileer battalions, struck by the iron tempest, reeled and staggered like sinking ships. Suddenly and sternly recovering, they closed on their terrible enemies, and then was seen with what a strength and majesty the British soldiers fight. In vain did Soult, by voice and gesture, animate his Frenchmen; in vain did the hardiest veterans, extricating themselves from the crowded columns, sacrifice their lives, to gain time for the mass to open out on such a fair field; in vain did the mass itself bear up, and, fiercely

striving, fire indiscriminately upon friends and foes; while the *horsemen, hovering on the flank, threatened to charge the advancing line.* Nothing could stop that astonishing infantry. No sudden burst of undisciplined valour, no nervous enthusiasm, weakened the stability of order; their flashing eyes were bent on the dark columns in their front; their measured tread shook the ground; their dreadful volleys swept away the head of every formation; their deafening shouts overpowered the dissonant cries that broke from all parts of the tumultuous crowd, as foot by foot, and with a horrid carnage, it was driven by the incessant vigour of the attack to the farthest edge of the hill. In vain did the French reserves, joining with the struggling multitude, endeavour to sustain the fight; their efforts only increased the irremediable confusion, and the mighty mass giving way like a loosened cliff, went headlong down the ascent. The rain flowed after in streams discoloured with blood, and fifteen hundred unwounded men, the remnant of six thousand unconquerable British soldiers, stood triumphant on the fatal hill."

During this tremendous struggle, in which the fusileers so nobly distinguished themselves, Latour-Maubourg being very roughly treated by the horse-artillery, retired slowly and sullenly before Harvey's brigade and Lumley's horse, and by the able manœuvring of the latter officer his endeavours were entirely foiled. The fortune of the day had completely changed, and Marshal Beresford, who watched every operation with the most intense anxiety, saw the tide of French success ebbing fast, and immediately directed Blake's first line to move upon the village of Albucera, and release the Germans and Portuguese from their position: by this manœuvre ten thousand fresh and faithful men being placed at his disposal, he seconded the determined efforts of the fusileers, who were now also aided by the Spanish division under Ballasteros, Espana, and Zayas. This force was too powerful an accession; the enemy, taking advantage of a continuous fire from Rutty's guns on the summit of the hill, under their cover effected a retreat, leaving the best and bravest of Soult's army on the

blood-stained hill of Albuera. The British retained no trophies ; *they could but point to the heaps of slain, and say--* there was the melancholy memorial of their victory: the French carried off five hundred prisoners, and several stand of colours.\*

\* " At the battle of Albuera, on the seventeenth of May, 1811, the third regiment of foot, or Buffs, was surrounded by a large force of French and Polish cavalry. Ensign Thomas, who carried the regimental colour, was shot dead in the commencement of the battle, and the colours captured. The king's colour was carried by Lieutenant Matthew Latham. He was attacked by several French hussars, one of whom, seizing the flag-staff, and rising in his stirrup, aimed a stroke at the head of the gallant Latham, which failed in cutting him down, but which sadly mutilated him, severing one side of the face and nose ; he still struggled with the dragoon, and exclaimed, " I will surrender it only with my life." A second sabre-stroke severed his left arm and hand, in which he held the staff, from his body. The brave fellow then seized the staff with his right hand, throwing away his sword, and continuing to struggle with his opponents, now increased in number ; when, ultimately thrown down, trampled upon, and pierced by the spears of the Polish lancers, his last effort was to tear the flag from the staff, as he lay prostrate, and to thrust it partly into the breast of his jacket. The number of Latham's adversaries impeded their efforts to destroy him, and the dragoons were ultimately driven off by the seventh fusiliers and forty-eighth regiment, which came up to support the Buffs. The greater part of the latter corps were made prisoners, and sent to the rear. Latham was turned over by a soldier of the seventh fusiliers, and the colour which he had thus preserved found under him. He was left on the field, supposed to have been killed, and the flag was sent on the evening following the battle to the head-quarters of the Buffs, with a statement of the manner of its recovery. Latham's wounds were not mortal ; in two hours afterwards he crawled on his hand and knees towards the river Albuera, and was found by some of the orderlies of the army attempting to slake his thirst in the stream ; being carried into the convent, his wounds were dressed, the stump of his arm amputated, and he ultimately recovered. He immediately received his company in the " Canadian Fencible Infantry," and an opportunity offering itself soon after, of an exchange into the corps his gallantry had so highly distinguished, he remained with the comrades by whom he was so highly loved and esteemed. The officers of the Buffs entered into a subscription to purchase a gold medal for Latham, (value one hundred guineas,) on which his gallant action was represented in high relief, and to which the sentiment he had uttered, as stated above, served as a motto. The permission of the sovereign was applied for, through the commander-in-chief, and officially granted, that Captain Latham should wear the medal presented by his comrades in arms, suspended by a scarlet ribbon, edged with buff, at his breast ; which he ever after continued to do. Captain Latham, on his recovery from his wounds, joined the



*The enemy was pursued by the allies to a considerable distance, and as far as Marshal Beresford thought it prudent, considering their immense superiority of cavalry: the allies were content, when they saw the main body of the enemy driven across the Albuera, and their troops totally withdrawn from the village, where they had been seriously handled by Alten; and by three o'clock in the afternoon the battle was over, and all firing had ceased. On the following morning both armies were seen in the positions which they occupied in the afternoon of the seventeenth, and the allies therefore expected a renewal of the conflict; Beresford, however, had been reinforced by the third brigade of the fourth division, under General Kemmis, which arrived from Christoval by way of Jerumezha; and Soult, who had lost too many men to test British valour a second time without fresh succours, commenced his retreat on the eighteenth, and passing through Solano to Almendralejos, he set about fortifying several strong places in Estremadura, who on the twenty-third he fixed his head-quarters at Llerena, placing his cavalry at Usagre: he entertained no apprehension of Beresford, or the force under his command, but he cautiously withdrew out of Wellington's reach, who he knew would pursue him with unremitting vigour, to prevent his receiving reinforcements, and to destroy his power of relieving Badajos. He now looked anxiously towards Andalusia for support, and with no less agitation towards the next position which Wellington might select. When the enemy's retreat*

second battalion of the Buffs, which was stationed at Brighton in 1815, and was presented to the Prince Regent by his colonel. When Latham's heroic action was stated to him, the prince, after expressing in strong terms his admiration of his valour, observed, "that the mutilation which Latham had undergone admitted of alleviation; that he had latterly heard of many cases in which a celebrated surgeon in London, Carpue, had succeeded in repairing the most frightful mutilations of the face." He added, "If Captain Latham should feel disposed to avail himself of Mr. Carpue's aid, I shall be proud to be allowed to defray the entire expense of the operation and cure." Latham assented to this kind proposition; the operation was performed in the summer of 1815, by Carpue, assisted by the surgeon of the Buffs, (Mr. Anderson) and it was attended with the most perfect success."--*From the United Service Gazette.*

was distinctly ascertained, Beresford directed General Hamilton to make a show of reinvesting Badajos on the left bank, and Lord Wellington arriving on the field of battle the same day, directed the complete investment of Badajos on the right bank of the river, besides a cautious pursuit of the flying enemy, and then returned to Elvas. The victory of Albuera was dearly purchased, and probably never should have been fought. Soult protested that it was the most desperate conflict he had ever witnessed in his sanguinary road to the dukedom of Dalmatia: after the battle, the different rivulets were literally red with blood, the moans of the dying rang round the hills, and excited the most chilling feelings in those who heard them, without ability to afford relief; and during the night the rain continued to fall in torrents upon the whole district around Albuera, rendering the condition of the wounded, who lay weltering in their blood in the open air, still more pitiable and unfortunate. Several hundred French, who were too severely wounded to bear removal, were left to English generosity. Soult could not have hoped for mercy for his poor soldiers from Spanish men, for he understood the character of that people too well; and General Blake, in fact, had refused to give any assistance to the wounded English, stating, that such was an unusual and irregular request: he considered his own medical staff not then adequate to the wants of the wounded Spaniards—each army must look to their own sick and wounded.—The total loss of the allies in this sanguinary struggle exceeded six thousand men, of whom two thousand were Spaniards, four hundred Portuguese, and one hundred and twenty German light infantry: seven thousand English entered the field of battle, of these nearly one half found their graves. The Spaniards may have evinced some bravery, for they are always eager for battle, but always the first to run away; at Albuera their usefulness was much diminished by the moroseness of their leader. No matter what political value may be attached to the fight of Albuera, it was a victory, and over Marshal Soult at the head of a fine, well-disciplined army, of which nine thousand five hundred were laid dead upon the field. It was a victory,

in winning which, perhaps more examples of personal intrepidity occurred, than are recorded in the annals of an hundred battles. *Two British brigades, each mustering fourteen hundred bayonets, advanced to the fight under Myers and Houghton, and in each of these one thousand men fell.*

Sir W. Beresford, in the fulness of a just and thankful heart, related the individual gallantry of his officers at considerable length. "It is impossible," he writes, "to enumerate every instance of discipline and valour shown on this severely contested day; but there never were troops that more valiantly or more gloriously maintained the honour of their respective countries; every individual most nobly did his duty, which is well proved by the great loss we have suffered, though repulsing the enemy. I have great pleasure in saying, that the behaviour of the Spaniards was most gallant and honourable; and though, from the superior number and weight of the enemy's force, that part of them that were in the position attacked were obliged to cede the ground, it was after a gallant resistance; and they continued in good order to support their allies." General Williams received two wounds, but would not quit the field, and the marshal declared that praises could not exceed the meritorious services of Major-General Cole. The gallantry of Colonel (General Sir Harry) Inglis was an example to every soldier; and the services of the Portuguese were rendered equally valuable with those of the British troops, by the courage, intrepidity, and steadiness of General (Sir Archibald) Campbell." In Marshal Beresford's despatch, the conduct of the Spaniards is eulogized, although it is fully ascertained that they were tardy and morose. This may have been done through a well-considered policy, to calm and conciliate such jealous allies, or possibly it is attributable to the innate kindness of the marshal. Lord Wellington forwarded Marshal Beresford's account of the battle of Albuera, enclosed in a despatch from himself, approving in every point of the marshal's conduct, but not entering into any details. It is confidently believed that Lord Wellington regretted much that a battle had been fought, and still more that no







MAJ. GEN. SIR ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL BAR. G.C.B. & C.

*Arch: Campbell*



precaution had been taken to strengthen the right of the allies' position by field-works. As to the unqualified encomiums bestowed upon the Spaniards in the public despatches, they are to be taken as *ex-officio* documents, not meaning any thing precisely; for Lord Wellington wrote, on an occasion immediately after, as follows: "Beresford tells me that it would be a great point gained if Blake were to return to the regency, as he is not very accommodating, although he adhered strictly to the letter of everything I laid down for his guidance."



## CHAP. II.

LORD WELLINGTON ARRIVES AT ELVAS, AND VIEWS THE FIELD OF BATTLE—SECOND SIEGE OF BADAJOS RAISED BY MARMONT AND SOULT—WELLINGTON RETIRES UPON THE CAYA—THE FRENCH MARSHALS SEPARATE—BLAKE SENT AGAINST SEVILLE—WELLINGTON MOVES TOWARDS THE TAGUS AND BLOCKADES CIUDAD RODRIGO—MARMONT ADVANCES TO ITS RELIEF—COMBAT OF EL BODON—GIRARD SURPRISED AND DEFEATED BY HILL AT ARROYO MOLINOS—GALLANT DEFENCE OF TARIFA—SIEGE AND CAPTURE OF CIUDAD RODRIGO—BLAKE'S ARMY SURRENDERS AT VALENCIA—SIEGE AND FALL OF BADAJOS—MARMONT ADVANCES INTO PORTUGAL, BUT FALLS BACK UPON THE APPROACH OF WELLINGTON.—1811—12

On the eighteenth of May, Lord Wellington reached Elvas, and on the fourth day afterwards viewed the field of battle, whence Marshal Beresford had thus written, in his warm-hearted despatch giving a statement of the proceedings of that memorable day, "It was observed that our dead, particularly the fifty-seventh regiment, were lying as they had fought, in ranks, and every wound was in front."\* Lord Wellington, accustomed to look on death in all its forms, beheld these brave Britons laid on their bed of glory, and, having expressed the most marked regret for the fate of Myers,† he next rolled his martial glance over the recent field of slaughter, and promptly formed his opinion upon the genius and conduct of the brave man who commanded on that day. "We had a very good position at Albuera, and I think should have gained a complete victory in it, without any material loss, if the Spaniards could

\* Nam fere, quem quisque pugnando locum ceperat, cum amissâ animâ corpore tegebat."—*Bellum Catilinarium*.

† Sir W. Myers was one of the most gallant officers, and, probably, the most intellectually distinguished also amongst the officers who served in the war. Entered of Winchester college, he at once developed most extraordinary powers for the rapid and accurate acquisition of classical knowledge. Dr. Goddard, the head of the college, observed his precocious talents, and gently tried to wean him from a love of military glory, which was rapidly expelling every other thought. The efforts of the amiable prelate were vain, and Myers, the only son of Lieutenant-General Myers, soon obtained a commission on the half-pay, for which in 1800, when only sixteen years of age, he exchanged into the seventh regiment.





GEORGE HAMILTON GORDON EARL OF ABERDEEN K.T. F.R.S. &c.

*Aberdeen*

have manœuvred : but unfortunately they cannot." But the English nation were now perfectly content, and placed the fullest confidence in their hero ; they knew that a victory could *not be won over an army so disciplined as the French without the most skilful manœuvring and the most devoted bravery* : these things they had at one time overlooked, but now they could see nothing, hear of nothing, but the glory of our arms.

On the seventh of June, Lord Liverpool called the attention of the house to the respect which was due to the friends and relatives of those who fell in their country's service—a consolation that much alleviated their regret. An attention to this natural feeling was peculiarly applicable in the present instance, considering the nature of the conflict, the magnitude of the loss, and all the other circumstances of the affair. A remarkable feature in this action likewise called for particular observation. Though the severity of the action fell principally upon the British troops, yet it was a battle in which not only British, but Portuguese and Spaniards shared the dangers and glories of the day. Though the army was thus composed of three nations, yet we had seen a perfect cordiality amongst the officers, and a similar courage and perseverance in the troops. It was most gratifying, he thought, to contemplate the excellent conduct of the allies. Every occasion tended still farther to show the good effects of that discipline which Sir W. Beresford had introduced and carried to so high a pitch among the Portuguese. After the battle of Busaco it was natural to say, that although in that strong position the Portuguese did their duty, yet when they should come to face an enemy in the field, they might not fulfil the expectations that many had formed of them. In this case they were peculiarly tried, and there was the authority of the general, and of many officers, for saying, that they manœuvred in the face of the enemy's fire in a manner equal to the British troops. Lord Liverpool closed his too partial statement of Spanish co-operation by proposing a vote of thanks to Sir W. Beresford, which he meant to follow up by a similar tribute to the Spanish and Portuguese armies.—The Earl of Aberdeen approved of

such well-merited rewards, but expressed surprise that no similar notice had been taken of the battle of Fuentes d'Honor, an action which was distinguished by a most masterly manœuvre, and which he conceived fully entitled Lord Wellington to a vote of thanks from that house. Lord Moira cautioned ministers against using too much latitude in the bestowal of honours, as it might be turned to the dishonourable account of obtaining parliamentary approbation for expeditions of which the country had never approved. In this instance there was no room for apprehension. This was another victory which showed to the world that the gallant officers and soldiers of our army were the worthy comrades of those who, on every sea, had proclaimed our naval glories.

Lord Mulgrave acknowledged that great and extraordinary services, when frequently repeated, became less striking. But there was nothing in the present proceeding that could possibly have such an effect as that alluded to with respect to Lord Wellington.—The Earl of Harrowby conceived that a feeling had been attributed to Lord Wellington by more than one of the noble speakers, which he confidently believed formed no part of his character. He was convinced the liberal and enlightened mind of Lord Wellington was superior to any consideration of the kind. His renown was too well established, not only in this country, but throughout the world, to suffer him to harbour such a sentiment: but if any thing could add to his satisfaction, it would be to reflect that his great example was followed by a commander so near to him, that he had infused into British generals the noble spirit of emulation. The thanks of the house were accordingly voted to Sir W. Carr Beresford for his services at Albuera.

In the lower house, the chancellor of the exchequer declared, that Divine Providence had enabled his majesty's forces to achieve, in the short period which had elapsed of the present campaign, more signal and glorious successes than had been heretofore obtained in almost any space of a tedious and protracted war. In short, such a tide and flood of victory flowed in our favour, that of our army it might be said, as of an army

of old, "*Hostis nihil aliud est nisi perpetua gloriæ materia vestra.*" The thanks were then granted without a dissentient voice.

In these demonstrations of gratitude the city of London, perhaps, exceeded all other bodies : on the ninth of May, 1811, a common-council was held in the chamber of the Guildhall, when a series of congratulatory resolutions was agreed to, an authentic copy of which will be found in the note.\*

The thanks of both houses of parliament being quickly forwarded to Lord Wellington, he immediately replied to the Earl of Eldon and Mr. Abbott, in letters of a similar character, of which the following is a copy. "To the Earl of Eldon:— I have had the honour of receiving your lordship's letter of the twenty-ninth of April, in which your lordship enclosed the resolutions of the house of lords of the twenty-sixth of April, expressing the approbation of their lordships of the conduct of the army under my command, during the late campaign in Portugal, which I have communicated according to your lordships' desire, to the allied British and Portuguese armies. The approbation of the

SMYTH, Mayor—At a Common-Council holden in the Chamber of the Guildhall of the City of London on Thursday the ninth day of May, 1811 :

Resolved—That the thanks of this Court be given to Lieutenant-General Lord Viscount Wellington, for the consummate ability, fortitude, and perseverance displayed by him in the command of the allied British and Portuguese forces, by which the kingdom of Portugal has been successfully defended, and the most signal and important services rendered to his king and country.

Resolved—That the freedom of this city, with a sword of the value of two hundred guineas, be presented to Lord Viscount Wellington, in testimony of the high sense which this court entertains of his great public services.

Resolved unanimously—That this court doth gratefully acknowledge the eminent and meritorious services uniformly performed by the general officers, commissioned officers, non-commissioned officers, and soldiers of the army under the command of Lieutenant-General Lord Viscount Wellington, during the late arduous and memorable operations in Portugal, by which additional lustre has been reflected on the British arms.

Resolved unanimously—That this court is truly sensible of, and doth acknowledge, the zeal, discipline, and bravery so conspicuously displayed by the general officers, commissioned officers, non-commissioned officers, and soldiers of the Portuguese army under the immediate command of Field-marshal Sir William Beresford, which have essentially contributed to the successful result of the late military operations. —WOODHOOR.

house of lords must be highly gratifying to the general officers and officers, by whose able assistance and support, and to the troops by whose good conduct, discipline, and bravery (under Providence) the service has been performed, which their lordships have been pleased to distinguish in this manner; and I request yourself to convey to the house of lords the expression of my gratitude for the favour with which they have been pleased to view my endeavours to serve his majesty, and for the high honour their lordships have conferred upon me. I likewise request your lordship to accept my acknowledgments for the handsome terms in which your lordship has conveyed to me the sentiments of the house.—WELLINGTON."

Although his lordship was supported by the favourable opinion of the British parliament, he had strong reasons for complaining of the conduct of his Spanish and Portuguese allies. The Spanish generals were jealous of the supreme authority in the field being exercised by the English; and although so much blood and treasure had been expended by England in the cause of Portugal, the government of the latter country even neglected providing suitable accommodations for such of our troops as had been wounded in fighting their battles. We find his lordship complaining, in strong language, of this inhuman conduct, in a letter to our ambassador at Lisbon, written at Elvas, June the seventeenth.

"In the course of the last three months, the British army have had but few men less than seven thousand wounded in the service of Portugal, and the hardships and fatigues of the service and the season have occasioned some sickness.

"I have frequently endeavoured to prevail upon the Portuguese government to allow us to establish the British hospitals in the rope-walk at Belem, of which no use can at present, or indeed ought to be made; and I find that the convents, &c., which were used as hospitals at Lisbon by the British army heretofore, are now applied to other purposes, and all accommodation of this description is now refused.

"I beg you will do me the favour to lay this letter before the Portuguese government, and to obtain for me a decided

answer by return of post, whether they will or not supply any and what accommodation at Lisbon for the British soldiers wounded in fighting the battles of Portugal."

His lordship concludes by stating, "If I should find the government still disinclined to attend to my requests upon this subject, I propose to send an officer express, to England, to apprise his royal highness the prince-regent, and his ministers, of this extraordinary circumstance."

On receipt of the intelligence that a victory had been obtained by the allied forces at Albuera, the British public entertained the hope that Lord Wellington would endeavour to relieve Cadiz. But before this movement could be attempted with safety, it was necessary to obtain possession of Badajos and Ciudad Rodrigo. His lordship, therefore, on the twenty-fifth of May, took the command of the forces employed in besieging the former place, and had it closely invested on the right bank of the Guadiana, as well as on the left, where the siege had been resumed some days earlier.

The difficulties experienced by Lord Wellington at this time were unusually great. Being unable to obtain either corn or specie from England, he was obliged to employ agents to purchase corn in Egypt and other places, in many instances with commissariat bills; and, after reserving sufficient for his troops, he sold the surplus to obtain funds for the military chest. The state of his artillery was also very unsatisfactory. Some of the guns obtained from Elvas were one hundred and fifty years old, and their calibre did not correspond with the shot that was provided. No good battering-train existed in the English camp, and the entrenching tools were so bad, that those captured from the enemy were eagerly sought after by the engineers. The French, on the contrary, had one hundred and fifty pieces of excellent artillery on the fortifications of Badajos; and the garrison, consisting of three thousand men, had two months' supply of ammunition and provisions.

Notwithstanding these unfavourable circumstances, the batteries were opened on the third of June, and on the sixth an unsuccessful attempt was made to carry fort San Christoval



by storm. The attempt was repeated on the ninth with the same want of success, both forlorn hopes being headed by Ensign Dyas of the fifty-first regiment; and on the eleventh Lord Wellington raised the siege, after a loss to the besieging army of five hundred men killed or wounded, retiring from before Badajos in good order with all his guns and stores. This abandonment was principally occasioned by his lordship's having learned the enemy's intention of concentrating their forces in Estramadura; and in fact Soult reached Merida on the eighteenth, and opened a communication with Marmont, which led to the enemy's advanced guard entering Badajos on the following day.

On the seventeenth the English head-quarters were established at Elvas, and two or three days afterwards the army took up positions on the banks of the Caya, extending from the Ponte de Caya to Campo Mayor. Here Lord Wellington expected an attack from the combined French army amounting to seventy thousand men, including eight thousand cavalry; while the allied army consisted of only fifty-six thousand, of which less than four thousand were cavalry, and although he wished to avoid a general action, he felt bound to risk one if necessary, as otherwise he could not have provisioned Elvas, and put it into a completely defensible state. No attempt was, however, made by the French army to dislodge the allies from their position, and towards the end of June the enemy quitted the vicinity of Badajos.

General Blake with his Spanish army, which had withdrawn to Jerumenba on the raising of the siege of Badajos, advanced in the middle of June, by arrangement with Lord Wellington, towards Seville, which was feebly garrisoned, for the purpose of destroying the magazines formed there for the French army that was blockading Cadiz. In this, however, he failed, having been repulsed in an attack made on the 30th on the castle of Niebla. This movement, which induced Soult to separate from Marmont and advance into Andalusia, did not fully satisfy Lord Wellington, who seemed at that time to have been much displeased with the want of discipline in the Spanish

*armies, and the absence of energy in the Spanish government. He observes, in his despatch to Lord Liverpool, "I wish that I could report to your lordship that some more beneficial advantage had resulted from the collection of the enemy's troops in Estramadura to raise the siege of Badajos, and better calculated to reconcile the disappointment upon that occasion, but I am apprehensive that till the Spanish government shall reform their military system---till the officers shall be instructed and the troops disciplined---till regular resources shall be found and faithfully applied to the support of their armies on an expedition---and till the armies shall be equipped as they ought for the service required from them---the history of every attempt on our part to alter the nature of the war on any general combined plan, will be the same as the last. The enemy will collect, to oppose us, a larger body of troops than the allied British and Portuguese army can bring into the field, and will oblige us to take the defensive; and they will experience no danger or even inconvenience from their weakness in all other parts of the Peninsula, in consequence of their collecting their whole force to oppose us, because the Spanish armies are neither disciplined, nor provided or equipped, in such a manner as that they can perform any operation, even of the most trifling nature, if there should be any opposition on the part of the enemy."*

Besides the weakness of the Spanish government, and the want of discipline in their armies, his lordship had to contend with the strong mutual antipathies of the Spaniards and Portuguese, which even prevented the Spanish muleteers from conveying food for the Portuguese army. He was also embarrassed by the difficulty of disposing of the French troops that had been captured---as well as by the wish of many British officers to obtain leave of absence, on every cessation from active warfare. As a partial consolation under these discouragements, he found, from the newspaper press, that the English public highly appreciated his talents and services---and that votes of thanks continued to be passed by very many public bodies in London, and other corporate towns, to himself



and the British, army for the brilliant victories which they had obtained over the enemies of the liberties of Europe.

Marmont having quitted the Guadiana to move on the Tagus, Lord Wellington decided upon placing his army on both banks of that river. On the twenty-first of July he moved from the Caya, and on the thirty-first received the brevet rank of general in Spain and Portugal: on the twelfth of August he established his head-quarters at Fuente Guinaldo, with the intention of recovering Ciudad Rodrigo, for which purpose he had a train of battering-guns and mortars, that had lately reached Lisbon from England, conveyed in a secret manner to Celerico. Supplies of provisions having, however, been introduced into Ciudad Rodrigo on the 6th of August, the intended siege was converted into a blockade.

While occupied in the blockade, fox-hounds and harriers were introduced into the English camp, and Lord Wellington appointed regular days for his pack to throw off, at previously appointed places, when a large field of sportsmen generally attended: his lordship joined heartily in the chase, which he considered highly beneficial, as giving his officers an opportunity of becoming intimately acquainted with the country.

More than six weeks had elapsed since a chain of posts had been established round Ciudad Rodrigo, when Marshal Marmont, whose corps having been increased, by a junction with that of Soult, to seventy-nine thousand men, escorted a large convoy of provisions into the fortress on the twenty-fourth of September.

Fuente Guinaldo having been strengthened with some redoubts, was now made the pivot of the operations of the allied army, of which the third division, forming the centre, under General Picton, occupied the heights of El Bodon and Pastores, of which the latter was about three miles from Ciudad Rodrigo. On the morning of the twenty-fifth, fourteen battalions of infantry, between thirty and forty squadrons of cavalry, and twelve guns under Montbrun, crossed the Agueda, and, advancing towards Guinaldo, turned the position of this division. Two weak English battalions, a brigade of Portuguese artillery, and

a few cavalry that were posted on the height in advance of El Bodon, which commands the road from Ciudad Rodrigo to Guinaldo, were fiercely attacked by Montbrun's division. Ten squadrons of his cavalry advanced under a heavy and destructive fire from the Portuguese artillery, and, after cutting down the artillery-men, captured the two guns. These, however, were not long retained, for Major Ridge with the second battalion of the fifth infantry retook them at the point of the bayonet. That battalion and the seventy-seventh regiment then retired across the plain in solid squares, in face of the French cavalry and horse-artillery, repulsing all the fierce charges of their assailants, and, continuing their retreat with perfect regularity, effected a junction with the eighty-third British, and ninth and twenty-first Portuguese regiments, and fell back upon Guinaldo. The retreat of those two battalions excited the highest admiration, and Lord Wellington declared that he had never seen a more determined attack than was made by that formidable body of French horse, and repulsed by those two weak battalions. The total loss in this brilliant affair was only one hundred and sixty-four killed, wounded, or missing.

In consequence of the light division under General Craufurd not having received orders in time to fall back upon Fuente Guinaldo, the head-quarters of the English army were detained there during the twenty-sixth, although the commander-in-chief had decided on retiring to a better position on the banks of the Coa. Lord Wellington's situation was at this time very critical. He had with him only Picton's and Cole's divisions, comprising fourteen thousand men; while Marmont, with sixty thousand men, and one hundred and twenty cannon, was in front of his position. Marmont, however, instead of attacking the allied army, spent the day in reviewing his troops almost within gun-shot of it—the English army being spectators of their evolutions. A veteran Spanish general said to Lord Wellington, while these manœuvres were being performed, “that his lordship was there with two weak divisions in front of the whole French army, which was enough to put any man in a fever, and yet he seemed quite at his ease: “to which Lord

*Wellington replied, "that he had done according to the best of his judgment all that could be done, and therefore did not care either for the enemy in front, or for any thing that might be said at home."* In the afternoon the light division reached Fuente Guinaldo, and at night the allied troops withdrew from that place, and marched upon Alfayates, about twelve miles in the rear, the French commander not offering any molestation, through ignorance of the weakness of the divisions opposed to him, and of their commander's intention to fall back upon a stronger position. When, however, he heard of the junction of the light division with the two that occupied Fuente Guinaldo, and found that he had lost a most favourable opportunity for attacking and possibly carrying that post, he is said to have exclaimed, in reference to Napoleon's benignant star, "And Wellington's star, it also is bright!"

Having learned the retreat of the British army, although too late to interfere, and while he was himself retreating, Marshal Marmont wheeled round, to follow and harass our rear; and about ten in the morning of the twenty-seventh, a division of infantry, and some squadrons of cavalry, drove in our pickets at Aldea da Ponte, and advanced towards Alfayates. The English commander-in-chief was now exposed to the danger of being made prisoner, from the resemblance in dress of the English and French dragoons; a resemblance which he considered highly objectionable, "as it is a great advantage to those who look at long lines of posts opposed to each other, that there should be a marked difference in their appearance." While Lord Wellington with General Stuart and Lord Robert Manners were near the Castle of Alfayates, watching the approach of the enemy, some of their dragoons came so near as almost to capture Lord Robert Manners, who only escaped by making his English charger clear a high wall.

The enemy was driven out of Aldea da Ponte, after a short possession, by General Pakenham, but they, in turn, drove out the English pickets about sunset, and were a second time dislodged by Pakenham; who, however, soon afterwards evacuated it, knowing that the main army intended falling back upon the

*heights behind Soito. Although much spirit was displayed in the two-fold defence and recapture of this place, the loss to the allied army barely exceeded one hundred men put hors de combat.*

Having a favourable position on the Coa, Lord Wellington on the twenty-eighth offered battle to Marmont; who, however, retired to Ciudad Rodrigo, in which he placed a fresh garrison, and then, separating from Soult, returned to the valley of the Tagus. The allies went into cantonments in the rear of Soito, their head-quarters being established at Freneda. They, however, still harassed the garrison of Ciudad Rodrigo, which had the greater part of its cattle carried off from under its walls by Don Julian Sanchez: this bold man even succeeded in capturing the Governor-General Reynard, who had crossed the Agueda attended by his staff-officers, and protected by twenty dragoons.

Several honours were bestowed upon Lord Wellington about this time, and the gazette of October twenty-sixth, 1811, contained permission for his lordship to accept the title of Condé de Vimiera, and the insignia of a knight-grand-cross of the Portuguese order of the Tower and Sword, having previously been appointed marshal-general of the Portuguese army. Sir William Beresford, who had been elected a knight of the Bath, and was marshal and commander-in-chief of the Portuguese army, also received permission at the same time to accept the title of Condé de Francosa, and the grand-cross of the order of the Tower and Sword; and Brigade-General Wilson and Colonel Trant to wear the insignia of knights-commanders of that royal military order.

General Hill, who had returned to the Peninsula soon after the battle of Albuera, and, to the great satisfaction of the second division, resumed its command, removed from Almandrajelos at the raising of the siege of Badajos, and bivouacked at Albuera on the fourteenth and fifteenth of June. While an attack was expected from the united corps of Marmont and Soult, his division was stationed at Torre de Moro, and when those marshals separated, and the English

head-quarters were removed to Fuente Guinaldo, he remained in the Alentejo in command of fourteen thousand men, who were principally cantoned in the neighbourhood of Portalegre. Here he continued till the middle of October, when Lord Wellington ordered him to advance against General Girard, who with four thousand foot and one thousand horse had been detached by Marshal Soult to distress General Castanos and his Spanish followers, by obstructing their efforts to obtain supplies from the part of Estremadura that was still free.

On the twenty-second of October, General Hill left Portalegre, and on the twenty-fifth reached Aliseda, where he found some Spanish cavalry under the Conde de Penne Villemur. Having learned on the evening of the twenty-sixth that Girard was marching towards Merida by way of Torre Mocha, Hill decided on endeavouring to intercept him on the march by taking a shorter road to Merida, and on the twenty-seventh succeeded in reaching Alcuesca. Here he ascertained that the French division was at Arroyo Molinos, having stationed a rear-guard at Albala, and that Girard was entirely unconscious of the proximity of an English force. General Hill, therefore, determined to surprise him, if possible, on the following morning, and prohibited fires in his camp at night, although the weather was wet and cold, because it was within a league of the French post.

At two in the morning of the twenty-eighth the allied troops formed themselves into three columns, under cover of a low ridge about half a mile from Arroyo Molinos, and advanced silently upon their unprepared enemies, through darkness, wind, and rain. The enemy were so completely taken by surprise, that some of their horses were unbridled, and their commander was waiting to mount, that he might accompany Dombrowski's brigade and Briche's cavalry; one brigade having marched at four that morning by the Medellin road. The left column, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Stewart, rushed into the town, while Girard's troops were forming on the outside, and fell upon the rear-guard with the bayonet; and so unexpected was the appearance of the British soldiers, that on the first alarm

the French commander said that "it could only be a party of Spaniards, as the English were too fond of their beds to leave them in such tempestuous weather." The sounds of Highland bagpipes playing "Hey, Jonny Coup, are ye waukin yet!" however, soon told him the native country of his assailants. After the first surprise, the enemy's infantry formed into two squares, outside the town, cavalry being stationed on their left. The seventy-first and ninety-second then dashed through the town to attack them, while part of the fiftieth remained in occupation, to secure prisoners, some of whom were taken while enjoying their coffee. The cavalry made repeated charges against the squares of infantry, "passing through their lines like herrings through a net," according to a serjeant's description of the assault. The allied troops having taken possession of all the roads, every line of retreat was cut off; no means of escape presented themselves to the French, but by dispersing, and endeavouring to climb the Sierra de Montanches. This some of them accomplished, but followed up its steep acclivity by the allies, by whom many of them were captured. Girard, however, with a few hundred men, escaped across the mountains, pursued for several leagues by Murilla. It is asserted that he received two wounds, and on surrender being proposed, pointed in great agitation to his pistols, saying, that "if taken they were his resource."

Few military affairs have been conducted with more spirit, or attended with greater success than the attack of Arroyo Molinos. Girard's army was almost annihilated: besides several hundred that fell in or near the town and on the mountains, nearly fifteen hundred prisoners were made, including General Brun and the Prince D'Artemberg; and the whole of the baggage, guns, provisions, and money belonging to the French, were captured, including the brass drums, and drum-major's baton of the thirty-fourth, which are preserved as trophies by the thirty-fourth English regiment, by which they were taken. The loss of the English and Portuguese amounted to only about seventy, and that of the Spaniards was very inconsiderable.

After this brilliant exploit, General Hill returned to Porta-



legre ; and Lord Wellington requested that the ribbon of the Bath might be conferred on him for this enterprise, as well as for his gallant conduct at the passage of the Douro and at Talavera.

The unnatural jealousy of the Portuguese government towards their protectors continued unabated, and they seized a clerk in the British paymaster-general's department, under the pretence that he was implicated in a conspiracy to burn the British fleet at Lisbon, although they knew no such conspiracy existed. Lord Wellington indignantly demanded satisfaction for this and other insults, announcing that in case of refusal he should take under his protection all who were connected with the English, as if he was occupying an enemy's country. This threat produced the anticipated effect, and the Portuguese ministry, for some time, acted with greater circumspection.

About the middle of December, General Laval, who had been placed in command of ten thousand men by Marshal Soult, approached Tarifa, which being a place of importance in reference to the proceedings of General Ballasteros, was garrisoned with two hundred British and Spanish troops, and, although not a regular fortress, was susceptible of defence. Captain Smith, the chief officer of the engineers, calculating that the enemy, deceived by the apparent weakness of the north-east side, would attack that part, prepared strong internal defences in that quarter. It was assaulted where Smith had calculated, and a breach having been effected in the east wall, a French column of two thousand men advanced to the assault at eight in the morning of the 31st of December, but the garrison was so well prepared for their reception, that the storming party, to escape complete annihilation, retreated in disorder to their camp, leaving several hundred of their companions in arms dead or wounded before the breach. The loss of the allies in this gallant and ably conducted defence amounted only to five officers and thirty-one men; while the French general was so much discouraged by his failure, that he destroyed his guns, and on the fifth of January hastily evacuated his works, and marched towards Seville.

Lord Wellington, at the commencement of the year 1812, again advanced towards Ciudad Rodrigo with the intention of reducing that place by siege. His battering-train was removed from Almeida, the fortifications of which place had been restored; and a trestle bridge, to enable his army to pass over the Agueda, which had been constructed by Major Sturgeon of the staff-corps at Almeida, was erected at Salices. This he accomplished without opposition from the French, who imagined that the sickness of the English army, with their want of food, clothing, and forage, would confine them to their winter-quarters. Quarter-Master-General Murray and other officers, not anticipating an early movement, obtained leave to return to England, which contributed to deepen Marmont's delusion.

Ciudad Rodrigo, for the siege of which Lord Wellington had collected seventeen thousand British and fourteen thousand Portuguese troops, stands on a rising ground surrounded by hills, and its citadel, like Windsor Castle, crowns a lofty mount. During its occupation by the French it had been strengthened particularly by the erection of a redoubt, and the conversion of four convents into strong military posts, so that it was in a perfect state of defence, and the difficulties of the besiegers were greatly increased by frost and snow and the want of shelter and firing.

The place was regularly invested on the eighth of January, and at eight the same evening Lieutenant-Colonel Colborne, with three companies of the fifty-second, carried the small redoubt on the Upper Teson, about six hundred yards from the ramparts, by storm. The first parallel was established near this redoubt in the night of the ninth, and three batteries of eleven guns each were commenced. The convent of Santa Cruz was carried by escalade in the night of the thirteenth; and in the night of the fourteenth, the convent of San Francisco, from whence a howitzer impeded the workmen, was taken by escalade also, the French forsaking not only that convent, but all the suburb in which it stood. A sortie was made by five hundred of the garrison, at the noon-relief of the workmen and guards who had left their posts before the relieving divi-

sion had taken their places, but it was repulsed by some workmen collected by an officer of engineers.

The batteries opened their fire on the fourteenth, and on the nineteenth two breaches were reconnoitered by Lord Wellington, who finding them practicable, decided on storming the town that evening, being urged to the adoption of this measure by the receipt of intelligence that Marmont was advancing to its relief.

Great exertions had been made by the besieged for defending the breach, particularly by cutting entrenchments on the ramparts, and erecting a breast-work in their rear ; but this did not even retard the assault. When the moon rose, Major-General Mackinnon's brigade, consisting of the forty-fifth, seventy-fourth, and eighty-eighth, preceded by one hundred and fifty sappers with hay, to reduce the depth of the ditch, came to its edge, and jumped into it, amidst a tremendous discharge of shells and combustibles, which were spread over the breach, but were fired too soon to do much mischief. Ladders, but not in sufficient numbers, were immediately raised, and the brigade, which had been joined by the fifth, reached the summit of the grand breach after a desperate contest, the enemy retiring behind an entrenchment, having first exploded two mines. The light division, under Major-General Craufurd, advanced at the same time against the little breach, which was carried without much difficulty ; and, as no interior defences had been prepared, the assailants soon formed on the ramparts. In advancing, however, to the assault under a heavy fire of musketry, the gallant Craufurd unhappily received a mortal wound, while leading on and animating his men.\*

\* Major-General Robert Craufurd, who died five days after being wounded, entered the army when fifteen years old, as an ensign in the twenty-first foot, and, after serving in that regiment four years, under Sir Charles Stewart, obtained the rank of Captain in the seventy-fifth, and then went to Germany, where he remained three years to improve his military knowledge. Becoming senior captain in the seventy-fifth, of which the Colonel, Sir R. Abercrombie, was governor of Bombay, he had the command of the regiment during the campaign against Tippoo Saib in 1790-91 ; while in India he was conspicuous for being at the same time a strict disciplinarian, and the soldier's friend.

The brigade, commanded by General Pack, converted the false attack he had been ordered to make on the southern face of the fort, into a real one, and penetrated to the *fausse braye*, where the garrison, discouraged by the success of the other storming parties, gave way and retired. Mc Kinnon's brigade having obtained possession of the ramparts on both sides of the great breach, turned the entrenchments, while the light division which had entered by the smaller breach, was advancing for that purpose, upon which the besieged abandoned it precipitately, and dispersed; not, however, until they had exploded some wall-magazines, by which many of the assailants were killed, including the brave Mc Kinnon himself.\* The French troops were now pursued through the streets until

He served as quarter-master-general in Ireland in 1798, and afterwards in the same capacity to the Duke of York in Holland, having previously been employed in a military mission to the Austrian army from 1795 to 1797, and again in 1799. After the gallant defence of a convent at Buenos Ayres, he was obliged to surrender; and being in command of the light division of Sir John Moore's army in Spain, shared in the distresses of his retreat. He joined Sir Arthur Wellesley the day after the battle of Talavera; signalized himself at Busaco; and on regaining his division, after a short absence, when the troops were preparing for action at Fuentes d'Honor, was received by them in presence of the enemy with three cheers. His career of thirty-two years' active and varied service terminated in the breach of Ciudad Rodrigo, before which he was buried with military honours. A monument has been erected in St. Paul's cathedral, London, to perpetuate his military fame.

\* Major-General Henry Mc Kinnon was son of the chief of the clan Mc Kinnon in the Hebrides, but was born in Hampshire in 1773, and educated at the military academy of Tournay: while there, Napoleon Buonaparte, then a military student, frequently visited at his father's house, and, to show that he had not forgotten the family, invited them to visit him in France during the peace of Amiens. He is also said to have exhibited much emotion when informed of General Mc Kinnon's death. When only fifteen years old, he entered the army as a subaltern, in the forty-third regiment, in which he served three years, and then, having raised an independent company, exchanged into the Coldstream guards. During the Irish rebellion he was brigade-major to Sir George Nugent, and was engaged in the actions of Antrim and Ballinabinch, where he was equally distinguished for courage and humanity. After serving in Holland, Egypt, and at Copenhagen, he joined the army in Portugal, had two horses killed under him at Talavera, and was remarkable for the care he took of those that were wounded in that action. He signalized himself so much at Busaco, as to receive the personal thanks of Sir Arthur Wellesley immediately after the battle, and headed the charge against the French at

they surrendered, when the slaughter instantly ceased. This noble conduct was, however, much tarnished by the excesses committed by the allied troops, who, spreading themselves over the town, broke into the stores, and, under the influence of intoxication, kept it in a state of most dangerous disorder, during the night several of the ruined houses being fired either by accident or carelessness.

General Barrié, the governor, with seventy-eight officers and one thousand seven hundred soldiers, became prisoners of war;\* and one hundred and fifty pieces of cannon, including Marmont's battering-train, and immense quantities of ammu-

nition, which drove them from the field. General Mc Kinnon was first buried in the breach where he so nobly fell, by some pioneers acting under orders from General Pieton, but was dis-interred by the officers of the Coldstream guards, in which he had served many years, and re-interred by them with military honours at Espeja. A monument to his honour is erected in St. Paul's cathedral, London, and his memory will be long embalmed in the hearts of his many friends, both civil and military. In 1804 he married a daughter of Sir John Cail, Bart., who lived to mourn over his early fall.

\* The garrison made a feint show of resistance, and there was some fighting in the streets, which was soon over: the few stout French that stood their ground, fled to the castle, whither they were followed by Lieutenant Gurwood. This brave soldier was amongst the foremost at the lesser breach, where he received a wound, but, supported by the love of glory, he was the first to reach the citadel, accept the surrender of the place, and receive the governor's sword. The following little narrative of this beautiful piece of workmanship, and of the gallant individual upon whom it was so honourably bestowed, is told by one who had an opportunity of examining the interesting object itself. "It is a sword of most beautiful workmanship, and was one of those given by Napoleon, before the institution of the legion of honour. The following are the inscriptions now engraven on each side of the hilt:—*I. Épée du Baron Barrié, general de brigade de l'armée Française, commandant de la légion d'honneur, gouverneur de Ciudad Rodrigo en Espagne, 1812.*"—*II. Viscount Wellington presented this Sword, on the breach of Ciudad Rodrigo, to Lieut. Gurwood, fifty-second light infantry, who led the successful forlorn hope in the assault of that fortress, and took the governor prisoner in the citadel, on the nineteenth of January, 1812.*" After this service, Captain Gurwood served on the staff in Lord Wellington's army until the end of the war, as major of brigade to the household cavalry, and subsequently in the sixth division of infantry. He was afterwards on the staff of the Prince of Orange at Brussels, but he resigned, to join his regiment, the tenth hussars, to which the Prince Regent had appointed him, and was wounded at the battle of Waterloo. Lieutenant-Colonel Gurwood's appointment of deputy-governor of the Tower of London, and this trophy of the

nition, were taken possession of by the captors. The enemy lost about three hundred men in killed and wounded, while the loss of the allies amounted to above one thousand three hundred, including the much lamented generals, Craufurd and Mc Kinnon.

England, Spain, and Portugal, all hastened to display their

Sword, are very appropriate qualifications to another honour conferred upon him by the Queen of Portugal, who made him 'Commander of the Tower and Sword,' and sent him the star of the order. Lieutenant-Colonel Gurwood has been still further fortunate in being enabled to associate his name, permanently, with that of the illustrious soldier whose fortunes he followed, in the capacity of editor of that great general's despatches.

The following interesting note is introduced by Colonel Gurwood into his latest edition of the Wellington Despatches, and attached to his lordship's brief account of the heroism of those who mounted the breaches, and led the forlorn hope at Ciudad Rodrigo. "On the return from the trenches to the cantonments of the fifty-second regiment, at El Badon, on the morning of the seventeenth of January, Major Napier and Lieutenant Gurwood expressed to each other their mutual desire of an opportunity for personal distinction, in the event of Ciudad Rodrigo standing an assault; and they decided to submit their intentions to their fiscal and colonel, Sir John Colborne (Lord Seaton). After mature deliberation, a letter was addressed to Major-General Robert Craufurd in the following terms. — *In the event of Ciudad Rodrigo standing an assault, and that the light division should be employed in it, the following officers of the fifty-second are desirous of offering their services.* Major G. Napier to command the storming party—Lieutenant-Gurwood, the forlorn hope. —This paper, being recommended by Colonel Colborne, was carried by them in the evening to the quarters of Major-General Craufurd, to whom it was sent up—no answer was returned. The order for the march of the light division to the trenches, out of its turn, soon after daylight on the morning of the nineteenth, afforded the hope that it was to be employed in the assault; but it was only on the arrival of the division at La Caridad, when the orders from head-quarters were received for the formation of a storming party of three hundred men, with a proportion of officers, that the intentions of Major Napier and Lieutenant Gurwood were made known, as being appointed to specific commands in the assault. It was very apparent that the same desire in many of their brother officers, checked only by the unwillingness to be taxed with presumption, had been thus anticipated; and Major Napier and Lieutenant Gurwood watched, with increased anxiety, the tricoloured flag on the tower near the lesser breach, that it might not be struck, and expose their announced demonstration for self-distinction to disappointment. This was a nervous excitement, absorbing all thoughts in the soldier, who saw reputation and honour just within his grasp. Success, however, soon banished this, to give way to feelings difficult to be imagined, still more so to be described." *Wellington Despatches*, vol. viii. p. 452.

high appreciation of Lord Wellington's services in the capture of Ciudad Rodrigo. The Spanish cortes, at the recommendation of the regency, conferred on him the dignity of a grandee of the first class, with the title of Duke of Ciudad Rodrigo; the Portuguese regency made him Marquis of Torres Vedras; his royal highness the prince-regent created him Earl of Wellington; and the British parliament voted him an additional annuity of two thousand pounds. Mr. Canning, in the debate on this annuity, stated a fact which is in the highest degree honourable to our hero, which was, that although the Spanish government had offered him five thousand pounds per annum as captain-general of Spain, and the Portuguese government seven thousand pounds per annum as marshal, and five thousand pounds per annum as Conde de Vimeiro, he had declined them all, and declared his intention of looking to his country alone for whatever reward he deserved. The thanks of parliament were also voted to the army; and the prince-regent, at the earnest request of Lord Wellington, nominated Lieutenant-Generals Graham and Hill, Knights of the Bath.

Immediately after the British troops took possession of Ciudad Rodrigo, the Earl of Wellington had the breaches repaired, and the whole place put in a state of good defence, and then transferred it to the care of General Castanos, as captain-general of the province.

In contrast to the splendid success which attended the allied forces at Arroyo Molinos, Tarifa, and especially at Ciudad Rodrigo, the unhappy surrender of General Blake and his army at Valencia must now be recorded. Suchet, who entered the kingdom of Valencia towards the end of September with twenty five thousand men, defeated Blake before Murviedro on the twenty-fifth of October, and took possession of that fortress on the twenty-sixth by capitulation. Immediately after this misfortune, Suchet advanced to the suburbs of Valencia, but finding that Blake occupied a very strong position near the city, he covered his front with redoubts, and wrote to Madrid and to Paris for reinforcements. Having received aid to the extent of nearly ten thousand men,

during Christmas-night he laid down three bridges, and crossed the Guadalaviar on the following morning with the main body of his army: Blake's left division of infantry and his cavalry continued to retire; the former, being pursued by Harispe to Catterroja, was completely cut off from the principal Spanish army. Blake, finding that his opponents had a position in his rear, withdrew his troops from Mislata, where they had made a successful stand against the enemy, and even driven them back, and entered the fortified camp, which was closely invested by Suchet the same evening.

Valencia, a large and populous city, crowded with fugitives from the surrounding country, scantily provisioned and badly fortified, was not likely to resist the attack of so able a commander as Suchet, with a large pare of heavy cannon and mortars. Blake, therefore, endeavoured, on the twenty-eighth, to cut his way through the besieging army, but was prevented by the insurmountable strength of their line of circumvallation.

On the first night of the new year, 1812, a most destructive fire was opened from the trenches by the enemy, and on the fifth of January the Spanish camp was abandoned by its defenders, who decided upon taking refuge in the city; upon which the French entered the works by escalade, seized two of the suburbs, where they found eighty pieces of artillery, established their mortar-batteries within twenty yards of the town-wall, and then summoned Blake to capitulate. To this he refused to consent; but a convent of Dominicans close to the wall having surrendered to the enemy, who had now five battalions ready to open upon the city, a capitulation was agreed to on the ninth. On the fourteenth Suchet made his triumphal entry into Valencia, for which Napoleon soon afterwards created him Duke of Albufera, and granted him considerable revenues from the vicinity of the captured city.

By the capitulation of Valencia, the necessity for which might have been prevented by even a moderate degree of skill and energy, eighteen thousand men, twenty-two generals, including Blake, Zayas, and Lardizabal, and three hundred and seventy pieces of cannon, were lost to the cause of Spanish



liberty. But even this monstrous deduction from the Spanish strength was less to be regretted than the loss of fifty experienced artillery officers, educated at Segovia, four hundred sappers and miners, and fifteen hundred veteran artillerymen.

Shortly after the capture of Ciudad Rodrigo, the Earl of Wellington began to move on Badajos, for the third siege of which he had for some time been secretly making arrangements. He set out for Alentejo on the fifth of March, and on the eleventh established his head-quarters at Elvas. General Graham with the first, sixth, and seventh divisions of infantry, and Slades and Le Marchant's brigades of cavalry, were stationed at Los Santos, Zafra, and Llerena, to keep Marshal Soult in check. Sir Rowland Hill with the second English division, Hamilton's Portuguese division, and a brigade of cavalry, advanced to Merida and Almendrajelo, to prevent a junction between Soult and Marmont; and Marshal Beresford with the third, fourth, and light divisions, and a brigade of Hamilton's Portuguese division, crossed the Guadiana on the sixteenth, by a pontoon, about a league below Badajos, and invested that place without opposition.

The Earl of Wellington was at this time embarrassed by the want of money to obtain supplies sufficient for his troops. The neglect of the Portuguese regency to provide means of transport was also the cause of much evil, because, by delaying the investment of Badajos for ten days, they threw the besieging army's operations into the violent equinoctial rains, and thereby greatly increased their difficulties. These distressing circumstances affected his lordship's health, and the fate of Europe was temporarily jeopardized by the indisposition of an individual, but of an individual who was destined by Providence to emancipate millions from a military despotism. Yet these inconveniences did not prevent his attention being given to India, where the first beams of his glory were shed, although it might have been imagined that his mind would have been entirely absorbed by the affairs of the Peninsula. Lord Melville having consulted the Earl of Wellington on the mutual relations between

the king's and company's armies in British India, and between the governors and commanders-in-chief there, his lordship replied in two admirable letters, dated Elvas, March the twelfth and thirteenth, from which we here extract several opinions displaying an intimate acquaintance with the working of the Indian governments, and furnishing excellent maxims for their guidance. They are in substance, first, that the European army should be the king's; secondly, that the three armies ought to continue separate and distinct; thirdly, that the native army ought to be the company's, if the company should continue to be the sovereigns of the territory; fourthly, that the crown should name both the governors and commanders-in-chief at all the settlements, and should have a very efficient control over the nomination of members of council; fifthly, that all authority, civil and military, must be vested by the law in the governor and council. The law must recognize no other authority in the state. The company may and ought to instruct the governor in council, first to leave all matters of discipline solely and exclusively to the commanders-in-chief, and to interfere in them in no manner, excepting when the safety of the state should require it;—secondly, that all recommendations to inferior military appointments should be made by the commander-in-chief to the governor in council, he being obliged to record his reasons for dissent;—thirdly, that the recommendations (every nomination) to superior commands, such as divisions of the army, should be with the commander-in-chief, where the holders of these commands exercise no civil authority or political function, and that where the nomination is exclusively vested in the governor in council, he should be directed to consult with the commander-in-chief in making the selection.

It would be very desirable, his lordship adds, to leave a latitude, by law, to the governor in council, to promote officers by brevet, for meritorious services, out of the usual regular routine, as well as to pass over officers guilty of misconduct; also that the court of directors should be prevented from meddling with the discipline of the army, and that the commander-

in-chief, as a member of council, should have the same power of voting on all questions as the other members.

In reference to the mutiny of the native troops at Vellore, and the subsequent meeting of the officers, his lordship thought that the first was caused by the arrival, in the East Indies, just previous to its occurrence, of a new governor and a new commander-in-chief, who were supposed not to be on good terms, and of many officers of high rank, and of regiments recently from England who knew nothing of the native troops. The second he considered arose out of the weakness consequent on Lord Powis's government being broken up, and General Macdowall's orders, letters, and conduct. In conclusion, his lordship says, "I do think it would be a very beneficial arrangement to allow officers in the service of the company to exchange into the service of the king; and for the company's service, as well as for the public, that his majesty might be able to avail himself of the service in Europe of officers who had served the East India Company in India." \*

\* An additional instance of that universal care, which Lord Wellington bestowed upon every movement in the great engine of government, is afforded in his attention to the post-office regulations as regarded the transmission of letters between Lisbon and London. Sir Arthur Wellesley, as early as 1810, complained to the Marquis Wellesley, then secretary for foreign affairs, of gross neglect and irregularity in the conduct of the post-office agents in the Peninsula. This inconvenience seemed to demand an immediate remedy, and to require the best attentions of an intelligent active agent. Mr. Thomas Reynolds, who had made himself conspicuous in the Irish rebellion of 1798, was a man of considerable energy, and had claims on government for services rendered during that sanguinary civil war. Lord Camden, who had been lord-lieutenant of Ireland, remembered Reynolds' usefulness, and took this opportunity of compensating him. The post-office agency at Lisbon was not sufficient reward for Reynolds, nor was it to be wished that it should be permanent, so that Lord Camden's letter of recommendation held out still further prospects of promotion. His lordship thus addressed the Earl of Chichester, postmaster-general: "My Lord, I write by desire of the Marquess Wellesley to say, that if you will send Mr. Reynolds to Lisbon for the present, he shall have the first consulship that falls in Europe worth his acceptance, and then the situation shall return to your lordship's patronage." Reynolds accepted the situation, and exhibited the most laudable activity and integrity in the discharge of his difficult, and frequently disagreeable duties. Much time being lost by the mail packets in weighing anchor, this inconvenience Reynolds remedied by laying down mooring-

The works of Badajos had been considerably enlarged and strengthened since the last siege—it was also well provisioned, and contained a garrison of above five thousand men under General Philippon, to whom General Picton was opposed as commander of the besieging party, while Generals Kempt, Colville, and Bowes commanded alternately in the trenches.

Being destitute of suitable means, and too limited in time for the reduction of the fortress by a systematic siege, the commander-in-chief decided on breaching the walls in three places, and then attempting to carry the place by storm. In pursuance of this plan, a parallel was commenced on the night of the seventeenth of March, about one hundred and sixty yards from the Picurina, which commanded the bastion of La Trinidad. On the nineteenth a sally was made by the garrison; and, although the guards had been reinforced in expectation of the attack, the infantry drove the British workmen before them, and began to demolish the parallel and carry off the entrenching tools, while the cavalry galloped to the park of artillery that was one thousand yards in the rear of the trenches, but they were at length repulsed, after occasioning some loss. Colonel Fletcher, the chief engineer, was badly wounded in this sally, which cost the enemy three hundred officers and men, and the allies half that number. The Earl of Wellington at this time displayed at once his kindness of disposition, and his confidence in Colonel Fletcher's talents, by visiting him daily in his tent, to arrange the engineering operations. The disadvantages of commencing the siege so near the vernal equinox were now severely felt. Heavy rains filled the trenches; the pontoon-bridge was almost destroyed by the sudden rising of the Guadiana; and, as the provisions, guns, and ammunition were separated by that river from the

chains, by which time and great expense were saved: at length the post-office arrangements at Lisbon were brought to an admirable degree of perfection; this advantage to the public, did not escape the watchful notice of Lord Wellington, who wrote a private letter to Reynolds expressive of his approbation at the facility which his arrangements afforded of forwarding all government despatches.—“*Life of Thomas Reynolds by his Son.*”

besieging army, it was feared that the siege must be relinquished at least for that season. The flood, however, subsided in a few days, and a flying bridge was established, to restore the communication with the magazines on its right bank.

On the twenty-fourth the fifth division invested the fortress on the right bank of the Guadiana, and General Kempt was ordered to assault the Picurina on the following night. This fort, contrary to appearance, was very strong, the storming party of five hundred men had therefore a tremendous task to perform; but while part of them ascended the ramparts, others, hewing down the gate with axes, broke in at the rear, and after a desperate resistance the commandant surrendered, after the assailants had lost, in killed and wounded, nineteen officers and two hundred men.

Marshal Soult having advanced to Llerena on the fourth of April, the Earl of Wellington at first thought of leaving ten thousand men to guard the trenches, while he offered the French general battle with the remainder of his army; but, on reconnoitering the fortress on the fifth, he decided on endeavouring to carry it by storm the following day, previously attempting to batter down the curtain between the La Trinidad counter-guard and an unfinished ravelin. This object having been accomplished, the assault was ordered at ten o'clock on the night of the sixth, when the castle was, if possible, to be carried by escalade; the La Trinidad and Santa Maria bastions by storming the breaches; San Roques was to be assaulted by a party from the trenches; and the fifth division was to threaten the Pardeleras and the works near the Guadiana.

The preparations made by Philippon for the defence of the breaches were of the most formidable character. In addition to the usual retrenchments, and pallasades, casks, filled with tarred straw, powder, and loaded grenades, together with large shells, were placed in the trenches, and sixty fourteen-inch shells, connected by powder-hoses, were buried at the foot of the breaches. *Chevaux de frize* were formed of sword-blades, and a boat, filled with soldiers, was lowered into the ditch, to flank one of the breaches, which proved very destruc-

tive to the assailants. The difficulties of the storming party were also immensely increased by a ruined ravelin of the original fortress remaining in the ditch, which occasioned a double descent and ascent, and by the engineer, who was to have guided the light division to its point of attack, being killed. By these accidents they became intermingled with the fourth division, which was to assault the great breach, and stood thickly crowded on the glacis and in the ditch, exposed to one of the most murderous fires that was ever seen. The breach was repeatedly mounted, although the slope was covered with planks filled with spikes, and the entrance closed with *chevaux de frise* formed of double-edged sword-blades; but it was impossible for the most heroic courage to surmount the obstacles to their success; and, after standing patiently in the ditch for some time, Lord Wellington ordered them to be withdrawn from their dreadfully dangerous position. The attack on the castle had, however, been completely successful, although the escalade was most obstinately opposed; logs of wood, large stones, and loaded shells being rolled from the parapet on the assailants. Success also attended the fifth division at the bastion of San Vincente, which was carried by escalade, although fully prepared for defence. After carrying this bastion at the bayonet's point, and while advancing along the ramparts to attack the defenders of the breaches in the rear, a false alarm was given that a mine was going to be sprung, which threw the storming party into confusion, in consequence of which they were driven back to the breach where they had entered; Major-General Walker, their leader, was severely wounded while endeavouring to rally his men. Happily, the reserve had formed on the rampart of San Vincente, from whence the united parties advanced to the breaches, the defenders of which, seeing that all was lost, then dispersed; Philippon, with a few hundred soldiers, retreated into San Christoval, where he surrendered the next morning. Of the garrison above twelve hundred were killed or wounded, and four thousand made prisoners.

The dreadful scenes, enacted after the capture of Ciudad Rodrigo, were repeated here in a more aggravated form and

during a longer period, for it was not until fresh troops from corps of observation were brought into the town, that order could be restored. It is a remarkable circumstance, that while the allied troops plundered the inhabitants of Badajos, they acted in the most friendly manner towards those troops that had given to death so many hundreds of their comrades.

The loss of the besieging army was lamentably great, amounting to above one thousand killed, and nearly four thousand wounded. Among the former were Lieutenant-Colonel McLeod of the forty-second, Lieutenant-Colonel Ridge of the fifth, Major O'Hara of the ninety-fifth, and Major Singer of the seventh; and among the latter, Generals Picton, Colville, Kempt, Walker, and Bowes, of the British and Generals Hervey and Champlemond of the Portuguese service. So great indeed was the loss of the allied forces, that when it was reported to their commander, he was deeply affected, the glories of the victory not having rendered him insensible to the price at which it had been purchased; particularly as he knew that this enormous sacrifice of life might, in a great degree, have been prevented, had he been furnished with the indispensable requisites for conducting a siege. Under this feeling, when writing subsequently to General Murray, his lordship says: "I trust that future armies will be equipped for sieges with the people necessary to carry them on as they ought to be, and that our engineers will learn how to put their batteries on the crest of the glacis, and to blow in the counterscarp, instead of placing them wherever the wall can be seen; leaving the poor officers and troops to get in and cross the ditch as they can."

Of the conduct of the troops during the siege, Lord Wellington remarked, that "he was unable to express the sense which he entertained of the gallantry of both officers and men;" adding, that "the list of killed and wounded would show that the general officers, the staff attached to them, the commanding and other officers of regiments, had put themselves at the head of the attacks which they severally directed, and set the example of gallantry, which was so well followed by their men."

Soult, who had expected that Lord Wellington would endeavour to take Badajos by a regular siege, and not by a *coup de main*, hoping to be in time to raise the siege, left Seville on the first of April, and reached Villa Franca, which is only two marches from Badajos, on the eighth. Here he learned the fall of a place which he had considered impregnable ; and before daylight, on the ninth, he commenced a retrograde movement towards Seville, followed by the allied cavalry, who overtook his rear-guard at Usagre, and drove them to Llerena, capturing about one hundred and fifty men, and as many horses, besides killing a considerable number of his troops.

Marmont also, during the siege had marched from Salamanca, and, having left some troops before Ciudad Rodrigo, and made a demonstration against Almeida, advanced to Castello Branco. This information being communicated to Lord Wellington, he gave directions that Badajos should be restored to a defensible condition, and, leaving Sir Rowland Hill in Estremadura with twelve thousand men, he advanced towards Marmont, who forthwith raised the blockade of Ciudad Rodrigo, and retreated to Salamanca, without inflicting any injury on the allied armies, except occasioning some stores at Celerico to be destroyed through a false alarm of his approach to that place. It was Lord Wellington's intention, after the surrender of Badajos, to have marched against Soult at Seville, but this was prevented by the Spanish authorities, who neglected to put Ciudad Rodrigo and Almeida into a proper state of defence ; he was consequently unable to remove to any considerable distance from those places. The head-quarters of the allied army were therefore again fixed at Fuente Guinaldo, and the troops reposed after their glorious labours in cantonments between the Coa and Agueda, while the commander-in-chief, having thrown the responsibility of victualling Badajos and Elvas on the Portuguese regency, employed all the means of transport attached to the allied army in storing Almeida and Ciudad Rodrigo with provisions, that he might be at liberty to advance against either Soult or Marmont, according to the dictates of his judgment.



## CHAP. III.

MARQUIS WELLESLEY RESIGNS THE FOREIGN SECRETARYSHIP—NAPOLEON PROPOSES PEACE, AND THE SETTLEMENT OF PENINSULAR AFFAIRS—THE PRINCE REGENT INVITES LORDS GREY AND GRENVILLE TO JOIN THE PERCEVAL ADMINISTRATION—THE PRINCE'S VIEWS OF THE PENINSULAR WAR—LORDS GREY AND GRENVILLE REFUSE TO JOIN THE MINISTRY—LORD BORINGDON'S MOTION FOR THE FORMATION OF A NEW MINISTRY—EARL GREY'S OPINION OF THE WAR IN SPAIN AND PORTUGAL—AN ASSASSINATION OF MR PERCEVAL—MARQUIS WELLESLEY AND MR CANNING INVITED TO JOIN THE LIVERPOOL CABINET—THEY REFUSE—LORD WELLESLEY'S OPINION OF THE WAR IN SPAIN—MR STUART WORTLEY'S ADDRESS FOR A NEW MINISTRY, MARQUIS WELLESLEY COMMISSIONED TO FORM ONE—INVITES LORD LIVERPOOL TO JOIN HIM—HIS INVITATION REJECTED—APPLIES TO EARL GREY AND LORD GRENVILLE, WHO DECLINE TO CO-OPERATE WITH HIM—COMMISSIONED A SECOND TIME TO FORM AN ADMINISTRATION—LORDS GREY AND GRENVILLE AGAIN REQUESTED TO BECOME MEMBERS OF THE CABINET BUT REFUSE—LORD MOIRA'S UNSUCCESSFUL ATTEMPT TO FORM A MINISTRY—THE EARL OF LIVERPOOL APPOINTED PREMIER—REASONS FOR REGRETTING THAT LORD WELLESLEY WAS NOT IN OFFICE—DESTRUCTION OF THE BRIDGE AND FORTS OF ALMARA BY SIR ROWLAND HILL—VOUZI AND MARMONT ADVANCE TO ATTACK HILL, BUT RETURN WITHOUT OVERHAULING HIM—DEFEAT OF SLADE BY LALLEMANDE—HILL AND DROUOT OPPOSED AT AIBUNA BUT DO NOT FIGHT—BRIDGE OF ALCANTARA REPAIRED—ALLIED ARMY ADVANCES TO THE FORMERS—BESIEGE THE FORTS OF SALAMANCA—ASSAULT ON SAN VINCENT—STORMING OF AJAFANO—MARMONT RETIRES FOLLOWED BY WELLINGTON—SIR HONORABLE PHAM'S OPERATIONS ON THE COAST OF BISCAY—COMBAT OF CASTROJON—ALLIED RETIRE TO SAN CHRISTOVALE—MARMONT PASSES THE FORMERS—BATTLE OF SALAMANCA—ADDITIONAL HONOURS CONFERRED ON LORD WELLINGTON—BIOGRAPHY OF MARMONT—WELLINGTON DRIVES LAITZEL ACROSS THE DOURO—TAKES VALADOLID—ALLIES MARCH TO MADRID—SURRENDER OF THE BARRIO—OCCURRENCES AT MADRID—1812

PARTY politics form no part of this work—and the resignation of the foreign secretary of state would not be noticed here, if that secretary had not been brother to the Earl of Wellington, and his chief support in the British cabinet. The principal reason assigned for his resignation by the Marquis Wellesley—that he could not prevail upon his colleagues, in the cabinet, to place such means at the disposal of Lord Wellington as might enable him to follow up his advantages with every human certainty of complete success—also fully justifies the announcement of the fact in these pages.

Lord Casterleagh having accepted the seals of office as his successor, one of the earliest duties he had to perform as such was to correspond with the Duke of Bassano, relative to a negociation for peace, based upon the adjustment of the affairs of the Peninsula, and of the Two Sicilies, which Napoleon had directed should be opened, preparatory to his advance upon Moscow. The proposed basis was laid down as follows: "the integrity of Spain shall be guaranteed; France shall renounce all intention of extending her dominions beyond the Pyrenees; the present dynasty shall be declared independent, and Spain shall be governed by a national constitution of her cortes. The independence and integrity of Portugal shall also be guaranteed, and the house of Braganza shall have the sovereign authority. The kingdom of Naples shall remain in possession of the ruling monarch, and the kingdom of Sicily shall be guaranteed to the reigning family of Sicily. As a consequence of these stipulations, Spain, Portugal, and Sicily shall be evacuated by the French and English land and naval forces." In reply, his lordship was directed to inquire the precise meaning of the proposal relative to the actual dynasty and government of Spain. "If," said he, "as his royal highness fears, the meaning of this proposition is that the royal authority of Spain, and the government established by the cortes, shall be recognized as residing in the brother of the head of the French government, and the cortes formed under his authority, not in the legitimate sovereign Ferdinand the Seventh, and his heirs, and in the extraordinary assembly of the cortes now invested with the power of the government in that kingdom in his name and by his authority, I am commanded frankly and explicitly to declare, that the obligations of good faith do not permit his royal highness to receive a proposition for peace founded on such a basis. But if the expressions apply to the actual government of Spain, which exercises the sovereign authority in the name of Ferdinand VII, upon an assurance of your excellency to that effect, the prince regent will feel himself disposed to enter into a full explanation upon the basis which has been transmitted, it being his most earnest wish to contribute, in concert with his

allies, to the repose of Europe, and to bring about a peace which may be at once honourable not only for Great Britain and France, but also for such states as are in amity with those powers." No answer to this communication was returned by the Duke of Bassano.

For several months, in the early part of the year 1812, England was agitated with negotiations relative to the formation of a new ministry; and, as the Marquess Wellesley acted a prominent part in them, and the scale on which the Peninsular war should be conducted, was the principal point mooted in connection with our foreign policy, it is indispensably necessary that these negotiations should be noticed with some degree of detail.

When the termination of the restrictions on the regency was approaching, his royal highness the prince-regent addressed a letter to the Duke of York, requesting that Lords Grey and Grenville might be informed how much he should be gratified by some of his early political connections strengthening his hands, and constituting a part of his government. To prevent any misconception as to his views on Spanish and Portuguese affairs, his royal highness added: "The national faith has been preserved inviolate towards our allies; and, if character is strength as applied to a nation, the increased and increasing reputation of his majesty's arms, will show to the nations of the continent how much they may still achieve when animated by a glorious spirit of resistance to a foreign yoke. In the critical situation of the war in the Peninsula, I shall be most anxious to avoid any measures which can lead my allies to suppose that I mean to depart from the present system. Perseverance alone can achieve the great object in question, and I cannot withhold my approbation from those who have honourably distinguished themselves in support of it." Lords Grey and Grenville replied jointly to his royal highness the Duke of York's communication, stating, that the differences of opinion between them and the existing administration were so many and so important, as to make it impossible for them to unite with the present government.

A motion having been made in the house of lords by Lord Boringdon, requesting the prince-regent to form a cabinet which might effectually call forth the resources of the empire, Earl Grey, as the leader of the opposition peers, said, that "he was not prepared to affirm that it was expedient to recall our troops immediately home; but certainly he did not wish to proceed in that expensive mode of warfare without having some military authority as to the result of it. He thought, and most decidedly, that a reduction of our expenditure was called for by reflections of the most urgent and powerful kind; but if anything like a certainty of success could be shown in the schemes that were devised, then all his hesitations would be removed, and he should consider even the most extensive scale of foreign operations as recommended by the principles of economy itself. He felt warmly the justice of that cause which we were maintaining in the Peninsula; but those principles on which the prosecution of that war could be defended, must be reduced to a mere speculative theory, unless supported by adequate exertions from the Spanish people and the Spanish government. Without that necessary co-operation, all our efforts must prove useless. The success of our arms during the last two years had been called complete; he could coincide in no such declaration, knowing, as every other man knew, that the defence of Portugal must be impracticable after Spain should be entirely subdued. We had certainly achieved much; and in the capture of Ciudad Rodrigo, he concurred in the admiration justly due to the great commander who conducted that important enterprise; but, when he looked to another part of that kingdom, and discovered Badajos in possession of the enemy—when he looked to Catalonia, Valencia, Murcia—he was at a loss to discover what new prospects of success had dawned upon the Spaniards. These conquests opened to the enemy a free communication between all their divisions, and they would soon be enabled, by that circumstance, to bring the whole weight of their united forces against the British. Where, then, were the symptoms of this boasted success?

Lord Wellington, at the head of sixty-two thousand as effective men as were ever led into the field, had been compelled to remain on the defensive !”

As the Marquis Wellesley was well known to take a deep interest in the noble struggle for liberty then making in the Peninsula, and to be an advocate for conducting the war there on such a scale as would almost infallibly ensure its speedy termination, instead of the adoption of an unwise economy, occasioning, ultimately, a much greater expenditure both of men and money, besides rendering the issue doubtful—the hope was indulged, that when the ministry was virtually dissolved by the atrocious assassination of its leader, Mr. Spencer Perceval, by the maniac Bellingham, his lordship would again take part in the administration of public affairs, if even he was not charged with their principal direction. This was considered the more probable from the notoriety of the fact, that one of the motives for Lord Wellesley’s resignation was his unwillingness to act under the primacy of Mr. Perceval, whom he considered totally incompetent to fill so important an office, although sufficiently qualified for inferior stations. Overtures were accordingly made to the marquis and to Mr. Canning, to join a ministry, of which Lord Liverpool was to be premier, and Lord Castlereagh foreign secretary and leader in the house of commons. Lord Wellesley, however, declined joining Lord Liverpool’s administration, partly on account of his holding opinions in favour of Catholic emancipation, directly opposed to those of the majority of the members of the projected cabinet, but principally because he differed from them as to the scale on which the Peninsular war should be conducted : “My objection,” said the noble marquis, “to remaining in that (Mr. Perceval’s) cabinet arose in a great degree from the imperfect scale on which the efforts in the Peninsula were conducted. It was always stated to me that it was impracticable to enlarge that system. I thought it was perfectly practicable, and that it was neither safe nor honest towards this country, or the allies, to continue the present inadequate scheme. Since my resignation it has been found

practicable to make some extension, but it is still intimated that my views are more extensive than the resources of the country can enable the government to reduce to practice. I, however, still entertain the same views and opinions, without diminution or alteration; and I am convinced that a considerable extension of the scale of our operations in the Peninsula, and also an effectual correction of many branches of our system in that quarter, are objects of indispensable necessity, and of easy attainment. With such a decided difference of opinion in relation to the conduct and management of the war, my return into a cabinet composed as the present is, would offer to me no better prospect than the renewal of discussions which have hitherto proved unavailing." Mr. Canning objected to form part of the administration, because all consideration of the Catholic question was to be excluded.

Mr. Stuart Wortley, however, shortly after carried an address in the house of commons, similar to Lord Boringdon's in the upper house, in consequence of which the prince-regent sent for Marquis Wellesley, and desired him to arrange the plan of an administration. Mr. Canning, at Lord Wellesley's request, inquired of Lord Liverpool, if he, and any of his present colleagues, would form part of a ministry constructed on the principles of an early discussion of the claims of the Catholics, and the vigorous prosecution of the war in the Peninsula; but both the Earl of Liverpool and his colleagues refused to form part of an administration constructed by the Marquis Wellesley.

His lordship then applied to Lords Grey and Grenville, informing them, that he did not wish for any place in the proposed new ministry. These noblemen, in reply to the marquis, after stating their cordial agreement with him on the Catholic question, thus expressed themselves in reference to the Peninsular war. "No person feels more strongly than we do the advantages which would result from a successful termination of the present contest in Spain, but we are of opinion that the direction of military operations in an extensive war, and the more or less vigorous prosecution of those operations, are

questions not of principle but of policy. But we cannot in sincerity conceal from Marquis Wellesley, that in the present state of the finances, we entertain the strongest doubts of the practicability of an increase in any branch of the public expenditure."

The Marquis of Lansdowne and Lord Holland concurring in this reply, and Earl Moira declining to enter into any engagement as to the acceptance of office, Lord Wellesley's first attempt to form an administration, after some further correspondence between Mr. Canning and Earl Grey, was abandoned.

His royal highness the prince-regent being very desirous of obtaining the public services of Marquis Wellesley, soon afterwards gave his lordship full power to form and arrange an administration based on the principles of the consideration of the Catholic claims, and the vigorous prosecution of the Peninsular war; signifying, at the same time, his pleasure that the marquis should be premier; and that Earl Moira, Lord Erskine, and Mr. Canning should form part of the cabinet, in which Lords Grey and Grenville were to be included, and were to have the power of recommending three or four members. Lords Grey and Grenville, however, refused to be included in a cabinet, of which the outlines were already definitively arranged. After some further correspondence between these noblemen and Earl Moira, the Marquis Wellesley resigned his commission into the hands of the prince-regent.

A few days after Lord Wellesley's failure was declared, Earl Moira was authorized, by the prince-regent, to form an administration which was also to include Lords Grey and Grenville; but these noblemen, after some discussion, again declined to accept office, because the appointment of the great officers of the royal household was not stated by Earl Moira to be vested in the proposed ministry. Two days after this, the Earl of Liverpool announced in the house of lords that the prince-regent had been pleased to appoint him prime minister, and had also authorized him to choose his colleagues. This intelligence was received more calmly than had been antici-









HENRY RICHARD VASSALL, BARON HOLLAND, FRS FSA

*Vassall Holland*



pated, and, after some discussion in parliament, the subject was allowed to rest, leaving a deep feeling of regret in the minds of the friends of Spain and Portugal, that the Marquis Wellesley had not been placed at the head of the ministry, or at least been made one of its prominent members—no doubt being entertained, that, had he accepted office, Lord Wellington would have been supported to such an extent, and with such vigour, that he would have been enabled to expel the French from the Peninsula in the course of the current campaign.

The Earl of Wellington having decided upon attacking Marmont, it became important to prevent Soult's joining that marshal. The principal means of communication between them being the bridge of boats at Almaraz, constructed by Marmont, and fortified with redoubts, and a flanked *tête-du-pont*, his lordship gave orders to General Hill for its destruction. Hill quitted Almendralejos on the twelfth of May with six thousand men, and intended, by a rapid night-march, to surprise all the French defences at the bridge at once; but daylight appearing before all his columns had reached their destination, he decided on making a false attack on the tower of Mirabete, while he approached the bridge, without artillery, through the almost impracticable line of La Cueva and Roman Gordo. After night-fall he descended towards the river with two thousand men, under Major-General Howard, but the rear of his army did not join him till some hours later. The assailing party was, however, concealed by a deep ravine; the defenders of the bridge and its works had no suspicion of being attacked, until the English troops, on the morning of the nineteenth, rushed towards them with scaling-ladders, and various other contrivances of similar description. The fiftieth and one wing of the seventy-first mounted the parapet with distinguished courage, and the French were soon driven from the retrenchment and tower, and fled to the *tête-du-pont*, which the British entered along with them. Attempting then to escape by the bridge, they found that three of the boats had been cut away; many were in consequence drowned, and two

hundred and fifty made prisoners. The guns of Fort Napoleon, being now in Hill's possession, were pointed against Fort Ragusa, on the opposite bank of the river, causing it to be speedily evacuated, upon which some grenadiers of the ninety-second swam over the river, and brought back several boats ; with these the bridge was repaired, and Fort Ragusa occupied by the attacking party, who, after destroying the works, stores, and bridge, returned by the mountain-passes to the position where the artillery had been left with the centre column, and the whole force returned to Merida, without stopping to reduce Mirabete, as General Hill had originally intended ; this change of purpose arose from an erroneous report having been made to Sir Rowland Hill by Sir William Erskine, that Soult was at Estramadura with all his army. The loss sustained in the capture and destruction of this very strong and important post was only thirty-three killed and one hundred and forty-four wounded.

Soult and Marmont both moved towards the scene of Sir Rowland Hill's operations, but Soult learning on his march that he had reached Truxillo on his return to the Guadiana, the marshal retraced his steps to Seville. Marmont arrived at Almaraz a few days after its destruction, and being unable to cross the Tagus, returned without even making any attempt to relieve Mirabete, the garrison of which, after being much harassed by guerillas, and suffering severely from famine, were released on the eleventh of July, by a strong detachment from Toledo, which destroyed the works, and left the pass open.

Sir Rowland Hill wishing to protect the gathering of the harvest near Zafra, where he had taken up a position, detached some Spanish cavalry for that purpose from the right flank, and General Slade with the third dragoons and the royals from Llera on the left. General Lallemand advanced with a similar object on the side of Valencia de los Torres, where General Slade had been posted in a wood to cut him off, with directions to wait for further orders. Disregarding these instructions, he advanced, and drove the French cavalry a distance of eight miles, even passing through the defile of Maquilla. Lallemand, who was stationed in the plain beyond the defile, attacked

the British, pursued them for upwards of six miles, killed and wounded forty-eight, and captured above one hundred, among whom were two officers: twenty men and one officer were, however, recaptured at Maquilla two days after, by the intrepid Austrian ensign Strenouitz.

General Drouet having at length been reinforced, advanced towards Albuera with twenty-one thousand men and eighteen pieces of artillery, where General Hill, having been joined by considerable Spanish and Portuguese reinforcements, mustered twenty-two thousand five hundred men, with twenty-four guns. A battle was now confidently expected, but Sir Rowland being uncertain whether Lord Wellington's operations in Castile would justify such a risk, declined attacking his opponent for that time. Soon after, however, having received fresh instructions, he fell on a party of French horse, which had surprised a small British cavalry post, and had cut off two hundred Spanish horsemen at Alnandrajelos and Santa Marta. Desiring to facilitate the junction of General Hill's division with the main army in case it should be necessary, the commander-in-chief ordered the repair of the celebrated Roman bridge of Alcantara on the Tagus, the principal arch, ninety feet high and one hundred wide, having been destroyed in 1809. Major Sturgeon of the royal staff accordingly repaired this magnificent structure on the suspension-bridge principle, so as to bear the transport of even heavy artillery, with cordage prepared at Elvas for the purpose.

About this time Lord Wellington was considerably embarrassed by the difficulty of obtaining money, partly through the injudicious interference of the home-government with his mode of issuing bills to obtain supplies of necessaries, but principally because Lord William Bentinck had raised money in the Mediterranean cities (to aid the projected insurrection in Italy) on much higher terms than were previously paid by Lord Wellington. His lordship adverts to this subject in the following pointed manner, in a letter addressed to the Earl of Liverpool immediately previous to his crossing the Agueda.—  
“My friends in Castile, and I believe no officer ever had

better, assure me that we shall not want provisions even before the harvest will be reaped, that there exist concealed granaries, which shall be opened to us, and, that if we can pay for a part, credit will be given to us for the remainder, and they have long given me hopes that we should be able to borrow money in Castile on British securities. In case we should be able to maintain ourselves in Castile, the general action and its results being delayed by the enemy's manœuvres, which I think not improbable, I have in contemplation other resources for drawing supplies from the country, and I shall have at all events our own magazines at Almeida and Ciudad Rodrigo. But with all these prospects, I cannot reflect without shuddering, upon the probability that we shall be distressed, nor upon the consequences which may result from our wanting money in the interior of Spain."

Marshal Marmont having resolved to adopt the Tormes and Douro as his lines of defence, and anticipating that General Hill would rejoin his commander-in-chief to assist in the battle which he expected would be fought near the Tormes, intreated King Joseph to send guns and a pontoon train from Madrid, in order that Drouet might cross the Tagus at Almaraz, and join him by the Puerto Pico. The intruder, however, only sent two small boats to Almaraz; and Marmont, finding that Lord Wellington was concentrating his troops on the Agueda, recalled Foy from the valley of the Tagus and Bonet from the Asturias, to strengthen him for the approaching battle with the allied army. Marmont's force, according to an intercepted return, amounted at this period to fifty-three thousand effective men.

All the preparatory measures being completed, including the collection of a month's provisions for the whole allied army at Ciudad Rodrigo, the cantonments were broken up, and the allies passed the Agueda on the thirteenth of June—the British troops forming three columns, and the Spaniards a fourth—and arrived at the Valmusa, about six miles from Salamanca, on the fourteenth. A squadron of the enemy's cavalry, and a few infantry, appeared before the town on the

sixteenth, but were immediately driven back by the British ; and the same evening the French evacuated Salamanca, leaving a garrison of eight hundred men in the forts that were erected to protect the passage of the *Tormes* by the bridge. The allies crossed the river at two fords on the seventeenth, when the forts were immediately invested by the sixth division under Major-General Clinton.

Marmont retired to Fuente el Saucó, on the road to Toro, followed by an advanced guard of the allied army, while the main army occupied the heights of Christoval de la Cuesta, for about three miles. Those troops which entered Salamanca were most favourably received, the women particularly crowding round Lord Wellington, to bless him for their deliverance from tyranny. This ancient city with its celebrated university stands on the right bank of the *Tormes*, in an open country, and was defended by the fort of San Vincente, and the redoubts of San Cajetana and La Merced, which the French, during their three years' occupation, had compelled the inhabitants to erect out of the materials of convents and colleges, which were destroyed to furnish wood, stone, and other materials for that purpose. The number of convents destroyed amounted to thirteen, and twenty-two colleges out of twenty-five shared a similar fate. This work of destruction was continued up to the moment when the French evacuated the city ; their last act was to set fire to such houses as obstructed the defence of their works, having previously, for the same reason, demolished the convent of St. Augustine, the magnificent King's college, and those of Cuença and Oviedo. These works, which it was necessary to reduce before the allies could advance against Marmont, were found to be much more formidable than was expected ; but a battery was immediately erected for breaching the fort, although the supply of ammunition was only sufficient for two or three days' consumption. On the night of the twenty-third, an escalade was attempted on the San Cajetano redoubt, as the defences were much damaged, although a breach had not been effected ; but this effort unhappily failed, after the loss of one hundred and twenty men killed and



wounded, among the former of whom was Major-General Bowes, who having been wounded while accompanying the storming party, had his wound dressed, and returned immediately to the assault, when he unfortunately received a second wound, which caused his death.

For two or three days the battering of the enemy's works had been suspended, from want of ammunition, but a supply having been sent from Almeida, the batteries recommenced firing with red-hot shot on the twenty-sixth, and at ten in the morning of the twenty-seventh the Fort of San Vincente was in flames, and there was an open breach in the gorge of the San Cajetano redoubt. The commandants of these fortifications then hoisted the white flag, but asked for a few hours' delay before a final surrender; obviously to gain time to extinguish the fire in fort San Vincente, but Lord Wellington peremptorily refused to allow more than five minutes. The commandants not surrendering within that time, his lordship ordered that the San Cajetano redoubt should be stormed, and that of La Merced escaladed, and both attacks being successful, the governor of fort San Vincente capitulated. The large depôts of arms, clothing, and stores it contained were given to the Spaniards, and the works both of the forts and redoubts were destroyed, as well as those of the castle of Alba de Tormes, which was evacuated by the enemy on the surrender of San Vincente. The number of prisoners taken was seven hundred, and the loss of the allies amounted to less than five hundred killed and wounded.

Marmont, who had retired to Fuente el Saucó on the seventeenth of June, when the allied army crossed the Tormes, having been joined by all the troops he expected, with the exception of Bonet's corps from the Asturias, moved forward on the twentieth from Fuente Sabuco, to oppose the allies, whom Lord Wellington immediately formed on the heights of San Christoval. After some manœuvring, and a heavy discharge of shells by the enemy, against the right of the British position, Marmont drove back all our out-posts, took possession of Moresco, and established himself within

gun-shot of the allies. Both armies remained quiet till the evening of the following day, when Lord Wellington ordered the recapture of Morisco—which was most gallantly effected; but the troops, being recalled at dusk, suffered considerable annoyance from the enemy, who, advancing unperceived through the standing corn, suddenly attacked them while employed in collecting their posts preparatory to returning.

On the twenty-second of June, Marmont seized a part of the height in front of the allies' right wing, from which he was dislodged by General Graham after a smart skirmish; and the same night the French commander withdrew to a position about six miles in his rear, which induced Lord Wellington to change his position, so as to cover Salamanca, and operate on either side of the Tormes on a shorter line than the French. His lordship stationed the heavy German cavalry, under General Bock, on the other side of the Tormes, to watch the ford of Huerta.

Ten thousand French infantry, fourteen squadrons of horse, and some artillery, crossed the Tormes at Huerta at two in the morning of the twenty-fourth of June, which was so extremely foggy as to prevent Lord Wellington from knowing the dangerous situation of Bock's cavalry, until he heard the firing of the combatants. When the fog cleared off, that General was seen retreating in excellent order before the enemy. Lord Wellington, on ascertaining the gallant German's situation, immediately despatched Sir Thomas Graham with the first and seventh divisions, and General le Marchant's brigade of cavalry, to his assistance. At three in the afternoon the enemy began to withdraw, and before night all had recrossed the river to their former position, an example which was followed by General's Graham and Le Marchant. The French army remained directly opposite to that of the allies, until the night on which San Vicente and the two redoubts surrendered, when they retreated towards the Douro, having first set fire to the villages and the standing corn, and having plundered and murdered the inhabitants in the vicinity of their position. This barbarity was favourable to the English army, whose wounded were

now well attended, and abundantly supplied; and high mass was performed in the cathedral of Salamanca, at which the Earl of Wellington with most of his generals was present. The enemy confined their retreat to Tordesillas, and the British headquarters were fixed directly opposite at Rhueda.

While the contending armies were manœuvring immediately after the capture of fort San Vincente, intelligence reached the British camp of the sailing of Sir Home Popham's expedition, consisting of twenty ships of war, including five sail of the line, from Corunna on the eighteenth of June, and of the surrender of Port Lequeitio, with a garrison of two hundred and fifty men, to the squadron, on the twenty-second. Bermco and Palencia were captured on the two following days, and Castro and Portagalate on the Bilbao river were attacked on the sixth of July in concert with Longa: and although the attack on the latter failed, Castro was taken by the English fleet. Guetaria was attacked on the nineteenth, but Mina and the Pastor, who came to co-operate with the fleet, were defeated by a French column, which also drove the British seamen to their vessels with the loss of twenty men and two guns. The positive results of this expedition were trifling, but it was useful as a diversion, particularly by preventing Caffarelli from sending aid to Marmont until late in July, and then by preventing him from sending more than twenty guns and eighteen hundred cavalry, instead of a much superior force. Even that comparatively small reinforcement did not join the main army until two days after the battle of Salamanca, where it might have proved of infinite value to Marshal Marmont.

The Earl of Wellington's attention was at this particular moment necessarily directed to financial as well as to military affairs. On the twenty-fifth of June, while the French army was manœuvring on his front, he forwarded a long and able statement to Mr. Stuart, the British ambassador at Lisbon, on the formation of a bank in that city, as proposed by the Chevalier de Souza, on the principle of the Bank of England. Nor was his mind occupied alone with the theory of finance, for he was then experiencing the greatest financial embarrass-

ments.\* The pay of the army was four months in arrear, of the staff six, and of the muleteers nearly twelve, besides which he was deeply in debt for supplies. The desertion from the Portuguese army, arising from the inability of the regency at Lisbon to obtain money to pay them, was also alarmingly great. As a partial alleviation of this pecuniary distress, for he had only twenty thousand dollars in the military chest when he advanced from Salamanca, Lord Wellington induced the Castilian junta to give up part of their revenue in kind, for the use of the allied army, receiving in payment bills on the British ambassador at Cadiz: but his pecuniary circumstances were still such, that on the fifteenth of July, in reply to a despatch from Marshal Beresford, he complained much of the wants of the Portuguese army: "I have never been in such distress as at present, and some grievous misfortune must happen, if the government do not attend seriously to the subject, and supply us regularly with money. The arrears and distresses of the Portuguese government are a joke to ours; and if our credit was not better than theirs, we should certainly starve. As it is, if we don't find means to pay our bills for butcher's meat, there will be an end to the war at once." After the perusal of such a statement, no doubt can be entertained of the difficulties with which the Marquess Wellesley must have had to contend in the cabinet, before his resignation, in endeavouring to induce the ministry to support his brother adequately in the Peninsular war, especially when it is borne in mind, that this letter was written in July, while in the May preceding the marquis had acknowledged that the British government had since his resignation "made some extension in their scale of efforts in the Peninsula."

Bonet having joined Marmont, who had also received a large reinforcement of horse, the marshal on the fifteenth of July moved a considerable corps down the river Duero. On the sixteenth two divisions of the enemy crossed the bridge at Toro, but returned the same night, destroyed the bridge, and

\* Colonel Gurwood says, "this letter must have been written whilst the enemy were manœuvring in view."

rejoined Marmont at Tordesillas. Lord Wellington, suspecting that this movement was merely a demonstration, placed only part of his force at Toro, taking up a strong position with the main army on the Guarena, and posting the fourth and light divisions under General Cotton, at Castrejon on the Trabancos. These troops were attacked vigorously by Marmont's whole force on the morning of the eighteenth. His cavalry, supported by infantry and artillery, engaged the British horse, who began to lose ground in the unequal conflict, and the enemy was already pressing upon both flanks, and menacing their line of retreat. Lord Wellington now sent cavalry and horse-artillery to extricate the two divisions, so that they retreated in perfect order, and with a very trifling loss, across the Guarena to the heights of Canizal, where the allied army was posted. Marmont now sent a heavy column across the Guarena, to gain possession of a ridge on the allies' flank, which would have commanded the road to Salamanca; but they were roughly repulsed by General Cole's division, and a small body of cavalry, which made a most brilliant charge: General Carriere and three hundred men were captured. The allies lost between five and six hundred men in the two operations; and their future efforts were in danger of being paralyzed by the loss of their commander-in-chief. The Earl of Wellington, with Marshal Beresford and several staff-officers, were surrounded by the French cavalry while observing the enemy's movements, and only escaped by cutting their way through the enemy.

After much marching, counter-marching, and change of positions, the enemy took possession of the village of Calvarassa de Arriba, and of the adjoining heights; the British left wing occupying the low land near Santa Marta, with the cavalry in advance, and the right occupying the chain of hills near Arapiles, thus covering Salamanca. The position of the allied army was, at this time, critical; for General Clauzel had already reached Pollos with the cavalry and horse-artillery of the army of the north, which, on joining Marmont, would give the French a decided numerical superiority over the allies;

the British commander-in-chief, therefore, determined on falling back upon Ciudad Rodrigo, should he not be able to attack the enemy advantageously before the junction was effected. In taking up their positions, both generals had overlooked the two steep and rugged hills called Dos Arapiles, which lay between them; but on the morning of the twenty-first of July, detachments from both armies were sent to take possession of those important points. The seventh caçadores had been despatched, to seize the most distant; but the enemy, being nearest, succeeded in obtaining possession after a severe struggle. The allies made themselves masters of the other, and also of part of the heights near Calvarissa de Arriba, the enemy retaining the other part. The allied army having on the twenty-first taken up its former position at San Christoval, and the Earl of Wellington concluding from Marmont's manœuvres that he intended to make his principal effort upon the left of the Tormes, placed the first and light divisions opposite to the Calvarissa de Arriba, caused D'Urban's horse and the third division to pass over the river by the Santa Marta ford, and, unseen by the enemy, to take their post behind Aldea Tejada, which gave them the command of the road to Ciudad Rodrigo. The interval between the Arapiles and this post was held by the Spanish infantry under Don Carlos de Espana, by Bradford's Portuguese, and by the British cavalry.

Marmont inferring, from the movements with which he was acquainted, that the allies contemplated retreating upon Ciudad Rodrigo, ordered Thomieres' division with fifty guns, and the light cavalry, to menace the road leading to that city; while, totally ignorant that the British had a strong force near Aldea Tejada, ready to oppose Thomieres, he intended falling upon the allies the moment they made the expected advance.

About two in the afternoon on the twenty-second of July, a cloud of skirmishers issued from the enemy's left wing, and a heavy cannonade opened on the allied army. The enemy was soon after seen moving along the heights, within half a mile of Lord Wellington's position, evidently intending to cut off

his retreat upon Ciudad Rodrigo. His lordship being informed by Colonel Sturgeon, while he sat at dinner, that Marmont was thus incautiously extending his line, and exposing his left wing, started up from table, exclaiming, "I have them!" and, hastening to the crest of the hill, saw the movement of the French, which, by separating the left wing from the centre, would render its destruction certain; he, therefore, instantly ordered the allied army to advance, the first and light divisions occupying the ground on the left in reserve. The third division, D'Urban's cavalry, and a body of light dragoons, were ordered to form in four columns, and to turn the enemy's left upon the heights. The first line, comprising the fourth and fifth divisions, with Bradford's Portuguese, and the heavy cavalry, supported by a second line, consisting of the sixth and seventh divisions, Anson's light cavalry, and the Spaniards, was directed to advance when the attack on the enemy's left should be developed; and General Pack, with his Portuguese, was ordered to attack the Arapiles occupied by the enemy.

As soon as the left of the British line had passed that hill, Marmont saw from the French Arapiles the arrangement of the allied army, and being ignorant that there was a strong British and Portuguese division advancing from Aldea Tejedo, he expected that the allies would be kept in check by his heavy fire until he could bring up his reserve, and fall resistlessly on their left. About five o'clock, however, when Thomiere's division had reached the further end of the southern ridge, in expectation of seeing the allies in full retreat before Marmont, it was unexpectedly taken in flank by the third division, driven before it from height to height, and deprived of its brave general, who was killed, while three thousand of its number were made prisoners. The whole French army then perceived that they were out-manceuvred and defeated; and Marmont, hurrying forward to the post of danger, was struck down by an exploding shell, which broke his arm, and inflicted two deep wounds in his side. General Bonet, the second in command, now became commander-in-chief, but being soon afterwards wounded, Clauzel, who had joined the army of Portugal

a short time before the battle, succeeded Bonet in the chief direction of the army.

Marshal Marmont\* addressed a report to the minister-of-war, of the battle of Salamanca and the events that immediately preceded it, a few extracts from which will illustrate the preceding account. The report is dated Tudela, July thirty-first, and commences by adverting to the interruption of the communication with France having prevented him from detailing the events of the campaign. The marshal having first related the proceedings of the French army to the seventeenth of June, proceeds:—

“I marched six leagues from Salamanca, and there having collected five divisions, I approached that town. I drove before me the English advanced posts, and obliged the enemy’s army to show what attitude it reckoned upon taking. It appeared determined to fight upon the fine rising ground and strong position of San Christoval. The remainder of the army having joined me, I manœuvred round that position, but I acquired the certainty that it everywhere presented obstacles difficult to be conquered, and that it was better to force the enemy to come upon another field of battle, than enter into

\* Marshal Marmont, Duke of Ragusa, a personal favourite of Napoleon, to which circumstance, rather than to his services, he is said to have owed his elevation, was a man of a very elegant deportment, but proud, haughty, and accustomed to treat his inferiors with so much contempt, that he daily multiplied the number of his personal enemies. His establishment was princely, and even when in camp he was attended by numerous equipages, and maintained several packs of hounds, professing to be fond of the chase. He was descended from a noble family, received a sound mathematical education, and was intended for the artillery, but, while serving in the army of Italy during the first war of the revolution, Buonaparte made him one of his aide-de-camps, and although only a chief of battalion, he was sent to Paris in 1796, to present twenty-two stands of colours, taken from the Austrian General Wurmsur, to the Directory. After the peace of Campo Formio, he espoused, probably under the influence of Buonaparte, the only daughter of the celebrated banker Peregaux. Marmont accompanied Buonaparte to Egypt, and was the principal agent in arranging for his return, in which he was also his companion. He contributed materially to the defeat of the Austrians at Marengo, by bringing the French artillery almost within musket-shot of the enemy’s line. His services in Spain are sufficiently described in these pages.



action with them upon ground which gave them too many advantages." He then describes the siege and fall of the Salamanca forts, his various manœuvres down to the third of July, and his remounting one thousand of his dismounted cavalry, by taking "the useless horses for the service of the army, or such as belonged to individuals who had no right to the use of them, or from such as had a greater number than they were allowed. He likewise seized a great number which were with a convoy coming from Andalusia, all upon estimation of their value, and paying for them."

The various marches and counter-marches of the opposing armies are then described down to the eighteenth of July, when the allies, according to the marshal's account, "divided themselves, to re-ascend the Guarena, in order to pass it with the greatest facility. Arrived upon the heights of the valley of the Guarena, we saw that a portion of the British army was formed upon the left bank of that river. The army marched in two columns, and I had given the command of the right column, distant from that of the left three-quarters of a league, to General Clauzel. Arrived upon this ground, General Clauzel, having few troops before him, thought he was able to seize upon the two eminences upon the left bank of the Guarena, and retain them. But this attack was made with too small a force: his troops had not halted, and scarcely formed; the enemy perceived it, marched upon the detachment which he had thus thrown in advance, and forced them to retreat. In this battle, which was of short duration, we experienced some loss. The division of dragoons which supported the infantry, vigorously charged all the British cavalry, but General Carrier, being a little too far advanced from the thirteenth regiment, fell into the enemy's power.

"On the twentieth, before day, the army was in motion, to ascend the Guarena. The advanced-guard rapidly passed that river at that part where it is but a stream, and occupied a position on an immense tract of ground, which continued without any undulation almost to Salamanca. The enemy endeavoured to occupy the same ground, but could not succeed.

He then attempted to follow a parallel rising ground connected with the post they had just quitted, and which everywhere offered them a position, provided I should have marched towards them. The two armies thus marched parallel, with all possible celerity, always keeping their masses connected, in order to be ready for battle at every moment. In the evening the army encamped upon the heights of Aldea Rubea, having its post upon the Tormes. The enemy reached the position of San Christoval. On the twenty-first, having been informed that the enemy did not occupy Alba de Tormes, I threw a garrison into it. The same day I passed the river in two columns, taking my direction by the skirts of the wood, and established my camp between Alba de Tormes and Salamanca.

“On the twenty-second in the morning, I went upon the heights of Calbaraca de Azzeva, to reconnoitre the enemy. Everything indicated that it was the enemy's intention to occupy the position of Tejares, which was a league in the rear of that in which he then was, distant a league and a half from Salamanca. There were between us and the British some isolated points called the Arapiles. I ordered General Bonet to occupy that which belonged to the position we ought to take. His troops did so with promptness and dexterity. The enemy ordered theirs to be occupied, but it was commanded by ours at two hundred and fifty toises distance. I had destined this point, in the event of there being a general movement by the left, and a battle taking place, to be the pivot and point of support on the right to all the army. The enemy had his troops parallel to me, extending his right by leaning towards the mountain of Tejares, which always appeared to be his point of retreat.

“There was in front of the ridge occupied by the artillery another vast range, easy of defence, and which had a more immediate effect on the enemy's movements. It was indispensably necessary to occupy it, because the enemy had reinforced his centre, from whence he might push forward *en masse* on this ridge, and commence his attack by taking this

important point." The marshal then recites the orders he gave to the different divisions of his army, for obtaining and securing this position, and complains that the greater part of these movements were performed with irregularity. "I felt all the consequences which might result from all these irregularities, and I resolved on remedying them myself on the spot, which was not a difficult matter, the enemy not as yet having made any movement at all. It was half past four o'clock when I ascended the ridge which was to be the object of an obstinate dispute; but at this moment a shell struck me, broke my right arm, and made two large wounds on my right side. I thus became incapable of taking any part in the command. At length, about five o'clock, the enemy, judging that the situation was favourable, attacked this ill-formed left with impetuosity. The divisions engaged repulsed the enemy, and were themselves driven back in their turn, but they acted without concert and without method. At length the army retired, evacuated the ridges, and withdrew to the skirts of the wood, where the enemy made fresh efforts. From this moment the retreat was effected towards Alba de Tormes, without being disturbed by the enemy. Our loss amounted to about seven thousand men put *hors de combat*." Marmont then expresses his sorrow at all the plans he had laid to ensure victory having been frustrated by the separation from the army which his wounds occasioned—describes the retreat of the army towards the Douro—mentions his intention of being removed to Burgos to recover from his wounds,—eulogizes the officers and troops of his army, Clauzel particularly, who, although wounded, did not quit the field; and concludes by lamenting the death of several of his general officers.

These extracts furnish the strongest, and most convincing evidence of the skill displayed in Lord Wellington's arrangements, and particularly of his admirable selection of positions; and this not by the testimony of partial adherents, but by that of a defeated rival.—We now resume the British account:

The fourth and fifth divisions of the allies, under Generals Cole and Leith, supported by the sixth and seventh divisions

under Generals Clinton and Hope, attacked the enemy's front nearly at the same time that Packenham's division attacked Thomieres'; Sir Stapleton Cotton's assisting in driving back the enemy by a brilliant charge against their infantry, in which Major-General Le Marchant\* was killed, while leading on his brigade of cavalry. Lieutenant-General Leith was also severely wounded as he gallantly headed a charge. General Pack failed in an attack on the French Arapiles; and the fourth division under General Cole, who was wounded in the contest, being stoutly opposed by the enemy's reserve, in their attempts to get possession of the heights in its front, was obliged to retire; but the ground was soon regained by a brigade of the fifth division, directed by Marshal Beresford, who happened to be on the spot, and was wounded while conducting this dangerous enterprise. The enemy's centre and left were now completely beaten, and the Arapiles had been carried by a brigade from General Clinton's division.

The right wing of the French army, which was largely reinforced from the defeated centre and left, and occupied a well-selected position, was now attacked by the first, third, fifth, sixth, and light divisions, with one British brigade and one Portuguese from the fourth division. This corps, after a fiercely maintained and sometimes doubtful struggle, succeeded in driving the enemy with great loss towards Huerta and the fords of the Tormes, but night approaching enabled many of them to

\* Major-General le Marchant, who was a native of Guernsey, entered the army at an early age. He served in the light dragoons, under the Duke of York, in the years 1793 and 1794, introduced the Hungarian sword-exercise into the British army, and assisted in drawing up a manual for the cavalry, which was published by the war-office in 1796. The royal military college at Sandhurst was chiefly planned by him, and he was its lieutenant-governor until 1811, when he was promoted to the rank of major-general. He then joined the army in Portugal in command of a brigade, but was soon obliged to return to England, temporarily, owing to the sudden death of his wife: shortly after rejoining Lord Wellington, he fell gloriously, at the early age of forty-seven years. His royal highness the prince-regent, in consideration of his useful services and gallant death, settled three hundred pounds per annum on his eldest son, an ensign in the guards, who was at his father's side when he was killed—one hundred pounds on each of his three younger sons—and, one hundred and twenty pounds each on his five daughters.

escape, especially as, contrary to Lord Wellington's orders, and even without his knowledge, the castle of Alba de Tormes, which commanded some of the river-fords, had been evacuated by the Spaniards, while, had it been held by them, or had the commander-in-chief known of its evacuation, several thousand prisoners would have been captured, in addition to the seven thousand that were taken. During the pursuit, a British sentinel, unfortunately mistaking Sir Stapleton Cotton for an enemy, fired at and wounded him. The following morning General Bock overtook the French rear-guard near La Serna, and, in a manner that excited the admiration of all that were present, charged three squares of infantry, sabreing many of them, and making nine hundred prisoners. The remains of the defeated army retreated to Burgos by way of Valladolid, which place Lord Wellington entered on the thirtieth, beyond which it was not pursued by the conquerors.

The battle of Salamanca, which lasted from three o'clock till ten P.M. occasioned a loss to the allies, of nearly five thousand men in killed and wounded. General le Marchant was killed, on the side of the British; and Generals Ferey, Desgraviere, and Thomieres, on that of the French. Besides Marshal Marmont, only three French generals were wounded; while the allied army had five, Sir W. Beresford, Sir Stapleton Cotton, Cole, Leith, and Alten. It is also said that Lord Wellington, while riding with the forty-third regiment in pursuit of the flying enemy, was struck in the thigh by a spent musket-ball, which passed through his holster, but only occasioned a slight contusion. The French loss was seven thousand five hundred killed and wounded. This splendid victory, which a French officer described as "the beating of forty thousand men in forty minutes," completely changed the prospects of the allied army. Instead of being obliged to abandon Salamanca to the revenge of a cruel enemy, and retire upon Ciudad Rodrigo, followed by Marmont and Joseph Buonaparte, the intrusive king of Spain—with the united force, pompously styled the French Armies of Portugal and the Centre—the allies had, at least temporarily, destroyed Marmont's army,

obliged king Joseph to consult his safety by flight, and laid open to the British army the road to the capital of Spain.

Honours were multiplied on the Earl of Wellington, after the splendid and decisive victory of Salamanca. On the eighteenth of August his royal highness the prince-regent promoted him to a marquissate, and on the twenty-fifth granted the following honourable augmentation to his arms. "In the dexter quarter of the arms of Wellington, an escocheon, charged with the crosses of St. George, St. Andrew, and St. Patrick, *being the union badge of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland*, as a lasting memorial of the glorious and transcendent achievements of Arthur Marquis of Wellington, on various important occasions, but more particularly in the brilliant and decisive victory obtained over the French army by the troops under his command, near Salamanca, on the twenty-second day of July, 1812."—There were public rejoicings in every part of the United Kingdom, and illuminations in many of the large towns.\* His lordship was appointed, by the cortez, generalissimo of the Spanish armies.

The Marquis of Wellington having crossed the Douro, in pursuit of the now humbled and retreating French army, entered Valladolid on the thirtieth of July, and henceforth

\* On the fourth of July, Lord Wellington sent the following unpretending letter to Aubrey de Vere Hunt, high-sheriff of the county of Limerick, in reply to a most flattering address, from the inhabitants of that county to the illustrious British hero. "I have had the honour of receiving your letter of the seventeenth of May, in which you have enclosed the unanimous resolutions of a meeting of the county of Limerick, assembled under your auspices on the sixteenth of May. I am much flattered by the notice which the county of Limerick have been pleased to take of my endeavours to serve his majesty, and by the approbation they have expressed of the conduct of the officers and troops that have been placed under my command; and I hope, by the support and assistance of the general and other officers, and the discipline of the troops, to continue to enjoy the valuable approbation of the gentlemen of the county of Limerick." On the second of September the corporation of Boston passed a public vote of thanks to Lord Wellington; to which his lordship replied, on the fifth of October, in words similar in effect to those contained in his answer to the high sheriff of Limerick. The sentiments of the citizens of Boston were communicated to Lord Wellington by Sir Joseph Banks, K.B. recorder of that municipal town.

ceased to harass the army of Portugal: on the following day he recrossed the Douro, and, fixing his head-quarters at Cuellar, prepared to advance against the army of the centre, commanded by Joseph Buonaparte and Marshal Jourdan, and, having obtained supplies, commenced his march on the sixth of August towards Madrid, by the route of Segovia and San Ildefonso, leaving General Clinton's division and some of the regiments that had suffered most at Salamanca, to observe the line of the Douro, and prevent the junction of the armies of Portugal and the centre, in co-operation with the Spanish army of Galicia, commanded by Santocildes, eight thousand strong, which had crossed to the south bank of that river.

Joseph Buonaparte had left Madrid on the twentieth of July, with fourteen thousand men, intending to join Marmont, and drive the allies back into Portugal; but learning, while at Blasco Sancho, that the French army had been entirely defeated at Salamanca, he commenced his retrograde march on the twenty-fifth, the advanced guard of the allies entering that place on the evening of that day, and capturing two officers and twenty-seven troopers of his army by surprise. Lord Wellington continuing to follow Joseph—the intrusive king having dismantled the castle of Segovia, and levied a contribution in money and church-plate, retreated towards Madrid through the Puerta de Guadarama, his rear-guard of cavalry escaping by the San Ildefonso pass on the approach of the allied cavalry. King Joseph, having reached the Escorial mountain, retained eight thousand men, and sent the remainder, on the tenth, to protect the withdrawal of his court, which left Madrid the same day, accompanied by upwards of two thousand carriages of all descriptions and twenty thousand fugitives.

The advanced guard of the allied army, consisting of D'Urban's Portuguese, a troop of horse-artillery, and a battalion of infantry, entered Majalahenda on the eleventh. Some German infantry, Bock's heavy cavalry, and a troop of horse-artillery, occupying Las Razas, about a mile in the rear. Treilhard's horse, which had been driven back in the morning, having been reinforced, returned to the attack with two thou-

sand cavalry. General D'Urban advanced upon their leading squadrons, but the Portuguese horse, although they had behaved most gallantly at Salamanca, turning round before they reached the enemy, fled through the village of Majalahenda to the rear, and fell back upon the German dragoons, exposing the guns of Mc Donald's troop, of which three that had been overturned were captured. The French passing through Majalahenda advanced rapidly upon Las Rosas, where the German dragoons, although taken by surprise, made a determined stand until Ponsonby's cavalry, and a brigade of the seventh division arrived, when Treilhard abandoned Majalahenda, having unfortunately taken with him, as prisoners, General Visconde de Barbacena, Colonel Jonquieres of the German cavalry, and some others, but leaving behind him the three captured guns.

The pickets of the allied army took post, on the evening of the 11th, on the mountains in sight of Madrid, and the intrusive king with the army of the centre, retired by the roads of Toledo and Aranjuez, to Valdemoso, where he met the large convoy of fugitives from the capital; these victims were immediately plundered, and all the retainers and followers of the ancient court of Madrid became a prey to Joseph's licentious soldiers, the authority of Marshal Jourdan and of the other generals being insufficient to arrest the mischief, and enable the multitude to file over the bridge of Aranjuez. Lord Wellington, who could have driven them into the Tagus, did not interfere to prevent the retirement of the unhappy fugitives. Joseph, leaving a garrison of eighteen hundred men in the fortified post of the Retiro, withdrew from Madrid on the eleventh, retreating first to Ocana, and ultimately to Valencia, and on the morning of the 12th the Marquis of Wellington entered the city amidst the heart-felt acclamations of its rejoicing inhabitants.

"It is impossible," observed his lordship, in writing to Earl Bathurst, "to describe the joy manifested by the inhabitants of Madrid upon our arrival: and I hope that the prevalence of the same sentiments of detestation of the French yoke, and of a strong desire to secure the independence of their country,



which first induced them to set the example of resistance to the usurper, will induce them again to make exertions in the cause of their country, which being more wisely directed, will be more efficacious than those formerly made."

Previous to the relation of the various occurrences that took place at Madrid, it will be necessary to notice the proceedings of Sir Rowland Hill's division in Estramadura. After Drouet had retired from before Hill's position in the early part of July, that general placed a strong detachment at Merida; but nothing worthy of importance occurred till the twenty-fourth of July, when some Portuguese horse were driven back by General Lallemand, from Ribera to Villa Franca. Lallemand was in turn attacked by Generals Long and Slade, supported by Captain Lefebvre's troop of horse-artillery, who pursued him at a trot, and drove him upwards of twenty miles to Llera with the loss of fifty men, while that of the allies was only one man killed and seven wounded. Drouet then moved towards Merida, but Hill also advancing to the support of his detachment there, the French general returned to the Serena without hazarding a battle, contrary to Marshal Soult's positive instructions. Soult soon afterwards having ordered Drouet to join him in Granada, Sir Rowland Hill then crossed the Tagus at Almaraz, whose bridge had been made passable, even for artillery, by Colonel Sturgeon's exertions, and advanced as far as Toledo.

When the Marquess of Wellington had reconnoitred the Retiro, on the afternoon of the day on which the allies entered Madrid, he ordered the outer enclosure to be carried, and guns to be placed in battery against the inner fort. In the night the allied infantry drove the enemy's posts from the Prado and botanical garden, and established themselves in the palace close to the inner fort, which was called La China; but before their fire opened on the fourteenth, La Fond, the commandant of the fort of La China, surrendered, much to the dissatisfaction of the garrison, amounting to eighteen hundred men, or two thousand five hundred including sick, to whose wrath the governor was in danger of falling a victim. The

quantity of stores found in the Retiro was immense, comprising one hundred and eighty-nine pieces of brass cannon, twenty thousand stand of arms, three millions of ball-cartridges belonging to the army of the centre, eight field-guns, nine hundred barrels of gunpowder, and a great quantity of entrenching tools belonging to the army of Portugal, besides magazines of clothing and provisions. Amongst the spoils, the eagles of the thirteenth and fifty-first regiments were discovered, and forwarded to England by Lord Wellington, to be presented to the prince-regent by Major Burgh, one of his lordship's aide-de-camps, and afterwards Lord Downes in the Irish peerage.

This place, which had been converted by the French into an arsenal, a state prison, and a fort to overawe Madrid—and the exertions for the erection of which are said to have chiefly caused the revolt of Portugal from Spain in the reign of Philip IV.—is seated on an eminence at the east side of the city, and was the ancient palace of the Spanish kings, in which Charles the Fifth, emperor of Germany and king of Spain, planned the establishment of an universal monarchy in Europe, but failed in carrying his plan into effect to the extent that was accomplished by Napoleon Buonaparte two centuries later. On the removal of Charles V. to the new palace, parts of the extensive buildings of the Buen Retiro were converted into a porcelain manufactory called “La China,” others were occupied as a museum and a menagerie, while the grounds were used as a botanical garden. Between the Retiro and the enclosure of Madrid was the Prado, but its magnificent walks, as well as the other interesting objects connected with this ancient regal residence, were almost obliterated by the French army.

Don Carlos de Espagna was appointed governor of Madrid on the thirteenth, the new constitution being proclaimed the same day amid the cheers and congratulations of assembled thousands of rejoicing Spaniards. These demonstrations of joy, as might have been anticipated, were too soon followed by violent persecutions, commenced against the partisans of

the French, who were called *Afrancesados*, which were greatly mitigated by Lord Wellington's interference in their favour. The sufferings of the inhabitants of Madrid had certainly been very great: the people were unable to purchase the provisions with which the markets were abundantly supplied. Some even died of hunger, and every morning emaciated bodies were laid in the public streets. The British officers now displayed their characteristic humanity, as they had on other occasions their innate courage, by establishing soup-kitchens, at which hundreds were relieved; for which considerate and timely relief, the *Madrilenos* expressed the greatest thankfulness. The first number of the Madrid Gazette that was published after the occupation of their city by the allied armies, gives a summary of the proceedings connected with that important event, from which the following notices are extracted. The editor, after narrating the alarm created by the approach of the allies and the retirement of the French garrison into the *Retiro*, on the twelfth of August—on which occasion the shops in Madrid were re-opened, having been closed for two days from an apprehension of being plundered—proceeds to state, that "in the afternoon of that day, the allied army began to enter the city, and from that moment the public joy knew no bounds. The arrival of the first English, Spanish, and Portuguese officers raised this joy to the highest pitch. Never did any people manifest with so much cordiality and energy, their gratitude to their deliverers."

"The entrance into Salamanca, Segovia, and Ildefonso, was," in the narrator's opinion, "equal to the triumphal entries of the heroes of antiquity; but when, on the second day, Lord Wellington made his entry into the capital, the spectacle was truly grand. His lordship was attended by the flower of the British nobility, and by all the generals of the allied armies—whilst the Spanish nobility, and the dignitaries of the church, came out to meet him, accompanied by almost the whole population of the city, to witness the presentation of the keys. The air was rent with cries of "*Vive le Duc de Rodrigo grande!*" but the elegant females, and those of the first rank,

threw under the horses' feet, not only laurels and flowers, but even shawls and veils of the finest texture. When the marquis attempted to alight at the palace, women of the first quality embraced and kissed him, and even every person whom they took for him, so that it was a long time before he and his generals could get housed. There was, indeed, little trouble in getting billets, for the inhabitants took hold of the British officers where they could find them, and insisted on making them inmates of their homes. The doors of all the houses were seen instantly adorned as if by enchantment, and every thing contributed to prove that the inhabitants considered this day as the aurora of liberty. The council of Madrid also entertained the marquis with a magnificent bullfight; and when he appeared in the royal box, twelve thousand spectators made the air ring with their repeated cheers." To recall the Juramentados, or those who had sworn allegiance to Joseph, to their duty to their country, a proclamation was issued, offering pardon to all who should forsake the intruder, and present themselves to the Spanish chiefs. This proclamation produced extensive desertion amongst Joseph's followers, of whom above two thousand had entered the capital alone; on the other hand, the estates which had been confiscated by the French, were restored to their lawful owners.

While the Marquis of Wellington was being thus overwhelmed with Spanish gratitude, he sustained much personal inconvenience from the state of his finances, which were in a very deranged condition. Writing to Earl Bathurst a few days after his triumphant entry into Madrid, he says—"I have been going on for more than three years upon the usual allowance of a commander-in-chief, that is, ten pounds per diem, liable to various deductions, among others of income-tax, reducing it to about eight guineas; but it will be necessary that government should now either give me additional pay—under the head of table-money, or any other they please—or that they should allow me to charge some of the expenses, such as charities, &c. which I am obliged to incur in the existing state of this

country—or I shall be ruined. It is not proper probably to advert to other services, but I believe there is no service in which a commander-in-chief, with such a charge as I have, is so badly paid, as in the British service. Indeed, as far as I can learn, there is no instance of an officer holding a permanent command in the British service, whose receipts have been confined to ten pounds per diem with deductions. They all receive either the allowance of government with that of a commander-in-chief, or an allowance of some other description; but I doubt that the trouble, or responsibility, or the expenses, of any at all equal mine. However, I should not have mentioned the subject, knowing that the public expect in these days to be well served at the lowest possible rate of expense, if I did not find that I was in a situation in which I must incur expense which I cannot defray without doing myself an injury." This letter was effective in the improvement of the marquis's pecuniary circumstances, for, a few weeks later, he acknowledged, in a letter to Lord Liverpool, the prince-regent's kindness, in announcing his intention of proposing that parliament should grant him one hundred thousand pounds for the support of his honours.

The Spanish regency at this period conferred upon the marquis the highest honour in their gift, the order of the Golden Fleece; and Donna Maria Teresa de Bourbon made him a princely present of the jewelled collar of that order, which had belonged to her father, the Infante Don Luiz. The cortes also decreed, that a monument in commemoration of the victory of Salamanca should be erected near that city—passed a vote of thanks to the Duke of Ciudad Rodrigo—and appointed a deputation to wait on the Honourable Henry Wellesley, his brother, and British ambassador in Spain, to congratulate him on so signal a victory having been obtained. The Marquess Villa Franca stated to our ambassador, that "the general cortes, after hearing with the most extraordinary emotion the relation of the victory obtained by the Duke of Ciudad Rodrigo in the field of Salamanca, have resolved, that in its name, and in that of his majesty, thanks

should be given to that general, the officers, and troops under his command; and likewise that we should, without any ceremony, wait upon and compliment your excellency on this happy event, both as the representative of the great British nation, and as the brother of the great hero who has obscured the triumphs of the tyrant." Mr. Wellesley assured them in reply, "that he was above measure gratified by this proceeding of the cortes; and that he hoped this great success would be followed by still greater advantages, and that the result of the whole would be—the so much wished for entire liberty of the Peninsula."

On the twenty-second of August the municipal council of Madrid, headed by the governor, Don Carlos de Espagna, proceeded in a body to compliment his lordship as Duke of Ciudad Rodrigo. In the course of his address, the governor said, "The inhabitants of Madrid manifest to your excellency, by the voice of their magistrates, the satisfaction they feel at seeing in the palace of their kings the illustrious conqueror of Vimeira and Talavera—the deliverer of Portugal—the conqueror of Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajos—the hero who on the plains of Salamanca humbled the pride of our perfidious and cruel enemies, frustrated their designs, and broke the chains which disgraced the capital of the Spanish empire, by a memorable victory, which history shall transmit to the latest posterity." To this address the marquis made the following appropriate answer:—"I am very sensible of the honour which the most noble and loyal council of Madrid has done me in this visit, and am highly gratified with the polite language in which your excellency, speaking in its name, has been pleased to mention the principal occurrences of the war in which I have borne a part. I have particular satisfaction in receiving a body of magistrates elected by the faithful people of Madrid, according to the forms provided by the constitution, sanctioned by the general and extraordinary cortes; which, possessing the confidence and influence of the people, carry into execution the laws with impartiality and vigour. The events of war are in the hands of Providence;

but I trust that these gentlemen, and the inhabitants of Madrid, will not doubt that I shall continue to make every effort in my power to carry into execution the orders of his royal highness, who exercises supreme authority in the name of his Britannic majesty, in behalf of the interesting cause of Spain; and I hope that these efforts will not only contribute to preserve the peace and security of the city of Madrid, but also ultimately to establish the independence, prosperity, and happiness of Spain."

## CHAP. IV.

SOULT RETIRES FROM BEFORE CADIZ—COLONEL KERRETT AND GENERAL CRUX SAVE SEVILLA FROM BEING PLUNDERED—GALLANT CONDUCT OF GENERAL DOWNIE—ASSISTANCE AFFORDED BY AN ENGLISH SQUADRON TO THE GUERRILLAS—CONSEQUENT EVACUATION BY THE FRENCH OF TORRELAVEGA AND SANTANDER, AND CAPTURE OF BILBAO BY THE ALLIES—AN ARMY ARRIVES FROM SICILY—LANDS AT ALICANTE—THE FRENCH GENERAL MARISPE RETREATS BEFORE IT—ALLIES RETURN TO ALICANTE ON LEARNING JOSEPH BUONAPARTE'S JUNCTION WITH SUCHET—ELIO PROPOSES DRAWING ROCHE'S SPANISH DIVISION FROM ALICANTE—SPIRITED LETTER FROM LORD WELLINGTON ON THE SUBJECT—HIS LORDSHIP ADVANCES FROM MADRID—IS JOINED BY THE GALICIAN ARMY—REACHES BURGOS—ACCOUNT OF THAT CITY—DESCRIPTION OF ITS CASTLE, WHICH IS UNSUCCESSFULLY BESIEGED—PERSONAL DANGER OF LORD WELLINGTON—DEATH OF THE HONOURABLE MAJOR COCKS—LORD WELLINGTON'S OPINION ON THE SALE OF CROWN AND CHURCH LANDS IN PORTUGAL—COMPARATIVE STRENGTH OF THE OPPOSED ARMIES—HALLASTERS REFUSES TO SERVE UNDER THE MARQUIS—IS EXILED TO CEUTA—SKILFUL RETREAT OVER THE BRIDGES OF BURGOS—ALLIED ARMY TAKES POST ON THE CARRION—INTemperance OF THE TROOPS—BOLD STRATAGEM OF A FRENCH TROOPER—ALLIES RETURN OVER THE DOURO—GALLANT CAPTURE OF THE CASTLE OF TORDESILLAS BY A FRENCH DETACHMENT—GENERAL HILL'S DIVISION JOINS THE MAIN ARMY—EVACUATION OF MADRID BY THE ALLIES—DISTURBANCES THERE—JOSEPH BUONAPARTE RE-ENTERS, BUT LEAVES IT AGAIN AFTER FOUR DAYS—THE CAPITAL OCCUPIED BY GUERRILLAS, WHO ARE EXPELLED BY JOSEPH—COMPARATIVE STRENGTH OF WELLINGTON'S AND SOULT'S ARMIES—LORD WELLINGTON'S HOPE OF BEING ATTACKED BY MARSHAL SOULT DISAPPOINTED—SIR EDWARD PAGET MADE PRISONER—ANECDOTE OF LORD WELLINGTON'S FORBEARANCE—ALLIES ENTER INTO WINTER QUARTERS—THE MARQUIS OF WELLINGTON'S SUMMARY OF THE CAMPAIGN—SUFFERINGS OF THE ARMY DURING THE RETREAT—CONSEQUENT RELAXATION OF DISCIPLINE—SEVERE LETTER OF LORD WELLINGTON ON THIS SUBJECT—PARLIAMENTARY PROCEEDINGS RELATING TO THE MARQUIS OF WELLINGTON.—1812.

WHILE Wellington, as a victorious general, was receiving the thanks and the homage of the Spanish people; the effects of the brilliant victory at Salamanca, and the occupation of Madrid, began to display themselves in a remarkable manner. Soult, on receiving intelligence of these events, raised the siege of Cadiz, destroying an immense quantity of ammunition, but leaving to the Spaniards thirty gun-boats, some hundred pieces of cannon, and several magazines, which were preserved by the advance of the garrison to the lines, in addition to what he had rendered unserviceable. The injured people of that great city traced to its true source the termination of



the long-protracted siege, when they said, "the brilliant triumphs and progress of the allied army, led on by the great English general, have already produced the most felicitous results. The siege of Cadiz has been raised, and its safety ensured, on the plains of Salamanca." The French, in anticipation of their retreat, had blown up the castle of Niebla, and withdrawn from that district; and on the day of their retirement from Cadiz, Colonels Skerrett, and Camp-Major Crux-Mourgeen, intending to advance upon Seville, were obliged to attack the French post at San Lucar la Mayor, of which they obtained possession without any loss. In the expectation of saving Seville, on which Soult was retreating, from being plundered, these gallant officers renewed their march after two hours' rest, and pressing on towards that destination with all possible expedition, they reached, and rushed into Triana, one of its suburbs, and endeavoured to seize the bridge: this post, however, was obstinately defended by the enemy, whose chief object was to destroy it, in order to interrupt the pursuit of the allies. Brigadier-General Downie, second in command of the Spanish portion of the expedition, twice attempted to force a passage over the bridge, and on each occasion was wounded. In a third attempt he leaped over the chasm that had been made in the causeway, but, being again severely wounded, was made prisoner. When this brave fellow found that his fate was fixed, he threw his sword amongst the allies: this relic had belonged to Pizarro, one of the conquerors of America, and had been given to one who did not dishonour it, by the Marchioness de Conquista, one of his descendants, on account of his efforts in favour of Spanish liberty. The bridge having been repaired by the inhabitants with planks, the British and Spanish troops effected an entrance into the city, where they took two pieces of artillery, much baggage, and about two hundred prisoners. The gallant Downie, although grievously wounded, was tied to a gun-carriage, and transported forty miles in that distressing and cruel manner. In the evening a body of seven thousand French troops from Cadiz approached the town, but imagining it to be in General Hill's possession, hastened on to





Carmena, Ballasteros continuing to harass their flank till they reached Granada. Seville having been thus saved from the contributions which the French uniformly levied on a retreat, the inhabitants, after swearing to the constitution, exhibited a bull-fight for the gratification of their deliverers.

An English squadron under Sir Home Popham, on the north-east coast of Spain, greatly assisted the guerilla parties in the beginning of August. The garrisons of Torrelavega and Santander being withdrawn by Caffarelli, to prevent their being made prisoners, Porlier took possession of the latter place, where the constitution was proclaimed under salutes from the British men-of-war and the Spanish soldiery. Renóvales drove Roget from Bilbao, defeated him in an attempt to recover it, and caused the constitution to be proclaimed there also.

General Maitland, who had been sent by Lord William Bentinck from Sicily, with three thousand British and German troops, and an equal number of Calabrians and Sicilians, and who was strengthened at Majorca by four thousand Spaniards, arrived off Catalonia at the beginning of August, but after lying three days off Palamos, sailed away, to the grief and disappointment of the Catalans, to Alicante, where he arrived on the seventh of August, but did not complete the disembarkation of his forces till the eleventh. Being joined there by General Roche's Spanish division, and a considerable number of cavalry, they marched from thence, on the fifteenth, towards Valencia, and on their approach to Ibi and Castella, General Harispe retreated rapidly from those places; but when it was known that Joseph Buonaparte, with the army from Madrid, had arrived at Valencia, and united with Suchet, the allied troops returned to Alcante.

Although so large a French army was not far from Alicante, the Spanish General Elio proposed withdrawing Roche's division from that place, leaving it to be garrisoned by British troops. This proposition occasioned the following sensible and spirited remonstrance from Lord Wellington, in consequence of which they were allowed to remain.

“In regard to the proposal of your excellency to draw from Alicante the division of Spanish troops under the command of General Roche, I have to remind your excellency that these troops are the garrison of Alicante; and your excellency is much mistaken if you suppose that I will allow the British troops, under Lieutenant-General Maitland, to be the garrison of Alicante, instead of those under General Roche.

“I now give notice to your excellency, that if I do not learn by the return of the courier, that you have ordered General Roche to remain at Alicante, I shall send orders to General Maitland to embark the troops under his command from Alicante, where it will, in that case, be useless for them to remain.

“The facts regarding Alicante are as follows. There are no provisions in the place for the Spanish troops, and the place cannot be supplied, unless the communication should be kept open with the sea. The communication with the sea will be lost, unless the troops at Alicante can maintain themselves on the heights outside of the town; and there will not be a sufficient number to hold that position, if the troops under General Roche should be withdrawn.

“If the eastern heights cannot be maintained, your excellency will see the necessity for my withdrawing my troops, and your excellency will do well to give orders that the Spanish troops under General Whittingham should be withdrawn likewise; and it will be necessary that your excellency should be prepared to give satisfactory reasons to the government for the loss of this important post.” The Anglo-Sicilian expedition was intended to occupy Suchet’s attention, prevent his uniting his army with Joseph Buonaparte’s, and if possible obtain possession of Valencia; but all these objects were defeated by the length of time occupied in its preparation, which gave the enemy opportunity, among other things, to disperse Joseph O’Donnell’s troops, that were, with other Spanish armies, to have co-operated with General Maitland, and might have enabled him to make a most important diversion in Lord Wellington’s favour.

Towards the close of August, the British commander-in-chief decided on marching against the army of Portugal, now commanded by Clauzel, who, after liberating the garrisons of Zamora and Toro, established his head-quarters at Valladolid. His objects were, to drive back Clauzel's corps, and strengthen the positions on the Douro, before the united armies of Joseph, Suchet, and Soult could advance from Valencia to the Tagus; also, to effect a junction with the Galician army under Santocildes, and secure a communication with the British fleet on the northern coast. This design was commenced by despatching the first, third, and seventh divisions, a brigade of cavalry, and Bradford's and Pack's Portuguese divisions, to join the sixth division under General Clinton at Arevalo, to which it had withdrawn from the Douro.

Wellington, having ordered Sir Rowland Hill to the Xarama, to cover Madrid on that side, quitted the city on the first of September, leaving the third and light divisions in the capital, and the fourth at the Escorial; and, advancing with the troops assembled at Arevalo to the Douro, crossed that river on the sixth, then quickly driving Clauzel from Valladolid continued his march towards Burgos. When Lord Wellington had finally decided upon evacuating Madrid, and advancing boldly against the enemies of Spanish liberty, he issued a proclamation, of which the following is a copy, admirably calculated to awaken a spirit of freedom in those breasts where it was dormant, and sustain it where it was a living flame:—

“Spaniards! It is unnecessary to take up your time by recalling to your recollection the events of the last two months, or by drawing your attention to the situation in which your enemies now find themselves. Listen to the accounts of the numerous prisoners daily brought in, and deserters from their army; hear the details of the miseries endured by those who, trusting to the promises of the French, have followed the vagabond fortunes of the usurper, driven from the capital of your monarchy; hear these details from their servants and followers who have had the sense to quit

this scene of desolation, and if the sufferings of your oppressors can soften the feeling of those inflicted upon yourselves, you will find ample cause for consolation. But much remains still to be done, to consolidate and secure the advantages acquired. It should be clearly understood that the pretended king is an usurper, whose authority it is the duty of every Spaniard to resist; that every Frenchman is an enemy, against whom it is the duty of every Spaniard to raise his arm.

“Spaniards! you are reminded that your enemies cannot much longer resist; that they must quit your country, if you will only omit to supply their demands for provisions and money, when those demands are not enforced by superior force. Let every individual consider it his duty to do everything in his power to give no assistance to the enemy of his country, and that perfidious enemy must soon entirely abandon in disgrace a country which he entered only for the sake of plunder, and in which he has been enabled to remain only because the inhabitants have submitted to his mandates, and have supplied his wants. Spaniards! resist this odious tyranny, and be independent and happy.—WELLINGTON.”

On the sixteenth, Santocildes, with eleven thousand Spaniards, joined Lord Wellington at Pampaliego, and on the seventeenth the allies were ready to give Clauzel battle; but that general, who had previously exhibited a wish to fight, learning the arrival of the Galician army, withdrew from the position he occupied, which covered Burgos, and, being joined by General Souham with nine thousand men, who at once assumed the chief command, he marched eastward on the eighteenth, first placing a strong garrison in the castle. When the allies entered Burgos they found a dreadful conflagration raging, the garrison having set fire to several houses on the false plea that they obstructed their defences; and as the guerilla troops began to plunder, Don Miguel Alava experienced considerable difficulty in putting an end to the general disorder.\*

\* “Burgos, the capital of Old Castile, and the original seat of the Spanish monarchy, which was the favourite burial-place of their kings, and where three

General Dubreton, with about eighteen hundred infantry and a number of artillerymen, was entrusted with the governorship of the castle, which had three lines of defence, of which the third included the two highest points of the hill whereon it was built. The white church, an entrenched building, stood on one of these points, and the ancient keep of the castle, which was entrenched and surmounted with a heavy casemented work called the Napoleon battery, occupied the other, and commanded every thing in its vicinity. About three hundred yards distant northwards was the hill of San Miguel, defended by a large hornwork, with scarp and counterscarp, but unfinished, and commanded by Fort Napoleon.

The possession of this castle being considered of immense importance by Lord Wellington, because it commanded the only good road for artillery, on the great line of communication between France and the centre of Spain, his lordship, on the evening of the nineteenth, ordered an assault to be made on the hornwork at San Miguel's Hill, intending to place batteries there, to breach the defences of the castle before any

of them were successively crowned, is seated in the beautiful and fertile valley of the Arlanzon, over which it has three bridges. Before Madrid was declared to be the capital of Spain, it had a population of nearly forty thousand souls; but the number of its inhabitants at this day scarcely amounts to eight thousand. Count Ferran Gonzales and the celebrated Cid Campeador were natives of this place, and Edward I. of England was knighted in the richly-endowed nunnery of Santa Maria de las Huelgas, founded by Alfonso V. and his English queen, Leonora. The magnificent cathedral was founded in 1221 by King St. Ferdinand and the Bishop Maurice, who is supposed to have been an Englishman; and among its treasures were a handkerchief of the prophet Elijah, and a lock of Abraham's hair. These very extraordinary relics were, however, completely eclipsed by the miraculous crucifix in the convent of St. Augustine, which is supposed either to have been carved by Nicodemus, or to have descended from heaven. Volumes, filled with *authenticated* accounts of its miracles, have been published, and the vault of the chapel wherein it is placed is covered with lamps, the least valuable of which is of solid silver. Thirty silver candlesticks, each taller than a tall man, and heavier than many men could lift, stood on each side of the altar, while those upon it were of massive gold. Between these were gold and silver crosses, ornamented with jewels, and over the altar were suspended crowns rich with pearls, and sparkling with diamonds."



attempt was made to carry them by storm. Two detachments were unsuccessful in their efforts to escalate the faces of the demi-bastions; but Major Cocks forced an entrance over the tall palisades at the gorge with a third detachment.

The means of successfully besieging so strong a castle as that of Burgos were not at Lord Wellington's command. His artillery comprised only three eighteen-pounders and five iron howitzers, he had neither sappers nor miners, and only five engineer officers, while his engineer-stores were totally deficient in quantity, and his means of transport so defective, that although there were battering-trains at both Madrid and Santander, they could not be removed to Burgos. A supply of ammunition, however, was obtained from Sir Home Popham at the latter place. Accordingly, after five intrepid assaults had been made on the successive strong lines of defence, and when the allies had spent thirty days and lost two thousand men in the assaults, and in the two sorties made by the garrison, the siege was raised.\* During its continuance, the Marquis of Wellington personally directed nearly all its operations, being constantly exposed to the enemy's destructive fire, particularly on the night of the twenty-ninth of September, when a field which he was crossing was literally ploughed up by grape-shot and musket-balls.

Besides the fatal want of artillery, which was the principal cause of the non-reduction of the castle of Burgos, Lord Wel-

\* It was in the second of these sorties that the Honourable Major Cocks of the seventy-ninth regiment, eldest son of Earl Somers, was killed in endeavouring to drive the sallying party from the breach. Although possessed of a large estate derived from his maternal grandfather, he entered the army at an early age, and in 1809 joined the English forces at Lisbon, to learn the Spanish and Portuguese languages. Being in the south of Spain when the French contemplated seizing Cadiz, he warned Albuquerque of their intention, and thus saved that important port. A commission as lieutenant-colonel was made out for him in England, on receipt of the intelligence of his gallant conduct at San Miguel, but this accomplished scholar and intrepid soldier had fallen gloriously in the cause of liberty before his commission reached the Peninsula. The Marquis of Wellington, Generals Cotton, Anson, and Pack, with their respective staffs, and all the officers of his own regiment and of the sixteenth light dragoons, were present at his interment: he was buried near to Bellema.

lington's operations were injuriously affected by the want of money. The Portuguese regency also added much to his embarrassments by neglecting to pay the Portuguese troops that were with him, out of the subsidy granted to them for that purpose. The commander-in-chief addressing the regency on this subject, says, "Something or other has made a terrible alteration in the troops for the worse. They have lately in several instances behaved very ill; and whether it be owing to the nature of the service, or their want of pay, I cannot tell, but they are not at all in the style they were. I am rather inclined to attribute their misbehaviour to the misery, and consequent indifference, of both officers and soldiers, on account of their want of pay. If it be true, as I declare it is, that the subsidy is not in arrears, ought the pay of the Portuguese army to be in arrears at all? ought it to be in arrears for a longer period than the pay of the British army? That it is so, there is no doubt; and yet Don Miguel will produce hundreds of documents to prove this assertion to be false, and, contrary to the evidence of all the officers of the army, that the men have the money in their pockets."

The Portuguese ministry having abandoned the hope of raising a loan in England, decided on selling some of the crown and church lands, a determination which gave Lord Wellington an opportunity of expressing some of those statesmanlike views, that incontestably proved the possession of those eminent talents for civil government which he had afterwards an opportunity of displaying at home. His lordship says, "I have already had before me a proposition for the sale, or rather transfer to the creditors of the junta de Viveres, of the lands of the crown, but these were the uncultivated lands in Alentejo, and I pointed out to government the great improbability which existed that anybody would take these lands in payment of their claims, and the injury they would do the public credit by rendering such a scheme public, if it were not likely to be successful."

"My opinion is, that there is nobody in Portugal, possessed of capital, who entertains, or who ought to entertain, such an opinion of the state of affairs in the Peninsula as to lay out his

money in the purchase of the lands of the crown. The loss of a battle, not in the Peninsula, but elsewhere, would expose his estate to confiscation, or at all events to ruin by a fresh incursion of the enemy. I think it more than probable that the holders of small farms under the crown have the means, and would purchase, at the full value, the fee simple of their several farms, but I should think the produce from this resource would not be very large.

“In regard to the sale of the lands belonging to convents and the church, I earnestly recommend that it should not be attempted. First, the same objection exists as to the sale of the crown lands, namely, the want of purchasers;—secondly, nothing would render the measure palatable to the church, and it might be expected that the influence of the church would be exerted against the allies, instead of operating, as it has hitherto done, most powerfully in their favour;—thirdly, the measure is useless, if the sale of the crown lands should succeed, and it certainly will not succeed, if the other should not. At the same time the attempt will alienate the good wishes of a numerous and very powerful party in Spain as well as in Portugal;—fourthly, it must be observed, that if the measure should be successful, and should be *honestly* carried into execution, it will entail a considerable burden on the finances, namely, five per cent. on the purchase-money for the ecclesiastical owners of the estate; which the sale of the crown lands will not.

“The best mode of obtaining for the state eventually the benefit of the estates of the church, would be to prevent the monasteries and nunneries from receiving novices, and, in the course of time, the pope might be brought to consent to the sale of these estates for the benefit of the state, or the state might assume the possession of them, the ecclesiastical corporation which held them being extinct.

“I am, however, of opinion, that it is not disadvantageous to Portugal and Spain that large portions of the land should be in the hands of the church. The bishops and monks are the only proprietors who live on their estates, and spend the revenues of them among those by whose labours these reve-

nues have been produced ; and till the habits of the great landed proprietors on this subject shall change, the transfer of the property in land from the church to laymen will be a misfortune to these countries."

The last attempt to take the castle of Burgos by storm was made on the eighteenth of October, on which day Souham was joined, at Breiresca, by the army of observation from Alava, and the remainder of the army of the north, which made his corps amount to forty-four thousand men, with sixty pieces of cannon ; while the troops under Lord Wellington, including thirteen thousand Spaniards, amounted only to thirty-three thousand, with forty-two guns, of which twelve were Spanish. His lordship momentarily expecting an attack, assembled his troops, except those employed in the siege, in front of Burgos. The enemy's army being collected near Monasterio, drove in the allied outposts from Quintanapalla and Olmos, on the evening of the twentieth ; but Sir Edward Paget, who had lately joined the army with the first and fifth divisions, almost immediately recovered the ground of which they had been dispossessed. Souham, learning from the English and Spanish newspapers that he had a considerable superiority in numbers over Lord Wellington, determined on attacking him, when orders arrived from King Joseph, strictly forbidding him to risk a battle.

A despatch was received from General Hill, on the day that the outposts were driven in by the French, stating, that Joseph Buonaparte's and Soult's forces had united near Almanza, and were advancing towards the Tagus, which was then fordable ; also, that the castle of Chinchilla had surrendered to them on the ninth, and that his division was threatened by these generals with seventy thousand men ; while only twenty thousand Anglo-Portuguese and fourteen thousand Spaniards were with Hill, or under his immediate orders. He was, therefore, directed to withdraw from Aranjuez towards Arevola, where he would be joined by the commander-in-chief, who had decided on falling back upon Ciudad Rodrigo ; as it was impossible for him to maintain his present position in

the heart of Spain, and, in the language of his despatch of the twenty-seventh of October, "to resist the armies of the north, the centre, of Soult, of Portugal, and part of that of Suchet, in co-operation at the same moment."

Lord Wellington, in advancing to Burgos, had calculated upon General Ballasteros, with nearly thirty thousand men, crossing the Morena, in obedience to the order of the cortes, and thus getting into communication with General Hill's division. Ballasteros, however, remained at Grenada; and, on learning that the Spanish government had appointed the Marquis of Wellington generalissimo in Spain, refused to act under him. He even published a letter, addressed to the Spanish minister at war, in which he spoke "of the English as a nation to whom the Spaniards were bound by true friendship and fair dealing, but of whose fair promises and bad faith no one could give more information than the then president of the regency, the Duque del Infantado; that from the time when the French treacherously seized the four fortresses, he had spared no efforts to raise the nation; and that no person had contributed more to the events of the second of May than himself, without which events Spain would not have been in its present state. From that time he had never laid aside his arms, and had resisted all solicitations, which the foreigners had made to him, to the prejudice of his country. And now he was surprised to see that the English general, Lord Wellington, was, by a resolution of the cortes, appointed commander-in-chief of the Spanish armies—those armies (thousands upon thousands of whose companions in arms were in the grave, having fallen in defending the reputation of their country) were observing what would be his conduct on this occasion; and he should not consider himself worthy of being an Arragonese, if he did not represent to the government, that he could not condescend to a determination which disparaged the Spanish name. Was Spain like the petty kingdom of Portugal, that the command of its armies should be intrusted to a foreigner? Had its revolution began like that of Portugal? Had it not still resources

of its own? Had it not generals, officers, and soldiers, who still supported the honour which they had inherited from their forefathers, and who, in the present war, had made both English and French know that they were nothing inferior to them in discipline and in courage, and that they had chiefs of their own who knew how to lead them to victory?

Finally, he required that the opinion of the soldiers and of the people should be taken upon this matter: if they condescended to the appointment, he should renounce his employments, and retire to his own home, thus manifesting that he had only the honour and the welfare of his country in view, not any ambitious or interested end." This vain and arrogant letter, which exactly agrees with what might be expected from the man who declared, "that Ballasteros had done more for Spain than all her other chiefs put together; and that in spite of the government, Ballasteros, unassisted and discouraged, would continue to do more than the favourites of the regency, whose pockets were filled with doubloons by the English"—from the man whose exaggerated appreciation of his own merits probably led him to expect the commandership-in-chief for himself—produced no effect upon either the government or the nation. He was placed in arrest for disobedience of orders, marched under an escort to Malaga, and transported as an exile to Ceuta, both the army and the people concurring in his sentence, and in approbation of the decision displayed by the regency.

The siege of Burgos was raised on the twenty-first of October, Lord Wellington ordering the troops to pass over the bridges at that city, notwithstanding that they were exposed to the fire of the castle. This operation was very skilfully executed. The army, unobserved by the enemy, quitted its position after dark, and, having muffled the gun-carriage wheels, two divisions defiled past the castle, and crossed the Arlazon unnoticed, though the moon was shining brightly. Some guerilla horsemen now, unfortunately, alarming the garrison by galloping along the road, a heavy fire was opened, which at first occasioned some loss, but the enemy soon lost the range. By this bold and masterly movement the allied army gained a march upon Souham, who did not

overtake it till noon on the twenty-third, when a large body of French cavalry threw some British and German dragoons into confusion after a very gallant stand near the Venta de Pozo. Colonel Halkett's German legion, however, repelled them by a destructive fire of musketry. The army now took up its ground on the Carrion, where it was joined by a battalion of guards under the Earl of Dalhousie, who had disembarked at Corunna. Here, while halting on the twenty-fifth, the left wing was attacked near Villa-Meuriel, but the fifth division easily repulsed the assailants.—The allied army at this juncture exhibited a disgusting example of insubordination and drunkenness, for, having broken into the wine-stores of Torquemada, twelve thousand of them were at one time in a state of helpless inebriety. The French also, on reaching that place, were by similar excesses incapacitated from marching, even in greater numbers than the English.

During a halt behind the Carrion, detachments were sent to destroy the bridges at Banos, Palencia, and Muriel. At Banos the mine failed; Foy reached Palencia in time to prevent the bridge from being destroyed; and, although the destruction of the bridge at Muriel was accomplished, the French discovered a ford there by a singular stratagem. A horseman approached the river amidst a shower of bullets, calling out that he was a deserter. On reaching a broken part of the bridge, he exclaimed that he was lost, unless a ford by which he might pass over to them was pointed out. Deceived by the earnestness of his manner, the soldiers directed him to one close by: he paused, looked at it attentively for a short time, then kissed his hand contemptuously, and, leaning over his horse's neck, galloped off under a second tempest of bullets from the allies, hailed by shouts of laughter from both armies. The effect of this discovery soon assumed a serious aspect; the French, under Mancune, immediately crossed the river at the ford, and lined the dry bed of a canal in its vicinity. Lord Wellington instantly ordered an attack to be made on them by some British and Spanish troops, but the latter fell into such confusion, in attempting to remedy which General Alava was

wounded, that a flank movement of the British became necessary, to prevent the French from occupying the heights above Villa Muriel. The enemy were driven back through the river ; but as they had now passed over the bridge at Banos, the commander-in-chief withdrew to Cabezon.

Souham on the 27th cannonaded the allies, and displayed all his force before Cabezon. Its amount was so large, that Lord Wellington, perceiving that he must necessarily retire, observed to his staff, "It is clear to me that they ought to eat us up." As the misconduct of the Spaniards on the preceding day proved that they were not to be depended upon, the marquis desired General Hill, who had been moving toward Arevola, followed very cautiously by Joseph and Soult, to advance, and support him with his division ; upon which the French again took possession of Madrid, the British garrison having been withdrawn.

The allied army crossed the Douro on the twenty-ninth of October at Tudela and Puente de Douro, where the bridges, as well as those at Valladolid, Simancas, Zamora, and Tordesillas, were destroyed, but, a small guard only being left in the castle near the last, a party of sixty French, headed by Captain Guingret, swam naked across the river in the night, and in that state surprised it, upon which the bridge was immediately repaired. The allies, in consequence, took up a position in front of Tordesillas, remained there till the sixth, and then marched by way of Torrecilla de la Orden to their former position of San Christoval, which it reached on the eighth ; the marquis remarking, "that he had got clear, in a handsome manner, of the worst scrape he ever was in." General Hill passed the Tormes on the same day at Alba, and took ground with his main body at Calvarassa de Arriba, the light division and Spanish infantry occupying Salamanca, his division being thus placed in connection with the main army.—The allied garrison had been withdrawn from Madrid on the 30th of October, General Hill having previously destroyed the stores and works on the Retiro, and caused the pontoons to be burned. The municipality having claimed the provisions, of which there were large depots in the Retiro and the convent of Monserrat,



to prevent their being destroyed, and being refused, excited a mob to attack the magazines, and a few lives were lost; some wheat, however, was distributed among the poorest of the inhabitants. In palliation of this attack on the magazines, it should be stated, that the provisions had been extorted from the inhabitants of the neighbourhood of Madrid by requisition, on the promise that the Spanish government would pay for them at the close of the war. It is therefore by no means surprising that the people, who were in a state of starvation, should endeavour to recover their flour and other stores, in preference to witnessing their destruction. Nor can this act of violence obliterate the remembrance of their kind treatment of the British troops during their occupation of the capital. A considerable number of Joseph's Spanish enemies quitted Madrid with the allies.

Two days before the evacuation of the Spanish capital, at the moment when the military and provisional governments proposed to transfer their authority to the Ayuntamiento, that body dissolved itself. Don Pedro Baranda the regidor, however, calling around him some of those who had been Joseph's functionaries, adopted measures for the preservation of order. He sent all the letters that were at the post-office to General Alava, to prevent inconvenience to the writers or their correspondents, and liberated those who were imprisoned for disloyalty to the nation. In the afternoon of the first of November, a French officer, from General Drouet's quarters, announced that King Joseph would enter Madrid on the following day, and required that a deputation should meet and welcome him outside the city. Accordingly, the Ayuntamiento, accompanied by some titular nobility, parish priests, and those who had held civil offices under Joseph, went out to receive him, when Baranda, having explained to the minister of the interior the peaceable conduct of the inhabitants, requested permission to retire from office, which being granted, the former functionaries were reinstated.

One of king Joseph's first acts was to inform the municipality that it must take charge of the capital, and Baranda was again made president of the Ayuntamiento. At two in the afternoon

of the same day, the French main body withdrew from Madrid, and within two hours after their departure Colonel Mondedeu, the leader of a guerilla party, entered, followed on the next day by El Medico, with part of his band, on the succeeding day by Empecinado's division, and by Camp-Marshal Bassecourt with some of his troops on the eleventh. These Spanish parties arriving, completely occupied the capital, and oppressed the inhabitants, until the third of December, when King Joseph, with his guards and the army of the centre, succeeded in effecting their expulsion.

The Marquis of Wellington having been joined by General Hill near Salamanca, was now at the head of fifty-two thousand Anglo-Portuguese troops, of which five thousand were cavalry, and sixteen thousand Spaniards, while the French armies of the north, south, and centre, which had united under Marshal Soult on the right bank of the Tormes, on the tenth of November, amounted to ninety thousand, including twelve thousand cavalry. Although the enemy was so much superior, numerically, to the allies, Lord Wellington would have accepted battle, had it been offered by Soult, being strongly posted on the Tormes, near the scene of the brilliant victory of Salamanca. Having cannonaded the force stationed at Alba on the tenth of November, Soult ordered trestle-bridges to be made for the passage of the artillery, while many of the French forded the river about five miles above that place. Information of this movement being communicated to Lord Wellington, he marched from San Christoval to the Arapiles, with the intention of attacking the party that had crossed the river, but finding them in too great strength, he ordered the evacuation of Alba, and the destruction of its bridge.

As Soult commanded an army so much more numerous than that of the allies, the Marquis of Wellington hoped that he would venture to attack him in his strong position on the Arapiles, the scene of his splendid triumph over Marmont. The wary French commander, however, avoided coming to a collision, but, advancing part of his immense army towards the Ciudad Rodrigo road, he threatened to cut off the communi-

cation of the allies with that city. Upon this manœuvre, the allies quitted the Arapiles suddenly in the afternoon of the fifteenth, marching in three columns, concealed by a thick fog and heavy rain, almost within cannon-shot of the right of the French army, and reached the Valmusa before night, thus placing themselves in the rear of that army which a few hours before had been dangerously menacing their front. The French advanced-guard followed slowly, and on the seventeenth overtook the right column of the allies as it was crossing the Huerba, and occasioned them some loss by a cannonade. During this day's retreat, Sir E. Paget, who commanded the centre column of the allies, observing a considerable interval between two of its divisions, rode to the rear, accompanied only by one officer and an orderly, when a party of Polish horse rushed out of a wood, and made him prisoner.\*

\* It is difficult to determine upon which of the parties, the noble writer from whom it emanated, or the pre-eminently brave captive to whom it was addressed, the following letter reflects the greatest honour.—To Lieutenant-General the Hon. Sir E. Paget, K. B. “I did not hear of your misfortune till more than an hour after it had occurred, nor was I certain of it till the enemy attacked our rear-guard, and the firing had continued for some time, and I found you were not on the field; and you will judge of my concern by the sense which I hope you feel I entertain of the cordial assistance which I received from you during the short time that you have been with us. I cannot account for your misfortune, excepting that you were alone, and could not see the approach of the enemy's cavalry. That which must now be done is to endeavour to obtain your exchange. I have no French general-officer in the Peninsula; but I beg you to make it known to the king, and to the Duke of Dalmatia, that I will engage that any general-officer they will name shall be sent from England to France in exchange for you. If you should find that there is any prospect of your being exchanged, I recommend you to endeavour to prevail upon the king not to send you to France; it is not necessary to enter into the reasons for giving you this advice. If the king or the Duke of Dalmatia will not name an officer to be exchanged for you, the sooner you are sent to France the better. I send you some money, two hundred pounds; I will take care of your friend Marlay—you cannot conceive how much I regret your loss. This is a second time that I have been deprived of your assistance, at an early period after you had joined us; and I am almost afraid to wish to have you again; but God knows with what pleasure I shall hear of your being liberated, and shall see you with us. “WELLINGTON.”—“Let me know your wishes upon any subject, and they shall be carried into execution.”

At this period Lord Wellington had a remarkable opportunity of displaying his sound judgment and singular forbearance.—About a mile from the position near the Huerba the principal road, as his lordship was aware of, was rendered impassable by an overflowing rivulet: he had therefore ordered the march to be made by a longer and apparently more difficult route. The general officers, however, after mutual consultation, resolved on adopting what they considered a preferable line of road. Accordingly, between three and four on the morning of the eighteenth, they put the army in motion, on the road which they had chosen in disobedience of orders, but were soon stopped by the inundation. Lord Wellington, who had posted himself, before day-break, on the route he intended the army to adopt, finding that it did not arrive, at once suspected the cause, and on reaching the other road found his suspicions verified. His officers being thus rebuked by the circumstances in which their disobedience had placed them, the commander-in-chief, contenting himself with a sarcastic remark, more expressive of pity than anger, immediately led the troops into the road he had at first selected, and to their great satisfaction and surprise they soon reached the hills near Ciudad Rodrigo, where good rations, and dry ground for their bivouacs, could be obtained.

Shortly after this occurrence the French army retreated from the Tormes—the head-quarters of the army of Portugal being fixed at Valladolid—of the army of the south at Toledo—and of the army of the centre at Segovia—while Suchet's army was stationed near Valencia, and there was yet another army in the north. The allies now went into cantonments for the winter, head-quarters being established at Freneda, about thirty miles from Ciudad Rodrigo. And thus closed the campaign of 1812, of which the great commander, who directed all its movements, has given the following brief but excellent summary. “It is in fact the most successful campaign in all its circumstances, and has produced, for the cause, more important results, than any campaign in which a British army has been engaged for the last century. We have taken by siege Ciudad Rodrigo, Badajos, and Salamanca, and obliged the Retiro to surrender. In the mean time, the allies have taken

Astorga, Guadalaxara, and Consuegra, besides other places taken by Duran and Sir Home Popham. In the months elapsed since January, this army have sent to England little short of twenty thousand prisoners, and they have taken or destroyed, or have themselves the use of, the enemy's arsenals in Ciudad Rodrigo, Badajos, Salamanca, Valladolid, Madrid, Astorga, Seville, and the lines before Cadiz; and upon the whole, we have taken and destroyed, or we now possess, little short of three thousand pieces of cannon. The siege of Cadiz has been raised, and all the countries south of the Tagus have been cleared of the enemy. We should have retained still greater advantages, I think, and should have remained in possession of Castile and Madrid during the winter, if I could have taken Burgos, as I ought, early in October, or if Ballasteros had moved upon Almaraz, as he was ordered, instead of intriguing for his own aggrandizement."

The army had suffered greatly during the retreat from Burgos, the weather having been very bad, and the roads heavy, with many rivers to ford. The men were frequently obliged to bivouac in wet ground, sometimes without fires. They were often without bread, biscuit, or flour, and, when meat was obtained, were frequently without either fires or camp-kettles to cook it in. The soldiers were glad to eat the sweet acorns which were then abundant in the woods, and both officers and privates made many a meal upon the hogs which were found feeding there in them. These privations naturally led to violations of discipline, which were great, and almost general: and the consequent demoralization was animadverted on very severely by the commander-in-chief, as soon as the army had gone into winter-quarters, in an order addressed to the officers commanding divisions and brigades, dated Freneda, twenty-eighth of November, 1812.

After stating that the troops would soon receive their clothing and necessaries, his lordship says, "I must draw your attention in a very particular manner to the state of discipline of the troops. The discipline of every army, after a long and active campaign, becomes in some degree relaxed, and requires the utmost attention, on the part of the general and other

officers, to bring it back to the state in which it ought to be for service ; but I am concerned to have to observe, that the army under my command has fallen off in this respect, in the late campaign, to a greater degree than any army with which I have ever served, or of which I have ever read. Yet this army has met with no disaster, it has suffered no privations, which a trifling attention on the part of the officers could not have prevented, and for which there existed no reason whatever in the nature of the service ; nor has it suffered any hardships excepting those resulting from the necessity of being exposed to the inclemencies of the weather at a moment when they were most severe.

“ It must be obvious, however, to every officer, that from the moment the troops commenced their retreat from the neighbourhood of Burgos on the one hand, and from Madrid on the other, the officers lost all command of their men. Irregularities and outrages of every description were committed with impunity, and losses have been sustained which ought never to have occurred. Yet the necessity for retreat existing, none was ever made on which the troops had such short marches, none on which they made such long and repeated halts, and none on which the retreating armies were so little pressed on their rear by the enemy.

“ We must look therefore for the existing evils, and for the situation in which we now find the army, to some causes besides those resulting from the operations in which we have been engaged.

“ I have no hesitation in attributing these evils to the habitual inattention of the officers of the regiments to their duty, as prescribed by the standing regulations of the service, and by the orders of the army. I am far from questioning the zeal, still less the gallantry and spirit of the officers of the army, and I am quite certain that if their minds can be convinced of the necessity of minute and constant attention to understand, recollect, and carry into execution the orders which have been issued for the performance of their duty, and that the strict performance of this duty is necessary to enable the army to

serve the country as it ought to be served, they will in future give their attention to these points.

“Unfortunately, the inexperience of the officers of the army has induced many to consider that the period during which an army is on service is one of relaxation from all rule, instead of being, as it is, the period during which, of all others, every rule for the regulation and control of the conduct of the soldier, by the inspection and care of his arms, ammunition, accoutrements, necessaries, and field-equipments, and his horse and horse-appointments; for the receipt, and issue, and care of his provisions, and the regulation of all that belongs to his food and the forage for his horse, must be strictly attended to by the officers of his company or troop, if it is intended that an army—a British army in particular—shall be brought into the field in a state of efficiency to meet the enemy on the day of trial.

“These are the points, then, to which I most earnestly entreat you to turn your attention and the attention of the officers of the regiments under your command, Portuguese as well as English, during the period in which it may be in my power to leave the troops in their cantonments. By these means, the frequent and discreditable recourse to the provost, and to punishments by the sentence of courts-martial, will be prevented, and the soldiers will not dare to commit the offences and outrages, of which there are too many complaints, when they well know that their officers and their non-commissioned officers have their eyes and attention turned towards them.”

After recommending this daily inspection of the soldiers' arms, improved arrangements for cooking, and the marching of the divisions ten or twelve miles twice in each week, his lordship concludes thus, “I repeat, that the grand object of the attention of the general and field officers must be, to get the captains and subalterns of the regiments to understand and perform the duties required from them, as the only mode by which the discipline and efficiency of the army can be restored and maintained during the next campaign.”

This severe memorandum, while it displeased several officers of the army, on account of its not excepting those regiments which had maintained their discipline unimpaired, is valuable, as illustrating one of the principal sources of an army's efficiency,—vigilant and minute inspection by the officers; and especially as furnishing an additional proof of Lord Wellington's manliness of character, which made him prefer even the loss of popularity, by the faithful discharge of a painful duty, to the acquisition of the applause of those under his command, by either overlooking their errors, or bestowing on any one unmerited praise.

Parliament, on its assembling in November, was chiefly occupied with the consideration of the campaign of 1812. His royal highness the prince-regent, in his speech at the opening of the session, declared, in reference to the war in Spain and Portugal, that the valour and intrepidity displayed by his majesty's forces and those of his allies, in the Peninsula, on so many occasions during the campaign, and the consummate skill and judgment with which the operations had been conducted by General the Marquis of Wellington, had led to consequences of the utmost importance to the common cause. That the marquis, by transferring the war into the interior of Spain, and by the glorious and ever-memorable victory obtained at Salamanca, had compelled the enemy to raise the siege of Cadiz; and that thus the southern provinces of that kingdom had been delivered from the power and arms of France.

With respect to the raising of the siege of Burgos, his royal highness observed, that although he could not but regret that the efforts of the enemy, combined with a view to one great operation, had rendered it necessary to withdraw from that fortress, and even to evacuate Madrid for the purpose of concentrating the main bodies of the allied forces, still these efforts of the enemy had been attended with important sacrifices on their part, sacrifices which would materially contribute to extend the resources and facilitate the exertions of the Spanish nation. This part of his royal highness's speech concluded with the



expressions of his confident reliance on the determination of parliament to afford every aid in support of a contest which had given to the continent of Europe the first example of persevering and successful resistance to the power of France, and on which not only the independence of the nations of the Peninsula, but the best interests of the united empire essentially depended.

The Earl of Longford, brother-in-law to the Marquis of Wellington, moved the address in answer to the speech from the throne. Having made some introductory observations, his lordship took a review of the progress of our arms in the Peninsula, which had been lately the scene of so brilliant a victory. He said that he should content himself with alluding to that name which had led the British army to such renown and advantage, and which had become the glory and pride of all his countrymen, especially to those related to him by ties of blood, amongst which class he had the honour to consider himself, for which reason he should have forborne to enter upon the subject, if there had existed the least possible difference of opinion upon the merits of his most noble relative; but as there was none—as it was impossible to overrate these merits—as they were hailed by the general voices and most rapturous emotions of the public, as we saw the general, after years of toil, overcome all difficulties and disappointments, when we heard the public voice, and saw all the public prints unite as one to do him homage, he could not, from a false delicacy, refrain from adding his sincere tribute to the general meed of praise.

The Marquis of Wellesley, in taking a general view of the campaign, stated, that his own idea had always been, that the true object of the Spanish contest was the expulsion of the French armies from Spain. The great and distinguished general at the head of our army in the Peninsula, having reduced Badajos, would at that season of the year have proceeded to the expulsion of the French force from the south of Spain. Why did he not do it? Because his means were deficient. He was under the necessity of repairing to the north, to oppose an

incursion of the French army under Marmont, an incursion which, if our general had been able to keep a force near Ciudad Rodrigo, would never have been attempted. He then went to the north, and was under the necessity of remaining upon that frontier until the thirteenth of June. Then, indeed, he advanced, but why did he remain long upon the frontier? Because his means were inadequate, he had neither the necessary supplies of men nor of money, and was even without the common means of transporting a battering-train. Under these circumstances he had been obliged to commence a real retreat on the seventeenth of July, only five days before the glorious epoch of the battle of Salamanca. This event, indeed, he acknowledged was one full of glory, but what was the cause of our success in that battle? Was it that the general was furnished with adequate means? no, it arose from an accident which could not reasonably have been hoped for, an error of the enemy, and the extraordinary talents of the general who instantly took advantage of that error, who in a moment saw the opportunity of striking, and with the rapidity of lightning struck his spear into the heart of the enemy. The ministry knew the state things in Russia when Lord Wellington advanced into Spain, and knew that the French must in some degree be called off: was there then he asked common sense in neglecting to supply the British general with men and money at that critical moment? But though deprived in this manner of the best fruits of his victory, no blame could be attached to him. He had proved himself one of the noblest heroes ever celebrated in song or recorded in history.

His lordship also stated in the course of his speech, that twelve thousand infantry and three thousand cavalry, added to the army in the beginning of the year, would have rendered the campaign decisive, because the Russian contest, the incapacity of Joseph, and the dissensions of the French generals in Spain, had produced the most favourable crisis for aiming a vital blow at the enemy's power. The cabinet were aware of this, and in good time, but, though there were abundance of soldiers idling at home, when the welfare of the state required their service in

Peninsula, they had, with the imbecility that marked all their proceedings, so contrived that few or none should reach the theatre of war until the time for success had passed away.

The Earl of Liverpool in reply to the Marquis of Wellesley acknowledged, that more might certainly have been done with respect to the reinforcing of our army in Spain ; he did not deny the simple fact, but still contended that it would have been impolitic in a general view, though perhaps beneficial to some extent in that particular case. With respect to supplies—it was true also that more might have been effected, had there been at all times a greater command of specie ; but this depended not on the British government, being entirely attributable to the confused state of affairs in South America, and to circumstances connected with the state of our exterior commerce. His lordship concluded by adducing Lord Wellington's opinion, that if Ballasteros had moved, according to order, from Granada to Almaraz, the French would not have been able to enter Madrid. The advance of the Spanish general would have rendered the force at Alicante disposable, and the French would not have made their movement on the Tagus with Ballasteros on their left flank, and the Sicilian force in their rear.

Lord Grenville asserted that it was the want of means, the failure of supplies and resources, which had led to the unproductive results of all their exertions. He asked why ministers, with a revenue of one hundred and five millions or more, by estimate, extorted by means the most grinding and oppressive from a suffering people, were yet unable to supply Lord Wellington's military chest ? The difficulty arose from their incapacity, not from the deficient resources of the country, much as they had been drained. The deliverance of Spain was beyond the utmost means of this country to effect, and it was cruel and base to embark the population of that country in so hopeless a cause, merely for the sake of a little temporary advantage.

In the other house of parliament, Mr. Whitbread admitted that the situation in which we now stood in Spain was glorious beyond example, in so far as related to the achievements of our armies, although, with respect to the expulsion of the

French, we were not so near our object as some people supposed. When vigorous efforts were to be made in Spain, there ought to be no limit to that vigour. Let an application therefore be made to the prince-regent, to know from him whether the greatest possible use had been made by ministers of the means with which they were intrusted for carrying on the war, before coming to a decision on the merits of ministers, or the probability of the war being in future carried on with success. He was far from wishing to refuse them the means necessary for bringing it to a successful issue, but thought that the last resources of the country ought not to be granted, without security for their being properly applied by the ministry. Under all these circumstances, he was desirous of imploring the prince-regent to take into consideration whether or not it was at present possible to bring about a pacification. Buonaparte was at present in a perilous situation, and every exertion ought to be made, by taking advantage of it to procure a peace.

On the third of December a vote of thanks to the Marquis of Wellington for the victory of Salamanca, was submitted to the house of lords. Earl Bathurst, in speaking of the amazing sagacity of Lord Wellington, said, that it appeared, from the intercepted correspondence of two French marshals just before the battle of Salamanca, that there was not any movement of the enemy which his lordship had not anticipated—no expectation which he was not prepared to frustrate,—and no fear which he did not realize; insomuch, that one of the French marshals declared, “that the marquis must either read their correspondence or dive into their hearts.”

In reference to the inquiry, whether Lord Wellington had been supplied by the British government with proper means and resources? the Marquis of Lansdowne observed, that if there were any persons who had seen the difficulties of the war in the Peninsula in a stronger light than others, who thought the means of carrying it on were very imperfect, and who, though admiring the patriotism of the Spanish people, yet feared that the organization, civil and military, in that country was not such as afforded security for effectual

co-operation; then the greater they felt these difficulties to be, in that proportion must be their admiration of the talents of the general who had met, and in many instances gloriously surmounted, these difficulties. The campaign, indeed, he considered as one which must be characterized as of various fortune; yet out of this very circumstance there arose a display of military talent which would not otherwise have appeared. It was thus evident, that whether the gallant marquis pursued the triumphs gained by himself, or experienced disappointment from extraneous circumstances, he was no less capable, by his rare talents, of alleviating misfortune than of improving success. His lordship then adverted to the great benefit that would result from our having in the Peninsula so excellent a military school as the allied army, for training officers to the practice of war; stating, that this appeared to be a favourite object with the Marquis of Wellington, who, in the intervals of war, kept several of the officers about him, who had thus an opportunity of improving themselves by his instructions and example in military science. After referring to the desirableness of creating Lord Wellington a field-marshal, his lordship concluded with observing, that the Marquis of Wellington had in reality distinguished himself, by the judgment and temper with which he conducted himself with regard to the government of Spain, no less than by his military genius and valour.

Earl Somers, father of that lamented officer, Major Cocks, who fell so nobly at the siege of Burgos, stated, that there was a trait in the marquis's character which had not yet been noticed; he meant the attention which the gallant general, though occupied as he must necessarily be by his great plans of operation, paid to the comforts of those who had fallen into ill health from the labours of their situation. He knew "that such attention had been paid to a dear relative of his, who had nearly died from fatigue after the battle of Salamanca, and who would have died then, had it not been for the friendly care of the Marquis of Wellington, who saved a little longer that life which was soon after lost in the performance of public duty."

The Duke of Clarence had long entertained a wish that the natives of the united empire should have an opportunity of distinguishing themselves by land as well as by sea, in order to convince the world that they were equally invincible on both elements. From the moment Lord Wellington went to the Peninsula they had that opportunity, and the result was, they surpassed all the actions recorded in the military annals of this, or any other country, within the memory of man. The difficulties which Marlborough had to contend with were nothing compared with those Lord Wellington had to struggle against. The Duke of Marlborough was then the favourite of the court, and had means amply supplied him, and great diversions made in his favour. But Lord Wellington, except during the short stand made by Austria, and the present one by Russia, had always had almost the whole of the enormous power of France to contend with. It must then afford the highest satisfaction to the country, that the army had such a commander, both on account of his own great talents, and of the example which he furnished to others. He in fact had done what had never been equalled, except perhaps in the periods of Roman history.

The Marquis Wellesley, in rising a second time to address their lordships, said, that his object was to express how proud and how gratified he felt by all that had occurred, and that he should not have intruded upon the attention of the house, but from the natural wish to give the tribute of a brother's feelings to a brother's praise. "If I were called on, continued the noble marquis, to give my impartial testimony to the merits of your great general, I would not select his victories, brilliant as they were—I would go to the moments when difficulties pressed and crowded on him, when he had but the choice of extremities, when he was overhung by superior strength. It is to his retreats that I would go for the proudest and most undoubted evidence of his ability."

On a similar motion of thanks to Lord Wellington, for the victory of Salamanca, being made in the house of commons by Lord Casterleagh, his lordship, among many other remarks in

the highest degree complimentary to the Marquis of Wellington's skill and energy, stated, that Badajos was attacked with so much vigour and despatch, that not only Marshal Marmont had been deceived, but even Soult, a most distinguished and illustrious officer, had, in his official, intercepted statement to General Berthier, acknowledged, "that although he had made every exertion, and conducted all his arrangements with the greatest celerity, yet that the vigour and skill of Lord Wellington had been such as to exceed all the fair, and probable calculations, which could be formed on the usual military principles, and that he had performed these unexpected feats in the presence of two armies respectively equal to his own." His lordship in the course of his speech mentioned, that on the eve of the battle of Borodino, Prince Kutusoff animated his troops by telling them what the English had done in the plains of Salamanca. Was it not then cheering to reflect that the name of Wellington had inspired the Russians on the eve of a victory as glorious as his own at Salamanca, though indeed the result had not been equally fortunate? Prince Bagrathion also had used the same argument to animate his followers, and stimulate them to the repulse of Murat. The military counsels of Lord Wellington had a most eminent effect in saving Russia from the invader; he had even suggested under what circumstances Russia would be safe, and there is no doubt whatever that the late Russian campaign, which ended in the almost total destruction of the French army, was actually carried on according to the principles laid down by his lordship.

Sir Francis Burdett said he was far from wishing invidiously to detract from the merits of men who had devoted their exertions to the service of their country, or to withhold from them any recompense that it was in the power of parliament to bestow; but when he heard the battle of Salamanca represented as having been equal in importance to the battle of Blenheim, and to other great battles which had completely changed the aspect of the whole affairs of Europe, he could not suffer such delusion to go forth uncontradicted—delusions









SU FRA GLI UEDI BALMI

*Y' b' de, c' c' c'*



which were calculated to plunge the country, under the direction of the same persons, still more deeply in a destructive and ruinous war, for, after their boasted and over-praised victories, we were still as far from our object as ever. Were we to be satisfied with a retreat? yet where was now the Marquis of Wellington? in what direction were we to look for the glorious results of the campaign? In what manner was the diminution of the French power in Spain evinced. Nothing seemed to have resulted from all our advantages, but calamity and distress; and it followed, therefore, that either Lord Wellington was not entitled to the praise which the house was called upon to bestow, or that the fault of our failure was attributable to the gross negligence and imbecility of ministers. On the seventh of December, Lord Liverpool moved in the house of lords that the prince-regent's message, relative to an additional provision for the Marquis of Wellington, should be taken into consideration. His lordship remarked, that from the moment the noble marquis had gone to the Peninsula, and during the four campaigns in which he had commanded the army in that quarter, he had never, from any private or political motives, been absent a single day from his arduous duties. Indeed, it had been often matter of astonishment to him, as well as to others, how the noble marquis had been able to bear the fatigues of body and mind to which he had been exposed. In the course of these four campaigns he had been opposed to most of the more celebrated French generals, and successively triumphed over each—over Soult, over Victor, over Jourdan, over Ney, over Massena, and over Marmont. “Lord Wellington had,” continued his lordship, “often received the highest honours in the power of that house to bestow—their thanks. These he had received no less than eight times, six of which times he was himself the commander. He (Lord Liverpool) now submitted to them the propriety of rewarding, in a generous and munificent manner, such high and eminent services, as not only just and proper, but in every view wise and expedient; particularly as Lord Wellington, to his certain knowledge, instead of adding to his private for-

tune by his useful and honourable services, had encroached upon it.

In this motion Lord Holland concurred, adding, that he did not think the sum too large, and that he agreed perfectly with Lord Liverpool in the principle on which it was based.

In proposing this grant of one hundred thousand pounds to the house of commons, Lord Castlereagh "hoped and trusted that the Marquis of Wellington was still young in his career of glory, but certainly according to the time he had had for the display of his extraordinary and splendid talents, he had gathered more laurels and received more honours than any other general whose name and achievements adorned the annals of this country. In saying this, he was well aware of the high and exalted military character of the Duke of Marlborough, that illustrious nobleman having most deservedly on six different occasions received the thanks of the parliament. Lord Wellington, though not so advanced in years, had proved himself to be still more advanced in military glory, and, young as he was in point of years, had eight times been honoured with the thanks of that house: so that bringing his various splendid exertions within one point of view, he might truly be said to have accumulated a greater portion of national and parliamentary approbation, and gratitude, than ever any individual had done before." His lordship added, that the prince-regent of Portugal had conferred on the Marquis of Wellington the rank of field-marshal, with the pay attached to that rank in the Portuguese army, which had been stated to amount to eight thousand pounds per annum; but Lord Wellington, though he accepted the rank, had refused the emoluments attached to it, on the disinterested ground that he was paid by his own sovereign and country.

These emoluments were, however, reserved and set apart for some years, in hopes that Lord Wellington's delicacy might give way, and he might at a future day be prevailed on to accept them; but when offered to him in a gross sum, he expressed his surprise, repeated his refusal, and begged they might be distributed amongst the officers of the army of Portugal, who had

deserved so well of their country; thus contenting himself with the honours unconnected with emolument. Lord Castlereagh concluded by moving, "that one hundred thousand pounds should be vested in the hands of trustees, to be laid out in the purchase of land of that value, to be settled on Lord Wellington, his heirs, and successors."

Sir Francis Burdett was the only member of the house of commons who offered any opposition to the proposed grant. It was not his intention, he said, to divide the house upon the motion; but he wished that the consideration of the grant should be deferred till some inquiries were made into the late extraordinary campaign. Lord Wellington's victories had none of the characteristics which distinguished those of Marlborough. It had been observed, and by military men too, that he had brought his army into difficulties, but that his men had fought him out of them again; and, that in the capture of the fortresses which he had won, a waste of life was to be complained of. The cause of Spain appeared to him infinitely more hopeless than at the commencement of the campaign; the case of the Peninsula was more deplorable than ever.

The parliamentary discussions on the campaign of 1812 closed with a motion brought forward by the Marquis Wellesley, on the twelfth of March, "for a committee to inquire into the conduct of the war in the Peninsula, which," he stated, "had been unsuccessful from the insufficiency of the means that were placed at Lord Wellington's disposal; and which, if they had been increased to a moderate extent, might have led to the expulsion of the French from Spain."

This motion was supported by Earl Grey, who contended that the campaign had been a complete failure, and that it was the duty of the house to visit with the severest censure the causers of that misfortune. The ministers, being aware of the effect that would be produced upon Europe by success in the Peninsula, should have provided Lord Wellington with ample means for carrying through his enterprising projects, and crowning them with brilliant and unqualified success; and their not having done this, called loudly for inquiry.

The Earl of Liverpool defended the conduct of ministers, and declared, that every exertion that could be made had been made for sending out troops to the Peninsula, and the success of the war was indisputable. To which Earl Bathurst added, that Lord Wellington was satisfied with the conduct of the administration during that campaign; a declaration which had not been sought for by the ministers, but voluntarily made by his lordship. In that tribute to the precaution and liberality of the ministry, Lord Wellington writes: "I see that a disposition already exists to blame the government for the siege of Burgos. The government had nothing to say to the siege. It was entirely my own act. In regard to means, there were ample means both at Madrid and Santander for the siege of the strongest fortress. That which was wanting at both places was, means of transporting ordnance and military stores to the place where it was desirable to use them."

## CHAP. V.

**LORD WELLINGTON VISITS CADIZ—HIS SPEECH TO THE CORTES—OBTAINS AUTHORITY FROM THE SPANISH GOVERNMENT TO RE-ORGANIZE THE SPANISH ARMIES—GRAND BANQUET IN COMPLIMENT TO HIS LORDSHIP—CHANGE IN THE REGENCY AT CADIZ—LORD WELLINGTON'S VIEWS OF SPANISH POLITICS—HIS REMEDY FOR THE POLITICAL EVILS OF SPAIN—APPOINTED COLONEL OF THE ROYAL HORSE GUARDS, BLUES—VISITS LISBON—HIS RECEPTION THERE—RETURNS TO HEAD-QUARTERS—BRILLIANT ENTERPRIZE OF ONE OF MINA'S OFFICERS—OPERATIONS OF THE ANGLO-SICILIAN ARMY—UNSUCCESSFUL ATTEMPT TO SURPRISE THE FRENCH AT ALCOY—ALLIES DRIVEN FROM MIAR—BATTLE OF CASTALLA—CAPTAIN WALDRON'S SPIRITED CONDUCT—SUCHET ALLOWED TO ESCAPE—GENERAL FOY CAPTURES CASTRO DE UDEALES—CRUELTY OF THE FRENCH—LORD WELLINGTON'S OPINIONS ON THE WAR IN CANADA, AND ON INSURRECTIONIZING ITALY—FRENCH ATTACK ON GENERAL HILL'S OUTPOST AT DEJAR—LORD WELLINGTON MADE A KNIGHT OF THE GARTER—STRENGTH OF THE ALLIED ARMIES AND OF THE FRENCH CORPS—COMMENCEMENT OF THE CAMPAIGN OF 1813—LORD WELLINGTON WITHDRAWS FROM PORTUGAL—FRENCH DRIVEN OUT OF SALAMANCA—EVACUATE MADRID—LORD WELLINGTON COMPLAINS OF THE NEGLECT OF THE SPANISH GOVERNMENT—FRENCH ABANDON BURGOS, AND BLOW UP ITS CASTLE—ALLIES CROSS THE EBRO—KING JOSEPH RETREATS TO VITORIA—COMPLETE DEFEAT OF THE FRENCH THERE—DEATH OF COLONEL CADOGAN—NARROW ESCAPE OF JOSEPH BONAPARTE—RESULTS OF THE VICTORY—THE MARQUIS OF WELLINGTON CREATED A FIELD-MARSHAL—PUBLIC REJOICINGS IN LONDON, 1812—1813.**

WHILE the Marquis of Wellington was receiving the well-merited praises of the British parliament, and even a more solid and permanent proof of national gratitude, the regency conferred upon him the Order of the Golden Fleece; and Marshal Beresford was, at the same time, created Marquis of Campo Mayor. The trifling support which Lord Wellington had hitherto received from the Spaniards, from the absence of any plan of general co-operation, and his authority over their generals being only nominal, induced him to determine on visiting Cadiz, to make arrangements with the cortes, that the many thousands of Spaniards who were under arms in that city might be rendered effective against the enemy. Giving, therefore, to General Hill the temporary command of the allied army, he set out from head-quarters, and reached Cadiz about Christmas. On his arrival, a deputation from the cortes was appointed to wait on him with a complimentary address; and his lordship, in return, visited the Spanish parliament, in the national uniform, by which



he was received with loud acclamations. In a speech delivered in Spanish, in the hall of the cortes, on the thirtieth of December, and much applauded, his lordship said: "I should not have requested permission to pay my respects in person to this august body, if I had not been encouraged to make the application, by the honour which the cortes conferred upon me on the twenty-seventh instant, in sending a deputation to congratulate me on my arrival in this city—a distinction which I attribute to the favour and partiality with which they have, on every occasion, received the services which it has fallen to my lot to render to the Spanish nation.

"I beg leave to repeat my acknowledgments to the cortes for this honour, as well as for the various marks of their favour and confidence which I have received; and to assure them, that my efforts shall be unceasingly directed to forward the just and interesting cause of the Spanish nation.

"I shall not take up, with further professions, the time of this assembly, upon the wisdom, discretion, and firmness of whose conduct under the will of divine providence the result of our exertions depends. Not only your countrymen have their eyes fixed on you, gentlemen, but the whole world is interested in the success of your endeavours to save this nation from the general wreck, and in the establishment within it of a system of government founded on just principles, which shall promote and secure the happiness and prosperity of your countrymen and the greatness of your country."

The president then complimented the noble marquis on his victories, which had, he said, been celebrated like those of the genius of Good over the genius of Evil. The cortes did not now hope or trust for new triumphs from the Duke of Ciudad Rodrigo, they looked upon them as certain, and felt assured not only that the Spanish and allied armies, under such a leader, would drive the French beyond the Pyrenees, but that, if it should be needful, they would pitch their victorious tents upon the banks of the Seine; nor would that be the first occasion on which the British lions had trampled, on its banks, upon the old fleur-de-lys of France.

Lord Wellington then proceeded to inform the cortes of the means by which he had hoped to convert the inactive Spanish troops into useful auxiliaries. "First," said his lordship, "I required from the head of the regency, that officers should be promoted, and should be appointed to commands, solely at my recommendation. This not to apply to regimental promotions, but to all cases where promotion is granted for extraordinary services. Secondly, I required that I should have the power of dismissing from the service those whom I should think deserving of such a punishment. Thirdly, I required that the resources of the state which are applicable to the payment, or equipment, or supply of the troops should be applied in such manner as I might recommend. Fourthly, I required that in order to enable me to perform my duties, the chief of the staff, and such limited number of the staff-officers as might be thought necessary, should be sent to my head-quarters, and that the government should direct that all military reports of all descriptions should be sent to me, and that I should of course make my reports to your excellency."

Most of these requisitions were absolutely indispensable, to enable Lord Wellington to reckon, with any certainty, on the support of the Spanish armies, when their services were needed—and all of them were desirable in order to hasten the expulsion of the French from Spain—but they were not all granted. Lord Wellington obtained, however, the promise of a large proportion of the resources of the country for the military expenses, and an engagement that the British subsidy should be exclusively appropriated, by him, to the support and pay of fifty thousand Spanish troops. He was also confirmed in the rank of generalissimo of the Spanish armies, and issued, on his confirmation, a general order to the national forces,\* as such, on the first of January.

\* These armies, with the approbation of the cortes and the regency, were commanded as follows, and were stationed in the kingdom or provinces of which their commanders were the captains-general. The first, or army of Catalonia, commanded by Copars, captain-general of Catalonia, and part of Arragon. The second, comprising Elio's, Duran's, Bassecour's, and Villa Campa's divisions, commanded by Elio, captain-general of Valencia, Murcia, and New Castile. The third, which was formerly under Ballasteros, commanded by the

His lordship now proposed to the regency the division of Spain into four great military departments, each with a captain-general and an intendant-general of his appointment, or at least his recommendation, and that the intendant-general should be required to receive all monies ordered to be raised by the government for the maintenance of the Spanish armies, the organization of which was to be completed under Lord Wellington's directions. This, however, the regency refused, because the democratic newspapers of Cadiz argued violently against the proposal, as a violation of Spanish liberty.

On the fourth of January the grandees of Spain, then at Cadiz, gave a magnificent entertainment to the illustrious commander-in-chief of the allied armies, in the royal palace of the Hospicio, which was tastefully decorated with landscape views of the fields of battle, on which the marquis had conquered, painted on the walls of the ball-room. The cornice of this saloon was formed entirely of laurel crowns, under which the British, Russian, Portuguese, and Spanish flags formed a festooned drapery, surmounted at intervals by laurel wreaths. In the supper-room was suspended a large equestrian picture of Lord Wellington, which represented his lordship in the act of giving orders at Salamanca. Portraits of George III. Ferdinand VII., various emblematical devices, the angles being occupied with busts of the British generals who had fallen in the Peninsular war, contributed to complete the decorations of this apartment.

When the Marquis of Wellington visited Cadiz, the Spanish regency was composed of the Duke del Infantado, Don Joaquin Mosquera, Don Juan Maria Villavicencio, Don Rodriguez de Rivas, and the Conde de l'Abisbal, but as they were supporters of the inquisition, (which, from motives of policy was also

*Duque del Parque, captain-general of Jaen and Granada, The fourth, including the corps under Castanos and the divisions of Morillo, Penne Villemur, Downie, and Carlos D'Espagna, and the partidas of Longa, Mina, Porlier, and other guerrilla chiefs in the northern provinces, commanded by Castanos, captain-general of Estramadura, Leon, Old Castile, Asturias, and Galicia. The army of reserve of Andalusia, commanded by Henrique O'Donnell, Conde de la Bisbal, captain-general of Andalusia. The army of reserve of Galicia, commanded by General Lacy.*

countenanced by the marquis and his brother, Sir Henry Wellesley, ambassador at Cadiz,) and opposed the decree of the cortes for its abolition, they were in the early part of March removed, and Pedro Agar Gabriel Ciscar, and the Cardinal Bourbon, archbishop of Toledo, appointed to succeed them. In the early part of 1813, the question of the abolition or maintenance of the inquisition became a subject of the most violent contention in Spain, the people generally being favourable to that infamous institution, while the majority of the cortes desired its total abolition. This disunion of sentiment created much unhappiness, and it is stated that members of the cortes, and even some corps of the Spanish army, particularly the Duke del Parques, were negotiating with Joseph Buonaparte, which probably occasioned his intimating to his brother Napoleon, in a cipher despatch that was intercepted, "The people of Spain would prefer the orders of a sovereign of your house to the theories of the cortes." This pithy sentence gave the Marquis of Wellington an opportunity of displaying his profound acquaintance with Spanish politics and Spanish character, which appeared in a letter, dated from Freneda, January twenty-ninth, and addressed to Don Diego de la Vaga Infanzon, in which he says, "I am not an advocate for king Joseph's judgment, or for his veracity, but, although we rarely find the truth in the public reports of the French government, or of their officers, I believe we may venture to depend upon the truth of what is written in cipher, and we may believe at least that Joseph thought he was making an accurate representation to his brother of the sentiments of the people of Spain.

"Unfortunately, I know, as I believe I told you, not that this representation is accurate (that is to say, that the people of Spain do prefer the house of Napoleon to the theories of the cortes) but it is so far true, as that the people do not like these theories. You have no executive government, and the people feel that that which you have established as such, has neither authority to control them nor to protect them.

"You have a legislative assembly, which has proclaimed itself supreme, and has divested itself of all interference with the

*executive government, yet the executive government is its creature, at the same time that, by a refinement in theory, it is not possible either that the legislative assembly should have a knowledge of the measures of the executive government, or that the executive government should know what are the feelings and sentiments of the legislative assembly. The government and the assembly, instead of drawing together, are like two independent powers, jealous and afraid of each other, and the consequence is that the machine of government is at a stand. To this add, that the whole system is governed by little local views, as propounded by the daily press of Cadiz, of all others the least enlightened and the most licentious.*

“All countries which begin as yours did, incur same risks of failure; and I acknowledge that I was in hopes that the blockade of Cadiz would have at least this good effect, that it would allow time and opportunity for the fever of theory in the cortes to evaporate, and that when the communication with the interior of Spain should be opened, the cortes would have passed through the ordeal of inexperience, and that Spain would eventually have the advantage of a free constitution, and of an enlightened government. We have still to look for these blessings, and unfortunately I am apprehensive that the cortes have immersed themselves to such a degree in theory, that they cannot be looked for under the existing system.

“The theory of all legislation is founded on justice, and if we could be certain that legislative assemblies would on all occasions act according to the principles of justice, there would be no occasion for those checks and guards which we have seen established under the best systems.—Unfortunately, however, we have seen that legislative assemblies are swayed by the fears and passions, of individuals: when unchecked, they are tyrannical and unjust; nay more, it unfortunately happens too frequently, that the most tyrannical and unjust measures are the most popular. Those measures are particularly popular, which deprive rich and powerful individuals of their properties, under the pretence of the public advantage—and I tremble for a country, in which, as in Spain, there is no

barrier for the preservation of private property, excepting the justice of a legislative assembly, possessing supreme powers; you should therefore either turn the council of state into a house of lords, or make a house of lords of the grandees, giving them concurrent powers of legislation with the cortes, and you should leave the patronage, now in the hands of the council of state, in the hands of the crown.

“By these measures you will give your government some chance of standing, and your country some chance of avoiding further revolution. This is not to be expected, even under the most successful result of the war, unless some measures are adopted, of the kind of which I have above sketched the outline.

“I have written you a very long letter, which at least shows that I take an interest in the future welfare of Spain. I should be sorry if, after all, you were to fail in establishing a system of government founded on principles of justice, which should secure the liberty of your country, and should again fall under the degrading despotism from which you have had a chance of escaping—but you may depend upon it, that whatever may be your wishes, and however good the intentions of the greater number of persons of whom the cortes is composed, this misfortune will happen to you, if you are not guided by experience, and by the example of those countries in which freedom exists, instead of by the wild theories of modern days.”

The political sagacity displayed in this admirable production, which, by anticipating the effects that must flow from existing causes, almost assumed the air of prophecy, has been demonstrated by the revolutions that have, since its composition, convulsed Spain; and his lordship's remark on the danger that rich and powerful individuals were exposed to, of being deprived of their properties, under the pretence of the public advantage, had almost received an illustration in the noble writer's own case. In 1813 large estates were granted to Lord Wellington, “in testimony of the sincere gratitude of the Spanish nation,” but a few years after, it was actually proposed in the cortes, that their benefactor should be deprived of this honourable testimony, on the plea that it would be for the public benefit.

During the Marquis of Wellington's residence at Cadiz, the colonelcy of the royal horse-guards, blues, became vacant, by the resignation of the Duke of Northumberland, and the prince-regent, unsolicitedly, appointed the marquis to the regiment on the first of January, 1813. This appointment was as gratifying to Lord Wellington as it was unexpected; and, when he announced it with the liveliest satisfaction, at his own table, he added, "I am the luckiest fellow in the world; I must have been born under some extraordinary planet."

Arrangements for the reorganization of the Spanish army being completed with the cortes and the regency, the marquis now visited Lisbon, in order to restore the financial department of the Portuguese army to its original form, and to increase its strength and efficiency. His lordship was received with admiration and applause in all the towns through which he passed; and at Lisbon public fetes were given, and the city illuminated during three successive nights, in honour of his visit. In passing along the streets he was greeted with the loudest acclamations of gratitude; he was entertained in the palace by the regent, and received at the theatre of San Carlos with rapturous plaudits, when he attended to witness the performance of a dramatic representation composed to celebrate his victories; all the boxes were decorated with angels bearing crowns and shields, inscribed with the initials of the Saviour of Portugal; while angels and genii descended also during the performance, exhibiting scrolls, on which the names of his victories were inscribed in illuminated letters. It was during this visit to Lisbon that his lordship invested Sir Charles Stuart with the insignia of the Order of the Bath; and it was at this time, also, that he said to a wounded officer, "You must make haste and join the army, or you will be too late, as this is our last campaign;" thus indicating his anticipations of being able to expel the French from Spain in the course of that year—anticipations which were happily realized, the scene of warfare being transferred from that desolated country to the long peaceful fields of France.

Lord Wellington returned to head-quarters at Freneda on

the twenty-fifth of January, and thence, on the twenty-seventh, addressed his brother, Wellesley Pole, as follows, on the subject of an estate which had been offered to the parliamentary trustees appointed for the purchase of a "Wellington Park :"—

"I received your letter of the twenty-third of December, in regard to the parliamentary grant, and one from Lord Liverpool, of the twenty-second, in which he sent me a copy of the act of parliament, and the copy of a letter from Lord Somerville, respecting the purchase of Wellington Park. I enclose the copy of the answer which I have written to Lord Liverpool this day.

"As I must have Wellington Park, I am desirous to have more land in Somersetshire, if possible, in that neighbourhood, and I think a sacrifice ought to be made for that object; but if I cannot get land there at a tolerably reasonable rate, it is a matter of indifference to me where it is situated.

"I had thoughts of adding to the parliamentary grant the sum I proposed to lay out in land when parliament granted me my second pension, which is about forty thousand pounds, I believe; but this arrangement might be inconvenient to the trustees for the parliamentary grant. It may, however, be otherwise; and if you should find it so, let me know it, and I shall give directions accordingly to Messrs. Coutts.

"I enclose a letter from Coutts, with the particulars of an estate to be sold in Wiltshire; they do not say for what price. Supposing that nothing can be got on reasonable terms in Somersetshire, you will be the best judges whether this purchase can or ought to be made out of the parliamentary grant, or by that and my own money united. I have sent Messrs. Coutts a power of attorney to receive the interest on the parliamentary grant."

While the allied armies were in winter-quarters, many of the guerillas were very active in harassing the French. Among the brilliant enterprises in which they engaged, the following, although on a small scale, is remarkable for its boldness of design and successful execution. In the early part of



March, Fermin de Leguia, one of Mina's officers, accompanied by the whole of his party, consisting of only fifteen men, approached the castle of Fuenterrabia in the night, and, forming a rude scaling-ladder with spikes and ropes, mounted the wall with only one companion, surprised the sentinel, seized the keys, and admitted his party by the gates, who took eight artillerymen prisoners, while the rest of the garrison were sleeping in the town. The guns were then spiked, the ammunition carried away or destroyed, and the castle fired: the party retired without loss, although pursued by the enemy.

As the operations of the Anglo-Sicilian army, which was stationed at Alicante, were in a great degree unconnected with those of the forces immediately under Lord Wellington, they have been kept distinct; it will now be proper to relate them, down to the commencement of the campaign of 1813.

General Maitland's health failing, he was obliged to return to Sicily, whence Major-General William Clinton was sent to take the command, which was held *ad interim* by Major-General John Mackenzie. Under his orders, Major-General Donkin attempted to take Deria by *a coup de main*, but the enterprise failed, although the men and guns were re-embarked with trifling loss. General Clinton arriving in November, was superseded in December by Major-General James Campbell, who brought with him a reinforcement of four thousand men from Palermo, but he was shortly afterwards, in his turn, superseded by Lieutenant-General Sir John Murray, who had arrived from England to take the command of the Anglo-Sicilian army, which included Whittingham's and Roche's Spanish divisions, then amounting to eighteen thousand men, principally stationed in a fortified camp near Alicante, as the Spaniards for a length of time had refused to admit them into the citadel. Suchet's post was nominally Valencia, but, in reference to the Anglo-Sicilian army, it was the fortified camp in the mountains near the Xucar at San Felipe de Satwa and Moxente. Murray's army was in a most unsatisfactory state. The Sicilians, Calabrese, and French were eager to desert: one Italian regiment had been broken for miscon-

duct, and the Spanish divisions were starving, as the British would not feed them, having granted a subsidy to Spain for that purpose, while the Spanish intendants had neglected their own countrymen. To relieve the Spanish divisions, it was necessary to enlarge their cantonments, and General Murray resolved on endeavouring to surprise fifteen thousand French troops stationed at Alcoy. That place was occupied by the allies after a feeble and ill-supported attack, the French, under General Habert, retiring with little loss, and Sir John Murray making no attempt to disturb them in their retreat. For some days the English general remained inactive, having resolved on attempting to seize Valencia by a maritime expedition; and on the twenty-sixth of March 1813, Roche's Spaniards, and a British grenadier battalion, marched to Alicante for embarkation. Lord William Bentinck, however, at this moment having recalled two thousand of the Anglo-Sicilian troops, including the grenadier battalion, the expedition was in consequence relinquished, and Roche's division joined the main body of the army at Castalla. On the eleventh of April, General Harispe attacked Mijares, who had been stationed by Elio with nearly four thousand Spaniards at Yecla, killed two hundred of his men, and made fifteen hundred prisoners; and Suchet, under the veil of evening, advancing in the direction of Villena, which was garrisoned by a Spanish regiment eight hundred strong, and protected by a strong body of the allies, the covering party retreated towards Biar, abandoning the garrison, which surrendered the same night, Elio having objected to its being withdrawn. The advanced guard of the allies, consisting of two thousand five hundred men, under Colonel Adam, which was in the pass of Biar, retired in good order from their post on the twelfth, with the loss of two guns, after gallantly maintaining their position, for a considerable time, against a very superior force.

On the following day, the French army passing unopposed through that very strong and easily defensible pass, took up a position in front of the allies, who occupied Castalla, and the heights in its vicinity. Suchet, finding that the right of

the Anglo-Sicilian army was unassailable, commenced an attack on the centre and the left. The latter, which was the key of the position, had been weakened by the employment of Whittingham, who had been stationed there with three regiments, to reconnoitre the enemy's right flank with them. The consequence of thus withdrawing half the troops from this point might have given the victory to the enemy, had not Colonel Don Julian Romero happily arrived with two regiments from Alcoy, to occupy Whittingham's post: Colonel Adam now charged the assailants, when the Spaniards began to give way, but being joined by General Whittingham, who, on perceiving the enemy's intention, had returned with extraordinary rapidity, the French were repulsed with immense loss.

It was in the course of this attack that the following remarkable incident occurred. Suchet's light troops climbed the mountains, and attacked the second battalion of the twenty-seventh at great advantage, while they were lying down waiting for orders to charge. At this moment a French grenadier officer advancing, alone, challenged a captain of the English grenadiers to single combat. Captain Waldron, who a few days earlier had cut his way through a French battalion near Alcoy, with his company, instantly accepted the challenge; the opposing troops, in breathless silence, suspended all hostile movements during the contest, which was soon terminated by the French captain's head being almost cleft. The moment the twenty-seventh saw the Frenchman fall, they started up with a tremendous shout, fired a destructive volley at half-pistol shot, and then charged so gallantly as to overthrow and almost annihilate the most valuable corps in Suchet's army.

The enemy's attack on the allies' left having failed, they retreated from all their positions, and the intermingled mass, which was now necessitated to retire by a narrow defile, in the face of their enemies, seemed to invite attack, and promise certain and complete victory—but Suchet's army was permitted to return to Villena almost unmolested. The armies were nearly equal in number, the allies being seventeen thousand, the French fifteen thousand, of which the former

lost seven hundred, and the latter confessed that eight hundred had fallen in this affray.

On the eleventh of May, General Foy, after a siege of eighteen days, took Castro de Udrales, in Biscay, before which Caffarelli had been previously foiled. He attacked it with all the force he could collect, and seemed determined to take it by storm, as he offered no terms to the governor Alvares, who defended it with great ability, assisted by Captain Blaye with the *Lyra*, Royalist, and Sparrow sloops, and the *Alpheia* schooner. When the town was taken by the French, the garrison, which had originally been twelve hundred strong, retreated to the castle, from whence, with many of the inhabitants, they embarked in the boats of the English ships of war, and were landed at Bermeo. Foy burnt the town, and because the inhabitants had not apprised him of the destruction of a bridge by the English, which occasioned him some loss, he barbarously butchered both men and women.

In relating the proceedings of the Anglo-Sicilian army, it has been stated, that the Spaniards for a length of time refused to admit the English into the citadel of Alicante. This was conformable with the bigoted feeling of the cortes, who contemplated the passing of a law forbidding the reception of foreign troops within their garrisons, although the works at Cadiz had been carried on under their own eyes by British soldiers—and Badajos, Ciudad Rodrigo, Carthage, Tarifa, and Alicante, had been captured, defended, or repaired by them—and that nearly all the stores and provisions in their fortresses had been furnished by the English. Lord Wellington, in protesting against this unreasonable proposal, observed, "The measure will really be one of wanton insult, which will do more harm to the cause for which we are contending, than any thing that has yet been done. If the cortes are seriously desirous that our troops should not be in their garrisons, let them say so quietly, and I will withdraw them; but while we are embarked in the same cause, and engaged in this arduous contest, do not let us insult each other by legislative measures." His lordship was also greatly embarrassed by the neglect of the Spanish government

to collect and appropriate, as had been stipulated, nine-tenths of the revenues to military expenses, while they persisted in paying pensions, the salaries of all kinds of *employés*, and charges of every description, out of the military fund. "Spain," said Lord Wellington, "may have an army of pensioners, and of persons in civil and other employments, but never can have an army of soldiers."

The Marquis of Wellington now began to prepare seriously for that campaign which was to decide the fate of Spain, and sedulously employed himself in the organization of the allied armies, proposing, among other improvements, that the Spanish infantry regiments, which were too strong to be manageable in the field, should be divided into two battalions, and by introducing regimental hospitals, particularly among the Portuguese troops. His military knowledge was also appealed to, by the British cabinet, with respect to the war in Canada, and we find amongst his despatches the following addressed to Earl Bathurst: "I am very glad to find that you are going to reinforce Sir George Prevost, and I only hope that the troops will go in time, and that Sir George will not be induced, by any hopes of trifling advantages, to depart from a strong defensive system. He may depend upon it that he will not be strong enough, either in men or means, to establish himself in any conquest he might make. The attempt would only weaken him, and his losses augment the spirits and hopes of the enemy, even if not attended by worse consequences; whereas by the other system, he will throw the difficulties and risk upon them, and they will most probably be foiled. If they should be so, and they should receive a check at sea, their arrogance will be lowered a little, which will give me more satisfaction than any thing which has occurred for a length of time, and they will be obliged to ask for peace." In the following month his opinion, as military counsellor to the British empire, being asked, on a proposed attempt to insurrectionize Italy, his lordship replied, "The question of insurrection in any country must always be one of great doubt, but it appears to me that if such a measure should be adopted by any country at any time, it ought to be by Germany at present. It appears

to me that the people cannot be in a worse condition than they are; their enemy is humbled, and there is a formidable and victorious army on the frontier, ready to give support to their efforts. But those who are about to involve their country in these troubles must not imagine that their task is an easy one, or that the contest or its evils will be of short duration. They little know the character of their enemy, if they do not expect a most vigorous contest, if once they draw the sword, and are not prepared, as he is, to endure every thing, and go to all extremities to attain their object."

If we shall except the movements of the Anglo-Sicilian army, which had certainly accomplished much less than might reasonably have been expected, and the incessant annoyances inflicted upon the French by Spanish partisans, whose chequered warfare occasioned great loss, and much greater embarrassment to the enemy, nothing of a military nature worthy of notice occurred, while the allies were in cantonments for the winter. Even the attack of the twentieth of February, made by General Foy on Bejar, one of General Hill's outposts, scarcely renders an exception necessary, having been so quickly repulsed by the fiftieth regiment, and the sixth caçadores under Colonel Harrison.

During this cessation of active warfare, Lord Wellington had been occupied in putting the troops under his command into a better state of preparation for the approaching campaign, and in providing *materiel* for the army. A pontoon train of thirty-five pieces had been formed, and commissariat carts built, but both were so badly constructed, that the iron work gave way the first time they were brought into use. A considerable number of mules had been purchased with British manufactures, some even at Madrid, while Clauzel could not obtain a number sufficient to carry provisions to Burgos. Those which had been employed in carrying heavy camp kettles were now used for the transport of tents, three being the allowance to each infantry company. During this interval the officers established races, entertained the Spanish gentry with balls, and, at the head-quarters of General Hill, a

theatre was fitted up, at which the "School for Scandal," the "Rivals," and the "Poor Gentleman" were performed; the Marquis of Wellington attended the representation of the "Rivals." Nor were these animating pleasures the sole enjoyment—public honours were also conferred upon several of our officers during this interval of ease. On the fourth of March, the Marquis was elected a knight of the garter, in the room of the Marquis of Buckingham. This distinction was followed by the prince-regent's permission to Lieutenant General Sir Stapleton Cotton, and to Sir Charles Stuart, British ambassador at Lisbon, to accept and wear the insignia of knights-grand-crosses of the Portuguese order of the tower and sword, and the following officers were either then or soon afterwards permitted to wear the insignia of honorary knights-commanders of that order, namely: Colonel Dennis Pack, Lieut.-Colonel Wilson, Lord Edward Somerset, Sir Richard Fletcher, bart., Sir Thomas Sidney Beckwith, Lieutenant-Colonels Robert Arbuthnot, Thomas Noel Hill, Williams, and Bromley Way; Colonels John Milley Doyle, and William Mac Bean, and Lieut.-Colonel George Elder. The Honourable Sir Galbraith Lowry Cole was also at the same period invested, by the Marquis of Wellington, as representative of the prince-regent, with the insignia of the order of the Bath, in the palace at Ciudad Rodrigo, when a splendid ball was given, at which it is stated, that many families attended from Salamanca by permission of the French military governor.

Although the fate of Spain depended on Lord Wellington's success against the French, and that success depended, to a considerable extent, on his being the efficient director of the whole force of the country against its invaders—the Spanish ministry, who had recently appointed him commander-in-chief of their armies, constantly interfered with his authority, and counteracted his measures.—Having endured this interruption for a considerable period, when the time for commencing the campaign approached, he addressed Don Diego de la Vega Iñanzon, for the information of the cortes on the subject, transferring the following charges against the ministry.

“First, they have removed officers from their stations, and have placed them in others, without any recommendation from me, or any other superior officer, and without even acquainting me, or the superiors of those officers, that they had made such arrangements.

“Secondly, they have appointed officers to stations without my recommendation, or that of any superior officer, and have given them assurances that they should remain in those stations contrary to their engagements with me, and to the royal ordenanzas, by which the powers and responsibility of captains-general of the provinces are regulated.

“Thirdly, they have, without my recommendation, or sending through me their orders, and even without acquainting me with their intentions, moved corps of cavalry and infantry from the army to which they belonged, to other stations, and this without any reason that I am acquainted with of a public nature. By this last measure, the greatest inconvenience and confusion have been produced. I am informed, but not by the minister at war, that the cavalry which I had destined to form part of the army of Galicia at the opening of the campaign in May, has been ordered, without my knowledge, to the Isla de Leon, there to join a cavalry depôt which has been formed at that station, likewise without my knowledge.

“I have frequently remonstrated upon these breaches of agreement with me, and on the evils likely to result from them, but I have been hitherto unable to obtain from the government any satisfactory reply, whether they intended to conform to their agreement with me or not. To this statement add, that owing to the delay of the government in issuing the orders to the financial departments in the provinces, to carry into execution the measures decreed by the cortes, and arranged with me to provide for the support of the armies, that branch of the service is in the same confusion as it was at the end of last year. All the armies are in the greatest distress for want of pay and provisions; nothing can be realized, even from those provinces which have been longest freed from the enemy; and the expectations of the country,



and of the allies, that we should have a good Spanish army in this campaign, will certainly be disappointed.

"I am fully alive to the importance which has been attached throughout Spain, as well as in England and other parts of Europe, to the circumstance of my having been entrusted with the command of the Spanish armies; and the officers of the Spanish staff, who are here with me, will, I am convinced, do justice to the interest, the devotion, and diligence with which I have laboured to place the military affairs of the country in the state in which they ought to be. But I have a character to lose, and in proportion as expectation has been raised by my appointment, will be the extent of the disappointment and regret at finding that things are no better than they were before. I confess that I do not feel inclined to become the object of these disagreeable sensations, either in Spain, in England, or throughout Europe; and unless some measures can be adopted to prevail upon the government to force the minister at war to perform the engagements of the government with me, I must, however unwillingly, resign a situation and trust which I should not have accepted, if these engagements had not been entered into, and I had not believed that they would have been adhered to."

Most of the difficulties in connection with the Spanish and Portuguese administrations being at least partially, or temporarily, overcome, and a threatened mutiny of the Portuguese army, in consequence of an arrear of pay, being prevented by the skill and influence of Lord Wellington, he decided on taking the field towards the close of May, particularly as forage for the cavalry was then plentiful, and the harvest ripening for the support of the men.

The army under his immediate command, at this time, amounted to about 116,000\* sabres and bayonets—of these

\* The British and Portuguese staff comprised the following officers:—Commander-in-chief, the Marquis of Wellington—Second in command, General Sir Thomas Graham—Commander of the Portuguese army, Marshal Sir W. Beresford—Commander of the Cavalry, Lieutenant-General Sir S. Cotton, Bart: (of the 1st division, the Honourable W. Stewart; of the 2d division, Sir Rowland Hill; of the 3d division, Sir T. Picton: of the 4th division, the honourable Sir

48,000 were British or German, 28,000 Portuguese, and 40,000 Spanish troops. The Galician army was commanded in chief by Castanos, who, attaching himself generally to the British head-quarters, the command virtually devolved on Don Pedro Augustin Giron.

In addition to the forces under the generalissimo's personal direction, there were in various parts of Spain about 80,000 Spaniards formed into regular armies, besides 30,000 in guerilla parties. Besides the Anglo-Sicilian army under General Murray, consisting of about 15,000 men which, with the exception of 5,000 British and Germans, were very indifferent soldiers, the allies also had the advantage of possessing a fleet near to each of their flanks. To oppose these troops, many of which, particularly the Spaniards, were inefficient from want of equipment and organization, the French had in Spain about 200,000 infantry and 20,000 cavalry, including many veterans; but amongst these was a considerable number of conscripts, sent to supply the place of veterans, who had been drafted from the army of Spain, to join that under Napoleon's command in Germany. Of this number, the army of the centre, commanded by Joseph Buonaparte and Marshal Jourdan; of the south, by Count Gazan; of Portugal, under General Reille; and of the north, under General Clauzel—making about 110,000 infantry, and 14,000 cavalry—were in a great degree disposable against Lord Wellington; while Suchet's corps was occupied in watching the movements of the Anglo-Sicilian army, and of the Spaniards under Elio and other generals.

Lord Wellington's plan for the approaching campaign was to effect a junction with the Galician army on the northern bank of the Douro, by a rapid converging march of the three great bodies, into which the Anglo-Portuguese army had been

G. L. Cole; of the 5th division, Sir James Leith; of the 6th division, General Sir H. Clinton; of the 7th division, the Earl of Dalhousie; of the light cavalry, Major-General Baron Alten—Quarter-Master-General, Sir Thomas Murray—Adjutant-General, Sir Charles Stewart—Commander of Guides, Colonel Scovell,—Chief Engineer, Lieutenant-Colonel Sir R. Fletcher, Bart—Inspector General of Hospitals, James Mc Gregor, Esq.—Commissary-General, Sir Robert Kennedy, Bart.

divided ; and, for this united force to take the line of posts occupied by the French on the Douro in reverse, and fall upon their right flank, which should also have its attention engaged by the fourth Spanish army, and the Andalusian reserve. The profound tactician hoped, by the rapidity of his movements, to drive the French armies back upon the Ebro without a battle, then, blockading Burgos with a Spanish corps, he intended to dislodge the enemy from their positions on that river, and ultimately to force them out of Spain across the Pyrenees. How rapidly, and successfully, this bold and well-digested plan was executed, will appear presently. At the end of April the allied cavalry began to move from Coimbra, where they had wintered, and reached Braganza, the rendezvous of the left wing of the allies, on the twenty-second of May. The remainder of the left wing, under Sir Thomas Graham, arrived there on the twenty-sixth. The right wing broke up from their winter-quarters on the twenty-first of May in two columns, one commanded by Lord Wellington in person, the other by General Hill, and united before Salamanca on the twenty-sixth.

The commander-in-chief moved his head-quarters from Freneda on the 22nd., and, on crossing the stream that separates the two peninsular nations, he rose in his stirrups, and, waiving his hand, exclaimed, "Farewell Portugal !" feeling confident that he had given lasting liberty to the people, and that he would never again be under the necessity of seeking shelter in that country. Nor was his exit from Lusitania unaccompanied by memorable expressions of gratitude, for the peasantry, everywhere, cordially cheered "the great lord" who had rescued their fertile country from French vassalage.

General Villatte, who commanded the enemy's force at Salamanca, began to evacuate the place on the approach of the allies, but remained in the vicinity long enough to allow Lord Wellington, who had galloped into the town at the head of a regiment of hussars before the evacuation was completed, to attack him at Aldea Lengua with some horse-artillery and cavalry, and capture seven guns, besides some stores and

baggage, including the French commander's carriage. The retiring troops sustained a heavy cannonade and a vigorous charge of cavalry, with a degree of courage that excited the admiration of their assailants, but only escaped the disgrace of being obliged to lay down their arms, in consequence of the allied infantry not being able to reach the scene of action in time. The French lost two hundred killed and wounded, and as many prisoners, in this affair, in addition to their heavy guns and baggage.

The Tormes being gained by the right of the allied army under Lord Wellington, and by the centre under General Hill, these divisions advanced on the twenty-seventh and twenty-eighth, with their right towards Miranda and Zamora, and their left towards Toro. The marquis then transferring the command to General Hill, crossed the Duero at Miranda, in a basket slung on a rope stretched between two rocks, like the *jhoolas* of Hindoostan, and at a great elevation above the foaming torrent, to visit the left wing under General Graham, which had been retarded by the extreme difficulty of conveying artillery and baggage through the mountainous region of *Tras os Montes*. This delay in some degree deranged the commander-in-chief's plan, in which it had been calculated that Graham's corps would cross the *Esla* on the twenty-ninth. In that case the enemy might have been surprised and separated, and some detachments defeated or captured; for they had entirely misconceived Lord Wellington's plan, in supposing that he intended to advance upon Madrid, and had therefore formidably strengthened Toro, Tordesillas, Burgos, Pancorvo, and Miranda del Ebro.

At day-break on the thirty-first, the hussar brigade of General Graham's column entered the *Esla*, and, as it was supposed that the enemy occupied a village on the other side in strength, each horseman was accompanied by a footsoldier holding by his stirrup. This, however, impeded the horses, and the ford being deep, the river's bed stony and uneven, and the stream turbulent, they became unmanageable, by which several lives were lost; but, on reaching the village, the

enemy's picket of thirty men was surprised and captured. A pontoon-bridge was now constructed, the column passed over the river, and, placing itself in communication with the Galician army, advanced towards Zamora, and established a communication with the centre and right of the allies.

This unexpected passage of the Esla, and advance of the whole corps of the allied army to the Douro, prompted the French to destroy the bridges at Zamora and Toro, and evacuate those places, which were immediately after occupied by the allies. In their retreat towards Tordesillas by Morales, the enemy's rear-guard of cavalry was overtaken, on the second of June, near the latter place, by the huzzar brigade, under Colonel Grant. Having crossed a bridge and passed over a morass, they formed in two lines to receive their pursuers, but Major Roberts, with the tenth and eighteenth regiments, broke both their lines, and took above two hundred prisoners. In this spirited attack Lieutenant Cotton was killed, and Colonel Grant and Captain Lloyd wounded. The gucrilla chief, Don Julian Sanches, on the same day surprised and captured two officers and thirty horse-soldiers at Castro-Nuno, besides driving away the enemy's troops from the ford at Polles.

Hitherto only the French cavalry had been engaged with our columns, but the infantry of the army of Portugal, under Count Reille, having assembled in considerable force between Torrellobaten and Tordesillas, the allied advanced guard halted on the third, to allow sufficient time for the troops in the rear to join them. General Hill's division having crossed the Douro in the afternoon of that day at Toro, the bridge having been repaired, the whole of the Anglo-Portuguese army was now concentrated on the right bank of that river, Giron's Spanish corps being stationed at Villalpando to support its left. On learning this fact, the French hastily evacuated Madrid, and the garison of occupation passing over the Puente de Douro, succeeded in effecting a junction with the army of Portugal by a rapid march.

The banks of the Pisuerga were now apparently chosen by the retreating enemy, as the ground on which they would

make a stand, but as Lord Wellington approached that river, they retired beyond the Carrion, forsaking Valladolid, and, being still closely pursued by the allies, they finally fell back upon Burgos. So hurried and rapid was their retreat, that they left large magazines of grain at Arevola, and of ammunition at Zamora and Valladolid.

These stores, if not needed by the Anglo-Portuguese army, seem to have been earnestly required by the Spaniards, for General Giron had just complained that the Galician army was almost without ammunition, from the civil authorities having neglected to provide means for its conveyance. Intelligence had also reached head-quarters that the army of reserve, of Andalusia, was detained on the Guadiana by want of provisions, although the captain-general of Estramadura had, at Lord Wellington's request, directed the intendants to collect supplies more than two months before that time.

Don J. de Carjaval having been lately succeeded in the office of secretary-at-war, by Don Juan O'Donoju, the Marquis of Wellington on the fourth of June, addressed the latter on this subject in the following forcible language.

"Thus this campaign will be fought without the aid of a single Spanish corps, notwithstanding that it is supposed there are sixty thousand Spanish troops in arms. It cannot be expected that troops will march without provisions, or will fight without ammunition; and it cannot be stated, with truth, either that provisions for the army of reserve could not have been collected in Estramadura, upon ten weeks' notice, or that two hundred or three hundred mules could not have been procured in Galicia for the ammunition for the army of that province; yet for want of these exertions the cause may be lost.

"I earnestly entreat of the government to concert with the cortes the means of establishing in the provinces, some authority to which the people will pay obedience, and which will insure their resources for the purposes of the war; otherwise, notwithstanding all our exertions, the cause of the country will be lost."

When Joseph Buonaparte, followed by his court and camp, fled to Burgos, General Reille with a strong corps, took up a position on the heights above Hormaza, which on the twelfth of June was reconnoitered by Lord Wellington, with Hill's division and all the cavalry. This demonstration accelerated the retreat of the enemy, but in excellent order, to the same rendezvous, with the loss of only one gun, and a few prisoners. Burgos was abandoned on the following morning, after the partial destruction of its castle, which had established the impregnability of its character, in the last campaign, when besieged by the allies. Considerable loss of life was here sustained by the French, from the explosion of a mine outwardly, at the moment when a column of their infantry was defiling past the place. Numbers also were killed by an eruption of a vast quantity of shells and ammunition, which produced the most deplorable devastation throughout the city, and the report of which was loud enough to be heard at the distance of fifty miles.

From Burgos the usurper and his army retreated behind the Ebro; the army of the south, having left a garrison of six hundred men at the castle of Pancorvo, took up a position at Miranda, that of the centre, on the left, at Ilaxo, and that of Portugal, on the right, at Espejo and Frias. Aware, however, of the great obstruction to his progress which that part of the Ebro would present, behind which the enemy was stationed, and the strength of such a position as that of the defile between Pancorvo and the bridge at Miranda, Lord Wellington decided on crossing the Ebro above all the enemy's posts, by which he would have the choice of either bearing down with all his strength upon one flank of the French army, or of compelling them to renew their retreat. Accordingly, while Joseph was in momentary expectation of seeing the allies attempting to cross the Ebro in front of his impregnable position, Generals Graham and Giron were deliberately traversing the mountain-road, which, being considered impracticable for carriages and artillery, had been neglected by the French, and the officers passed the Ebro at San Martin and Rocamunda

on the fourteenth of June; the main body of the army, headed by Lord Wellington, crossing on the following day at the same places, and at Puente de Arenas, without the slightest opposition, as there was not a single French soldier near that part of the river. The immediate effect of this unexpected, and masterly movement, was the still further retreat of the fugitive king towards Vittoria. In addition to this desirable object, a great advantage was obtained by the interposition of the allies between the French armies and the sea, which led to the immediate evacuation of all the seaports in their possession, with the exception of Santona and Bilbao. Still further advantage resulted from the opening of a communication between the allied armies and Santander in Biscay, which was now made the great naval station, in connection with the liberating army, all the depôts being removed thither by sea from Portugal.

General Reille being directed to march towards Bilbao, to protect that place against the allies, on the morning of the eighteenth, he advanced with two divisions in the direction of Orduna, but, on reaching Osma found the first and fifth divisions under General Graham, already in possession of the road; he returned, therefore, with all possible speed to Espejo, after a sharp skirmish and under a heavy cannonade. Mancune also, who was marching to join Reille, encountered the light division at San Millans, and was flung back to Espejo with the loss of one hundred men and all his baggage. Reille having been joined by Mancune during the night, judiciously occupied Subijana de Morillas, in order to cover the retreat of the armies of the centre, and of the south, through the narrow gorge of Puebla de Arganzon into the valley of the Zadorra on the high road to Vittoria. This was effected without opposition, as the allies were too much fatigued to reach the pass in time to frustrate his object. On the nineteenth he reached the heights of Zuazo, about two miles in advance of Vittoria, with the army of Portugal, the army of the centre, under Marshal Jourdan, taking a position on a range of heights in front of the village of Arinez; and the army of the south,



under Count Gazan, being stationed before the village of Gomecho.

On the twentieth of June, Lord Wellington established his head-quarters at Subijana de Morillas, and was constantly occupied in closely examining the enemy's position, which he wished to attack before Clauzel, with the army of the north, should have joined Joseph. He was the more anxious, at this crisis, to bring the contest in the Peninsula to a termination, from the great probability that existed of the arrival of reinforcements to the French army in Spain, an armistice having been concluded in Germany after the battle of Bautzen—and especially as, by a wonderful combination of skilful manœuvres, never exceeded by any European general in recent times, he had compelled his enemies to evacuate all their strong positions "in the land of promise," and occupy a post so near its boundary, that the loss of a battle would drive them across the Pyrenees, back upon their native country. With the exception of the sixth division, which was protecting the march of the magazines in the rear—the whole of the troops under Lord Wellington's immediate command were concentrated on the banks of the Bayas, near Vittoria,\* by the twentieth of June, and amounted to eighty-three thousand seven hundred and

\* This city, which has acquired a lasting celebrity from the battle that was so gloriously fought and won by the Marquis of Wellington in its vicinity, was founded towards the close of the twelfth century by Sancho VII, of Navarre, to check the Castilians. A village named Gasteiz had occupied its site, but having been rebuilt and fortified, the name Vittoria was bestowed on it in commemoration of some now forgotten victory. This place, which comprises above one-thousand houses and six-thousand inhabitants, is the capital of Alava, in Biscay, and was raised to the rank of a city by Juan II. of Castile, and is seated on the declivity and base of a hill, at the end of a beautiful valley, about eight miles broad and ten in length, intersected by the river Zadorra. It is surrounded by double walls, and, although generally close, has a few broad streets embellished with trees and refreshed with streams—besides a beautiful square, with a fountain and piazza, and a royal asylum of graceful architecture. Near this city, at Najara, on the Ebro, in the fourteenth century, Edward the Black Prince defeated the French and Spanish supporters of Don Henry, under a distinguished French leader, Bertram du Guesclin, which victory enabled Don Pedro to ascend the throne of Castile.

eighty-six effective men.† To oppose this formidable array, the intrusive king, and his Major-General, Marshal Jourdan, who virtually commanded the French army, brought a force that did not exceed seventy-thousand men, but they were better officered, and disciplined, than the Spanish auxiliaries, and superior to the allies both in the number of their guns and the strength of their cavalry. Although he was already inferior to the allies in numerical strength, the pretender had, with an inexplicable imprudence, on the nineteenth and twenty-first sent a detachment of five thousand men to escort two convoys on their route to France, by the grand causeway.

At dawn, on the twenty-first of June, the allied army commenced a movement towards the Zadorra, enveloped in a thick mist, which mutually concealed the operations of the opposing armies. They advanced in four columns; the first, under General Hill, towards the bridge of La Puebla; the right centre, with which Lord Wellington entered upon the field of his approaching triumph, towards that at Nanclares; the left centre, under Lord Dalhousie, towards the bridges of Tres Puentes and Mendoza; and the left, under General Graham, towards a bridge between Abechuco and Arriaga.

As the centre of the enemy's position was particularly strong, and defended by large masses of field-guns, it was determined not to attack it until their right and left flanks should be engaged, at least kept in check by Hill's and Graham's columns. In accordance with these orders and this arrangement, Hill's column commenced the action by Murillo's Spanish corps attempting to drive the French from the heights of Puebla. In this attack the Spaniards displayed surprising

† British cavalry, 7,791; Portuguese, 1452: Total cavalry, 9243.—British infantry, 33,658; Portuguese, 23,905: Total infantry, 57,563.—Total cavalry and infantry, 66,806. Deduct the sixth division left at Medina de Pomar, 6,320, and there remain 60,486 Anglo-Portuguese sabres and bayonets present two days before the battle of Vittoria.

In addition to these, there were the following Spanish auxiliary corps:—Cavalry—Penne Villemur's, about 1,000; ditto, Julian Sanchez, 1,000. Infantry, Morillos, 3,000; ditto, Giron's, 12,000; ditto, Carlos d'Espagne's, 3,000; Longa's, 3,300: Total Spanish, 23,300. Total Anglo-Portuguese, 60,486.—Grand Total of the allied forces, 83,786.

courage and activity ; nor could their brave general, although wounded, be persuaded to quit the field of battle. The enemy being reinforced at this point, Hill brought up the light companies of the second division and the seventy-first infantry, under the Honourable Colonel Cadogan, to the assistance of the Spaniards ; but so obstinately did the French contest the position, that four hundred of the seventy-first, with their heroic commander, fell in the struggle.

When Cadogan's wound was ascertained to be mortal, his officers proposed his removal from the scene of carnage, but he peremptorily refused, saying, " My death is now certain, and very near ; suffer me to conclude my life with the pleasure of seeing the continuation of our triumph. Carry me to a height from whence I can observe it." In compliance with his dying request, the brave soldier was borne to an elevated point, and placed with his back reclining against a tree, in which position he shortly afterwards expired ; with his last breath expressing perfect resignation to his fate, and satisfaction at having sacrificed his life in such a great and glorious cause. This heroic and accomplished soldier was declared, by the Marquis of Wellington, to be an officer " of great zeal and tried gallantry, who had acquired the respect and regard of the whole profession ; and of whom it might have been expected, that if he had lived he would have rendered the most important services to his country."

Possession of the heights was still contended for, with the most determined bravery, by both parties, and both had received reinforcements a second time. The battle raged here with unabated fury for some time longer, but was at last terminated by victory declaring for the allies, who obtained and kept possession of a post, for which a greater sacrifice was seldom made. Sir Rowland Hill now ordered the village of Subijana de Alava to be occupied, which was effected without loss, his column crossing the Zadorra, and advancing through the defile of Puebla, the enemy, however, made several unsuccessful attempts to recover the position, as it was immediately in front of Gazan's line.

General Graham having met with a more powerful opposition from the army of Portugal than had been anticipated, was unable to cross the Zadorra by the bridges of Arriaga and Gamarra Mayor, at the appointed and expected time. Lord Wellington, therefore, being assured of Hill's success, commenced passing his centre columns over that river about noon. A Spanish peasant informed his lordship that the bridge of Tres Puentes was unguarded, upon which Kempt's brigade of the light division was ordered to cross it, and halt within a short distance of the enemy's line, in a concealed situation, where they were soon after joined by the fifteenth hussars. While this bold and rapid movement was in execution, the third and seventh divisions, supported by cavalry and light troops, commanded by Lord Dalhousie, approached the bridge of Mendoza, under a heavy fire from the French artillery, which was admirably replied to by the guns of the allies. During this cannonade, Colonel Barnard, with the riflemen of Kempt's brigade, who had crossed the river by the bridge of Tres Puentes, advancing between the French cavalry and the river, fell upon their light troops and artillery in flank; and, although from the darkness of their uniforms they were mistaken for French troops, and fired upon by the allied artillery, they still maintained their ground. Under cover of Colonel Barnard's attack, one brigade of General Picton's\* division passed the bridge of Mendoza unopposed, the other, fording

\* "During the struggle on the right, the centre was inactive. Picton became impatient: he inquired of several aides-de-camp who came near him from head-quarters, whether they had any orders for him? His soldiers were anxiously waiting to advance; he knew the spirit of his men, and had some difficulty in restraining it. As the day wore on, and the fight waxed warmer on the right, he became furious, and turning to one of his officers, said, 'D——n it, Lord Wellington must have forgotten us.' It was near noon, and the men were getting discontented, for the centre had not yet been engaged: Picton's blood was boiling, and his stick was going with rapid strokes on the mane of his cob; he was riding backwards and forwards, looking in every direction for the arrival of an aide-de-camp, until at length one galloped up from Lord Wellington. He was looking for the seventh division, under Lord Dalhousie, which had not yet arrived at its post, having to move over some difficult ground. The aide-de-camp, riding up at speed, suddenly checked his horse, and inquired of the general, whether he had seen

the Zadorra higher up, was followed by the seventh and part of the light division. These movements, connected with Sir Rowland Hill's occupation of Subijana de Alava, having alarmed the troops stationed along the lower part of the river, they fell back suddenly upon their centre, exposing the bridges of Nanclares and Villodas to the allies. The fourth division, availing itself of this partial panic, crossed over at Nanclares; thus concentrating the whole of the allied centre column on the same side of the Zadorra with the enemy. Arrangements were immediately made by which the centre of the allied army should assail the right and centre of the first French line, while Hill's column was to attack its left.

Lord Wellington having observed that the heights near Arinez had been left almost undefended, two divisions having been withdrawn to support the French right, advanced with the third and fourth divisions, and the heavy cavalry, to carry them. This movement induced the French, under cover of fifty pieces of artillery, and a cloud of skirmishers, to retire by degrees upon their reserve, which was posted on the

Lord Dalhousie? Picton was disappointed: he expected now at least he might move; and in a voice that did not acquire softness from his feelings, he answered in a sharp tone. 'No, sir! I have not seen his lordship; but have you any orders for me, sir?' 'None,' replied the aide-de-camp. 'Then, pray, sir,' continued the irritated general, 'what are the orders you do bring?' 'Why,' answered the officer, 'that as soon as Lord Dalhousie, with the seventh division, shall commence an attack upon that bridge (pointing to one on the left), 'the fourth and sixth are to support him.' Picton could not understand the idea of any other division fighting in his front; and, drawing himself up to his full height, he said to the astonished aide-de-camp with some passion, 'You may tell Lord Wellington from me, sir, that the third division, under my command, shall in less than ten minutes attack the bridge, and carry it; and the fourth and sixth divisions may support if they choose.' Having thus expressed his intention, he turned from the aide-de-camp, put himself at the head of his men, who were quickly in motion towards the bridge, encouraging them, according to the language of an amusing writer, with the bland language of 'Come on, ye rascals! come on, you fighting villains!' It is asserted by an officer of rank in our army, 'that three times during the battle of Vittoria, orders were sent by Lord Wellington for certain manœuvres to be performed by the third division, which in each instance Picton had commenced executing on his own judgment and responsibility.'

—*Robinson's Memoirs of Sir Thomas Picton, Vol. II.*

second range of heights before Gomecha, still holding the village of Arinez; General Picton now made a fierce attack on that village, which was defended with desperation, but British valour was triumphant, and the allies succeeded in expelling the French with immense comparative loss.

The assailants of Arinez having suffered severely from a field-battery at the village of Margarita, this place was next captured by an impetuous charge of the fifty-second led by Colonel Gibbs, and the guns driven away; the eighty-seventh at the same time under Colonel Gough, winning the village of Hermandad. While this object was being effected, the French troops near Subijana de Alava being overpoweringly pressed on their front and left flank by Sir Rowland Hill's column, fell back in great disorder upon those who had been expelled from Arinez, and the whole of the French armies now retired to the last defensible heights between Ali and Armentia, about a mile in front of Vittoria, maintaining a running fight and cannonade, in which they lost many guns, for nearly six miles.

The beaten armies of the south and centre reached these heights about six P.M. with above eighty pieces of cannon, closely followed by the allies. The cannonade and discharges of musketry were so heavy here, as to keep the third division, which was in advance, in check; but the fourth division, by a vigorous charge, drove the enemy from the hill on their left, upon which they abandoned the heights, and the armies under the pretender and Gazan retreated in a confused but compact body to Metauco, on the road to Pamplona, leaving Vittoria on their left.

General Graham, who commanded the left column of the allied army, and had been instructed to advance to Vittoria by the Bilbao road, had been so gallantly opposed by the army of Portugal under General Reille, that he was unable to cross the Zadarro before the armies of the south and the centre had actually been defeated, and driven beyond Vittoria. His column had not, however, been unemployed. The villages of Abechuco and Gamarra Mayor, at each of which there was a bridge over the Zadarro, were occupied by the enemy in

great force. They had also a large reserve of cavalry, and the Hispano-French corps was near, to keep open the grand road to Bayonne. General Oswald drove them from the heights, which Longa passing rapidly over, took possession of Gamarra Menor ; General Robinson at the same time carrying Gamarra Mayor at the point of the bayonet, under a tremendous fire of great and small arms. He also obtained possession of the bridge at that place, but was obliged to relinquish it after a sanguinary struggle. Abechuco, which commanded the bridge of Arriaga, was now attacked by Sir Thomas Graham, and carried by Colonel Halkett's German brigade, while the light battalions of the first division attempted to obtain possession of the bridge, but without success, although they captured three guns and a howitzer.

As Gamarra Mayor commanded the retreat to Bayonne, the French made strenuous efforts to recover it, but the gallantry of Oswald's troops rendered their efforts vain. Longa also, to cut off the enemy from the high road to France, crossing the Zadorra a few miles higher up, had taken possession of Durana, which completely interrupted their retreat in that direction.

While the fates were in equilibrio, between the armies of Graham and Reille, some British horsemen from Vittoria falling on the French general's rear, convinced him of the necessity for retreating, and, having formed a reserve of infantry at Betonia, he rallied all his troops there. Although still pursued by part of Graham's column, aided by a reinforcement from the allied army at Vittoria, he gallantly fought his way in some degree of order, but with the loss of all his artillery and baggage to Metauco on the Salvatierra road—thus covering the retreat of King Joseph and his flying army towards Pamplona ; the great military road to Bayonne being occupied by General Graham's column. The light horse of the allies passed through Vittoria at a gallop, and endeavoured to cut off the retreat of the broken French columns, while the British infantry pursued them closely, obliging them to abandon all their artillery, with the exception of one

gun and one howitzer, besides their baggage and ammunition ; so effectually were they harassed, that they were unable to save powder enough even to blow up the bridges over which they escaped. At night-fall the commander-in-chief, who had accompanied his advanced guard, ordered the pursuit to cease, as his brave companions were much exhausted, having been under arms from sun-rise ; and having in that time not only defeated, but completely disorganized and deprived of all its *materiel*, a large and well-equipped French army, commanded by a veteran marshal of the empire, supported in his labours by brave and skilful generals. General Gazan, the next in command to Jourdan, draws a striking picture of the loss sustained by the French in this battle, and confesses that “ they lost all their equipages, all their guns, all their treasure, all their stores, and all their papers : so that no man could prove how much pay was due to him. Generals and subordinate officers alike were reduced to the clothes on their backs, and most of them were bare-footed.”

The intrusive king narrowly escaped being made prisoner in Vittoria, the tenth hussars entering that city at one side, while he was escaping in his carriage on the other, which was pursued and fired into by one of the squadrons under Captain Wyndham. The pretender had just time to mount his horse, and gallop off under an escort of dragoons, leaving his carriage, with his most valuable jewels, in the hands of his pursuers. Among the booty secured by the allied army was a sum of money, the pay of the French army, amounting to five millions and a half of dollars. Some of the officers having reported to Lord Wellington that the soldiers were plundering this treasure, his lordship replied, “ Let them—they have fought well, and deserve all they can find, were it ten times more.” The Countess Gazan, and the wives of many other French officers, who had taken refuge in a house in Vittoria, were treated honourably, and sent in their own carriages, on the following day, with a flag of truce, to Pamplona. In addition to the military spoils of the battle of Vittoria, which included one hundred and fifty-one pieces of brass ordnance on



travelling carriages, four hundred and fifteen caissons, the military chest, fourteen thousand rounds of ammunition, nearly two millions of ball-cartridges, and forty thousand pounds of powder; besides all the *parcs* and *depôts* from Madrid, Valladolid, and Burgos, fifty-six forage waggons, forty-four forge waggons, the colours of the fourth battalion of the hundredth regiment, and Marshal Jourdan's *baton*, there fell into the hands of the victors, two hundred carriages belonging to the superior French officers, Joseph's household, &c., and about three thousand carriages, waggons, and cars laden with stores, treasure, or plunder. The contents of these waggons were varied and valuable, consisting of money, jewellery, all kinds of food, wines, and brandy, and curious and costly articles of every description. The dresses of the French generals and their ladies, and of the Spanish members of the usurper's court, furnished masquerade habiliments for the allied troops, and they established auctions at night for the sale of the more bulky articles, disposing even of dollars, as being too inconvenient for transport, at the rate of eight for a guinea.

Considering that several of the positions were so hotly contested, the loss sustained by either the French, or the allies, in the battle of Vittoria, was less than might have been supposed. The former rated their loss at six thousand nine hundred and sixty killed, wounded, and missing, including about eight hundred prisoners. That of the allies was five thousand one hundred and eighty, of which five hundred and fifty-three were Spanish, one thousand and forty-nine Portuguese, and three thousand five hundred and seventy-four British troops,\* showing that the last had been in the hottest of the

\* No general officer in the British service was killed in this action, and the only one that received a wound was the Honourable Major-General Colville. The principal officers who fell were Lieutenant-Colonel Cadogan, Lieutenants Thellusson and Thorne, of the fourth infantry. Among the wounded, besides Lieutenant-Colonel Fane of the fiftieth, and Captain George Hay of the royal Scots, who soon afterwards died of their wounds, were the Marquis of Tweeddale, and Lieutenant-Colonels Campbell, first foot, Patterson, twenty-eighth, Ridewood, forty-fifth, Weir, fiftieth, Cothen, seventy-first, Grant, eighty-second, Campbell, ninety-fourth, and Cameron, ninety-fifth.

fight, and contributed much the largest share of valour to the victory.

Lord Wellington's splendid triumph over the French, on the ensanguined field of Vittoria, decided the fate of Europe, by causing the Austrians to form an alliance with the Russians and Prussians against Napoleon, and by inducing them to retract the terms of peace which they had offered to him, and which he had at first disdainfully rejected. The war in Germany, therefore, soon recommenced, and, in conjunction with the subsequent success of the British arms in Spain and France, led to the ultimate deposition of Napoleon, and the restoration of the Bourbon dynasty.

Marshal Jourdan's baton being found amongst the spoils, was presented by the Marquis of Wellington to the prince-regent of England; who, in return, sent his lordship the staff of an English field-marshal, accompanied by an autograph letter of acknowledgment.\*

\* To Field-Marshal the MARQUIS OF WELLINGTON, K.G.

"My dear Lord,

Carlton House, 3d July, 1813.

"Your glorious conduct is beyond all human praise, and far above my reward. I know no language the world affords worthy to express it. I feel I have nothing left to say, but devoutly to offer up my prayer of gratitude to Providence, that it has, in its omnipotent bounty, blessed my country and myself with such a general. You have sent me among the trophies of your unrivalled fame, the staff of a French marshal, and I send you in return that of England. The British army will hail it with enthusiasm, while the whole universe will acknowledge those valorous efforts which have so imperiously called for it. — That uninterrupted health and still increasing laurels may continue to crown you through a glorious and long career of life, are the never ceasing and most ardent wishes of, my dear Lord, your very sincere and faithful Friend.

"G. P. R."

To His Royal Highness the PRINCE REGENT.

"Sir,

Lesaca, 16th July, 1813.

"I trust your royal highness will receive graciously my humble acknowledgments for the honour which your royal highness has conferred upon me by your approbation, for the terms in which it is conveyed, and for the last distinguished mark of your royal highness's favour. Even if I had not been supported and encouraged as I have been by your royal highness's protection and favour, the interest which I feel for the cause, which your royal highness so powerfully supports, would have induced me to make every exertion for its success. I can evince my gratitude for your royal highness's repeated favours only by devoting my life to your service. I have the honour to be, &c. "WELLINGTON."

The prince-regent also ordered public thanksgivings, for the victory, to be returned in all the churches of the United Kingdom, on which occasion the following form was adopted :—  
“O Lord God of hosts, who chiefly declarest thy almighty power by protecting the oppressed, and smiting to the ground the proud oppressor, and who, in the defence of injured nations, teachest thy servants to war, and girdest them with strength for battle, we yield thee praise and thanksgiving for the continued successes in Spain, with which thou hast been pleased to crown the conduct of our general, and the valour of our soldiers, but more especially for the signal and decisive victory, which, under the same commander, thou hast recently vouchsafed to the allied armies in the battle of Vittoria. Continue, we pray thee, thy blessings upon the councils of our general, maintain and support the courage and strength of the allied armies, sanctify the cause in which they are united, and as it hath pleased thee to put back with confusion of face the proud invader of Spain and Portugal, let the allied armies and allied kingdoms prostrate themselves with one consent before thee, and acknowledge, with humility of heart, the victory to be thine. These prayers and thanksgivings, we humbly offer to thy Divine Majesty in the name and through the mediation of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. Amen.”

The thanks of both houses of parliament were unanimously voted to the Marquis of Wellington, and the army under his command, on the seventh of July, while, on the twelfth, the corporation of London, and on the sixteenth that of Dublin, added their grateful contributions in a similar honourable way. In the metropolis, the public also showed how largely they participated in this feeling of admiration and joyfulness, by brilliant illuminations for three nights. A fête, of unprecedented splendour, was also given at Vauxhall on the twentieth of July, by command of the prince-regent, and under the presidency of the Duke of York; and the consummate skill and extraordinary success of the British hero were also noticed in the speech from the throne on the twenty-second of July, at the close of the parliamentary session.

The Spanish cortes were, simultaneously, overcome with feelings of the deepest gratitude, and, on receiving intelligence of the result of the battle of Vittoria, adopted a series of resolutions expressive of their warmest thanks to Lord Wellington and the allied armies. It was decreed in that assembly, "That *Te Deum* be sung in presence of the cortes—that thanks should be given to the Duke of Ciudad Rodrigo, and the other chiefs, and troops of the combined army—and that there should be a general salute of cannon, as well as an illumination." A deputation was also appointed, to congratulate Sir Henry Wellesley, the British ambassador in Spain, on his brother's success; and an allegorical medal was struck, at the expense of the province of Charcas, and of the city of Plata, in South America, in commemoration of the victory. The cortes also determined on the erection of a monument in the field of Vittoria, "to record to the latest generations that memorable battle."

Senor Arguellas generously proposed "that the cortes do bestow upon the Duke of Ciudad Rodrigo a territorial property out of the national domains, administered on account of the national treasury, for which purpose the regency should propose, to the cortes, what it conceived suitable to the merits of the Duke of Ciudad Rodrigo, and to the generosity of the Spanish nation; and, that the title of possession, which was to be prepared, should contain the following words: "In the name of the Spanish nation, and in testimony of its most sincere gratitude." The motion was unanimously adopted; and the regency, on the twenty-second of July, recommended to the cortes that the estate called Soto de Roma, in the valley of Granada, should be settled on the gallant generalissimo. On the following day a commission of the cortes reported their opinion, that the cortes ought to approve of the appropriation of the said fief to the duke, his heirs, and successors, comprehending in the grant the territory of Las Chanchinas.

The estate of Soto de Roma is situated on the river Xenil, and is valued at from £7000 to £10,000 annually. It contains a small hunting-seat, which had been occupied by Godoy the Prince of Peace, and a large park laid out and planted by the

Emperor Charles V. now abounding with fine timber, and well stocked with game and pheasants. The selection of this estate reflects much credit on the taste and moderation of the Marquis of Wellington, to whose choice three different demesnes were submitted by the Spanish regency, and from which he selected the least valuable but most picturesque.\*

The title of Duke of Vittoria had been conferred on the Marquis of Wellington by the prince-regent of Portugal, some months previous to the battle that was fought at the place of that name, not as a territorial distinction, but merely allegorical of his numerous victories.

\* The estates in Spain, belonging to the Duke of Wellington lie in the lower part of the Vega, about two leagues from Granada, and all the land is capable of irrigation. His grace's estates return about 15,000 dollars per annum; his rents are paid in grain—a fixed quantity, not a proportion of the crop; a plan beginning to be pretty universally followed by other land-owners. The Duke has three hundred tenants, from which it appears that very small farms are held in the Vega of Granada; for if the whole rental be divided by three hundred, the average rent of the possessions will be but fifty dollars each. The tenants upon the Duke's estates are thriving; they pay no taxes; and these estates are exempt from many of the heavy burdens thrown upon land. A composition of six per cent is accepted from the Duke of Wellington in lieu of all demands.—*Inglis's Spain in 1830.*

## CHAP VI.

RETREAT OF THE FRENCH ARMY TO THE PYRENEES—LORD WELLINGTON MARCHES AGAINST CLAUZEL, WHO RETIRES INTO FRANCE—ALL THE FRENCH ARMIES, EXCEPT THAT OF SUCHET, EXPELLED FROM THE PENINSULA—REMONSTRANCE OF LORD WELLINGTON ON THE REMOVAL OF CASTANOS FROM HIS COMMAND—HIS LORDSHIP OFFERS A COMMAND IN GERMANY—THE ANGLO-SICILIAN ARMY CAPTURES FORT SAN FELIPE—SIR JOHN MURRAY LAYS SIEGE TO TARRAGONA—BUT ON A REPORT OF SUCHET'S APPROACH, RAISES IT HASTILY, ABANDONING HIS CANNON AND STORES—TARRAGONA INVESTED BY LORD WILLIAM BENTINCK, WHO RETIRES ON SUCHET'S APPROACH—AFFAIR AT ORDAL—LORD WILLIAM BENTINCK PROPOSES TO WITHDRAW THE ANGLO-SICILIAN ARMY FROM SPAIN—LORD WELLINGTON'S REPLY—UNSUCCESSFUL ATTACK ON SAN SEBASTIAN—MARSHAL SOULT APPOINTED COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE FRENCH ARMIES IN SPAIN—HIS ADDRESS TO THE TROOPS—POSITIONS OF THE ALLIES NEAR THE PYRENEES—SOULT DRIVES BACK PICTON TO XIBIRI—DROUOT OBLIGES HILL TO RETIRE TO ITURITA—LORD WELLINGTON REJOINS THE ARMY NEAR PAMPLONA—DEFEATS SOULT ON THE SPANISH PYRENEES, AND AGAIN DRIVES THE FRENCH OUT OF SPAIN—HIS GENERAL ORDER ON ENCAMPIING ON THE FRENCH FRONTIER—THE TOWN OF SAN SEBASTIAN CARRIED BY STORM—LIBELS ON THE MARQUIS OF WELLINGTON—HIS OPINION OF THE NEWSPAPER PRESS—GALLANT CONDUCT OF THE SPANIARDS AT SAN MARCIAL—DEFEAT OF THE FRENCH AT VERA—SURRENDER OF THE CASTLE OF SAN SEBASTIAN—SURRENDER OF PAMPLONA—FORTIFICATION OF THE ALLIES' POSITIONS ON THE PYRENEES—1813.

PAMPLONA was the first fortified town reached by the wreck of the French army on their retreat from Vittoria. The panic and disorganization among the fugitives were so great as to induce the governor to refuse them admission, on which they attempted to break into the town, and were only prevented by discharges of cannon and musketry from their own countrymen. The French, from dread of their English pursuers, had decided on blowing up the works of this strong fortress, and then forsaking it, and actually commenced the work of destruction, but by Joseph's orders it was garrisoned and furnished with all the provisions and fuel that could be forcibly obtained from the Spaniards in its vicinity. From Pamplona the shattered remains of the beaten armies continued their flight to the Pyrenees, their rear-guard only leaving the town as the right and centre of the allies approached its walls, and invested it, on the twenty-sixth of June.

During the two days immediately succeeding that of the victory, the pursuit of the discomfited army had been greatly

retarded by heavy rains, and still more by the allied troops being engaged in securing their booty. These causes combined saved the retreating enemy from entire annihilation, whose flight towards France, by way of Roncesvalles, was marked by the destruction of all the villages, and assassination of as many of the inhabitants as had not concealed themselves.

On the twenty-fourth, the Marquis of Wellington's headquarters were established at Irurzun, and it appears that he then confidently expected the complete expulsion of the French from Spain; for, writing to his brother Sir Henry Wellesley at Cadiz, he says, "king Joseph and his army must quit Spain, indeed they have already this night retired from Pamplona. I am trying to cut off some of the others, and I shall try to turn them all out of Spain before they can be reinforced."

While the centre and right of the allies were driving the enemy towards St. Jean Pied de Port, in France, the left, under Sir James Graham, advanced in the direction of Bilbao, to cut off General Foy's retreat. His rear-guard was met on the twenty-fourth, near Villa Franca, and being driven from that town, took up a strong position near Tolosa, which on the following day they were compelled to abandon, retiring into Tolosa. This place had been considerably strengthened by the erection of new towers to flank the walls, which had been loop-holed, and by the construction of a strong wooden block-house in the Plaza. The gates also had been barricaded, and were flanked by large buildings occupied by the defenders. The Vittoria gate was, however, burst open by a nine-pounder, and the walls, although strongly defended, quickly mounted, the enemy escaping from the town, which was immediately occupied by the allies, to the great joy of the inhabitants, who felt that they were saved from plunder, and all the other evils inflicted by a retreating French army, while the allied troops avoided the perpetration of any excesses. During these two days the allies lost about four hundred men, and their gallant commander was grazed on the hip by a musket-ball. Foy was pursued to Irun, where he was driven across the Bidassoa into France, by part of the Galician army under Giron, having pre-

viciously destroyed the bridge, and a strong stone block-house, which served as a *tête-de-pont*.

General Foy being thus expelled from Spain, the garrison of Passages surrendered to Longa's Spanish corps, and on the following day the French garrison of Gueteria escaped by sea to San Sebastian, and that of the Castro Udriales to Santona. The garrison of Pancorvo near Burgos also surrendered on the same day, to the Conde de la Bisbal, whose corps, a fortnight later, relieved the allied troops that were blockading Pamplona.

A corps of 14,000 men, under General Clauzel, which was approaching Vittoria the day after the battle, when it was occupied by General Pakenham's division, retreated in the direction of Tudela, which they reached on the twenty-seventh of June. Lord Wellington anxiously wishing to intercept this corps, left the command with Sir Rowland Hill, and marched towards Caseda on the river Aragon. When Clauzel learned his lordship's objects, he retreated upon Zaragoza, where he arrived on the first of July; leaving all his artillery in the castle with a strong garrison, he retired into France by way of Jaca, followed by General Paris with the major part of the garrison, having lost all his artillery, and most of his baggage; Lord Wellington preferring their escape into France, to their joining Marshal Suchet.

The castle of Zaragoza was invested by the Spaniards under Duran and Mina, upon the evacuation of the town by General Paris, and surrendered, with its vast magazines of provisions, ammunition, and artillery on the second of August.

General Reille, who had displayed both courage and talent in the defence of the bridges of Arriaga and Gamarra Mayor, and by his covering the retreat of the confused mass of French troops that fled from Vittoria, afforded them his protection as far as Irurzun, and then crossing the mountains at San Estevan, continued his retreat to Irun, to join the disorganized army of Foy, and assist in defending the French bank of the Bidassoa.

The centre of the defeated army still occupied the valley of Baztan, on the Spanish side of the Pyrenees, which was



extremely fertile, and gave the enemy, when reorganized, the means of attempting to interrupt the blockade of Pamplona, or the siege of San Sebastian, which had been decided on by Lord Wellington. His lordship therefore determined to drive them out of that valley also into France, and sent General Hill, on the fourth of July, to carry his decision into effect, following himself the next day. Slight opposition only was offered by the enemy, who retired into France on the seventh of July, by the pass of Maya.

Thus the French armies of the centre, the south, and of Portugal, which were engaged in the battle of Vittoria, and the corps of Clauzel and Foy, which had received orders to join there, but did not arrive in time to participate in the action, were entirely expelled from Spain, leaving only the corps of Marshal Suchet in that country. This great achievement the skill and energy of the English generalissimo had accomplished in the short interval, between the twenty-second of May and the seventh of July: having, in that period, moved forward his army from Portugal, driven the French before him through Spain, and established the allies on the French frontier from Roncesvalles to the mouth of the Bidassoa.

It might have been reasonably imagined that self-interest, in the absence of gratitude, would have induced the Spanish government to afford cordial support to the deliverer of their country; instead of which, they were constantly creating embarrassment, by interfering with his arrangements; they now ordered General Castanos to repair to Cadiz, and supersede his nephew Giron in the command of the Galician army, not only without consulting the Marquis of Wellington, as commander-in-chief of the Spanish armies, but in opposition to the remonstrances of the English ambassador. His lordship on this occasion wrote an able and spirited letter to the Spanish minister at war, for the information of the regency, dated the second of July, which is interesting from the details it contains of the state of the Spanish army, as well as for the independence of tone, and soundness of reasoning, by which it is characterized.

“Most excellent Sir—I had the honour to receive your excellency’s letter, dated the fifteenth ultimo acquainting me that the regency had thought proper to remove the Captain-General Castanos from the command of the fourth army, in order that he may occupy the place of counsellor of state, because he was not at the head of the fourth army, which the regency had entrusted to him; that General Freire had been appointed captain-general of Estramadura and Castile, and was to command the fourth army; that General Lacy was appointed captain-general of Galicia, and to the command of the troops of that province, independently of the general of the fourth army, and General Giron was to transfer his services to the first army.

“As the constitution of the Spanish monarchy has declared the ministers responsible for acts which are the measures of government; I trust I may venture to address some observations to your excellency on this subject, which I beg you to submit to the regency.

“Justice towards the character of General Castanos, an officer who has served his country in close union with me during the last three years, without there having been a single difference of opinion between us on any matter of importance, compels me to remind your excellency that the local situation of the fourth army, prior to the opening of the campaign, prevented its being formed into a corps, at the head of which the captain-general could be placed, with any regard to propriety, considering the dignity of his office. And even when the union of the fourth army would have been locally practicable, the deplorable state of the royal treasury, and of the resources applicable to its subsistence, would have prevented that corps from remaining united for any length of time.

“Your excellency well knows, that when money is wanting for the maintenance of troops, it is possible that, in a particular district of country, provision may be made for the subsistence of a small number without any pay, but that it is impossible in regard to a large corps of troops, and for this reason, and others relative to the state of discipline and peculiar

organization of some corps, I did not deem it proper that more troops, of the fourth army, should be assembled in one corps than the two divisions composing the army of Galicia, under the command of General Giron.

“It would have been unbecoming and improper, considering the rank and situation of General Castanos, besides being inconvenient, to place him at the head of these two divisions, or any other portion of the fourth army, and for this reason, and at my request, he placed his head-quarters with mine, and those of the Portuguese army.

“Not only has your excellency not attended to these circumstances, in the measure which you recommended to the government in regard to General Castanos, but various other considerations have been overlooked. General Castanos, besides commanding the fourth army, was Captain-General of Estramadura, Castile, and Galicia, and in that capacity had to perform duties of the greatest importance to the public interest, and particularly to the well-being of the army.

“It was one of his duties to establish the Spanish authorities in the different districts and cities which the enemy was successively evacuating, and, considering the nature of the operations of the army, and the peculiar line of march which it pursued, it would have been impossible for him to discharge that obligation, had he been literally at the head of the fourth army, or with the head-quarters, which, from the period of the twenty-fourth of May, were almost every day changing place, without ever entering the high road, or any one capital city, excepting Salamanca, where General Castanos left them.

“It was myself, not General Castanos, who suggested the idea that his excellency should be employed in this manner, and it is necessary for me to say, that considering the manner in which General Giron has commanded in the field the division of the army of Galicia, we should have neglected the welfare of the state, had we not traced out to General Castanos the very line of conduct which he has followed, and for which he now finds himself persecuted and defamed.

“With regard to the arrangements made by your excellency

for the purpose of filling the different offices held by General Castanos and the removal of General Giron (without any complaint being alleged, and without assigning any motive whatever) from the post in which he was placed by General Castanos at my request, and in which he has conducted himself to my entire satisfaction, as I have communicated to the government, I believe that besides the inconveniences and mischiefs which result to the service from this kind of change, especially during military operations, it cannot be denied that they are in direct breach of the contract made with the last regency, and confirmed by the present—an agreement which, as your excellency knows, was that which induced me to take the command of the Spanish army.

“Your excellency also knows that this is not the first instance in which that contract, formed with so much solemnity, and after such mature deliberation, has been violated, and no one can be more fully aware than yourself of the inconveniences which thence result to the good of the service.

“Your excellency is equally well acquainted with my natural disposition, and my wishes to continue to serve the Spanish nation as far as my abilities extend, but forbearance and submission to injuries so great have their limits, and I avow that I have been treated by the Spanish government in these matters in a manner the most improper, even simply as an individual.

“It does not belong to my character, nor am I inclined, to boast of my services to the Spanish nation, but I can at least publicly declare, that I have never abused the powers with which the cortes and the government have entrusted me, even in the most trivial affairs, nor ever employed them towards any other object than that of promoting the good of the service. In confirmation of this truth, I appeal even to your excellency as a witness, and I believe it will be admitted that the circumstances which rendered necessary the formation of the contract above mentioned, equally require its fulfilment, if it is desired that I should be able to retain the command of the army.—WELLINGTON.”

The unworthy motives for these removals appear in a letter addressed to his brother Sir Henry Wellesley, in which his lordship says: "I judge from the measures adopted, that it is intended to carry on the war against the bishops in Galicia, for which I conclude that Castanos and Giron are not considered fit instruments. It will now rest with the archbishop of Santiago, whether or not we shall have a civil war in our rear. If we have, we must take leave of all our communications, and all our supplies of all descriptions, and we shall soon feel the consequences. To be sure, it will be droll enough if, having commenced the war in Spain, and continued it to this moment with the clergy and people in our favour, and against the French, they and we were to change sides, and, after all our victories, we should be compelled to withdraw by having the clergy and people against us."

His lordship also addressed Lord Bathurst on this pressing subject, and—besides communicating the same ideas on the removal of Castanos, the opposition of the cortes to the clergy and the people, and the probability of this conduct destroying the attachment of the Spaniards to the English, and inducing them to unite with the French—he, almost prophetically, described the effects that must flow from the republican principles of the leading members of the cortes.

"We and the powers of Europe," observed his lordship, "are interested in the success of the war in the Peninsula, but the creatures who govern Cadiz appear to feel no such interest. All that they care about really is to hear the praise of their foolish constitution. There is not one of them who does not feel that it cannot be put in practice, but their vanity is interested to force it down people's throats. Their feelings respecting the inquisition are of the same kind. I apprized them when at Cadiz of the danger of hurrying on that measure, and it was repeatedly represented to them by others. But they are determined to persevere, although they knew that the abolition of the inquisition was disagreeable to the clergy, and to the great body of the people. Then their vanity is interested in forcing this absurd measure, and the still more

absurd, because insulting mode of carrying it into execution upon the clergy and people. The bishops and clergy in Galicia have openly resisted this law, and I understand that the people in that province are by no means favourably disposed to the constitution, and new order of things. In Biscay the people positively refused last year to accept the constitution, as being a breach of the privileges of their province.

"I mention this subject at present, in order to draw the attention of government towards it. Hereafter I shall bring it under your lordship's view in a more formal manner, and it will rest with government to determine what shall be done. It appears to me, that as long as Spain shall be governed by the cortes acting upon republican principles, we cannot hope for any amelioration. To threaten that you would withdraw your assistance;—without withdrawing, if there were no amelioration, would only make matters worse. You must be the best judges, whether you can or ought to withdraw, but I acknowledge that I do not believe that Spain will be a useful ally, or at all in alliance with England, if the republican system is not put down."

Lord Wellington was not only annoyed by the unwise policy of the Spanish government, but by the English minister also, who neglected to maintain a blockading squadron on the north coast of Spain, by which the expeditious removal of his ammunition from Portugal by sea was retarded, and the French were enabled to support San Sebastian, and relieve or withdraw their other garrisons on that coast. Of this inconvenience and injury to the prosecution of the war, he thus complained to Lord Bathurst, on the tenth of July, "I am certain that it will not be denied, that since Great Britain has been a naval power, a British army has never been left in such a situation, and that at a moment when it is most important to us to preserve, and to the enemy to interrupt the communication by the coast. If they only take the ship with our shoes, we must halt for six weeks."

It was just two days after the transmission of this just complaint, that the deliverer of Spain and Portugal was offered the

command of an army in Germany, opposed to Napoleon ; but even the glorious prospect of vanquishing the greatest monarch and warrior whose exploits are recorded in history, could not dazzle or dim the clear judgment of the British chieftain—he declined the great honour which Europe presented, it was not yet his hour. “In regard to my going to Germany,” replied Lord Wellington, “I am the prince-regent’s servant, and will do whatever he and his government pleases. But I would beg them to recollect, that the great advantages which I enjoy here, consist in the confidence that every body feels that I am doing what is right—which advantage I should not enjoy, for a time at least, in Germany. Many might be found to conduct matters as well as I can, both here and in Germany, but nobody could enjoy the same advantage here, and I should be no better than another in Germany. If a British army should be left in the Peninsula, therefore, it is best that I should remain with it.”

The Anglo-Sicilian army, which had wintered at Alicante, were now desired to prepare for active service, and the siege of Tarragona was to be their first operation. Embarking on the thirty-first of May, under the command of Sir John Murray, and escorted by a squadron under Admiral Hallowell, they disembarked on the third of June, and invested that place the same day.

While the expedition was on its passage, Lieutenant-Colonel Prevost’s brigade was convoyed by the *Invincible*, Captain Adam, and twelve other vessels, to the attack of fort San Felipe, in the Col de Balaguer, where they effected a safe landing on the third of June. This fort was defended by twelve pieces of ordnance, and surrounded by almost inaccessible heights which rendered the labour of planting guns and mortars near it incalculable. Its capture, however, was considered important, as it commanded the road from Tortosa to Tarragona. A party of seamen and marines having been landed, and some Spanish brigades that were sent by General Copone to act with Colonel Prevost, arriving, two batteries and two mortars were placed near the fort, although the work was

much impeded by tempestuous weather, but on the seventh, just when the breaching battery was preparing to open its fire, the fort surrendered on condition of the garrison being permitted to march out with the honours of war, and the officers and men retaining their private property. This enterprise, which was conducted with a degree of energy, skill, and courage that was honourable to all the parties engaged in it, was unhappily the only successful result of the Alicante expedition, a contrary fate attending every other operation of this little force.

Sir John Murray having decided on attacking Tarragona on the western, which was the weakest side, ordered three batteries to be raised opposite Fuerte Real and the ruins of the bastion of San Carlos, which latter had been partially repaired, and on the morning of the eighth, a practicable breach was reported in the former. The assault was, however, deferred till the eleventh, when it was resolved that a false attack should be made on all the enemy's fortifications by the troops, supported by the bomb-vessels and gun-boats, while a serious attempt should be made to carry Fuerte Real by storm. Before, however, the hour fixed for the assault arrived, Sir John Murray having received exaggerated intelligence that Marshal Suchet was advancing with twelve thousand men from Tortosa, and Generals Decaen and Maurice Mathieu with eight thousand from Barcelona, instantly raised the siege, abandoning all his heavy artillery, ammunition, and stores.

In General Murray's apology for the relinquishment of his artillery when the enemy were supposed to be at least two days' march from him, and when the Anglo-Sicilian and Spanish army of Copone exceeded the French, according to his own statement, by two thousand men, he says—"The weather being favourable on the eleventh, on which I could not depend for another day, and therefore having taken my part, I immediately put it in execution, and I regret to say, that I was in consequence obliged to leave the guns in the most advanced batteries. Had I remained another day, they might have been brought off, but this risk I would not run, when the existence of the



army was at stake, not only from unfavourable weather, but from the appearance of an enemy, in whose presence I could not perhaps have embarked at all—certainly not without suffering a great loss, and without the possibility of deriving any advantage. I have only further at this time to add, should blame be attached to the failure of the expedition, no share of it can fall on Admiral Hallowell, who conducted the naval part of it. From that distinguished officer I have met with every co-operation and assistance in his power, and I think it only justice to him to say, that it was his opinion that the cannoa in the batteries might have been saved by remaining till the night, and that they then could have been brought off. This, however, was a risk I did not wish to run for so trifling an object, and preferred losing them, to the chance of the embarkation being opposed, and of an eventual much more serious loss."

Lord Wellington was extremely chagrined at the disgraceful issue of this attack, and recommended that if Lord William Bentinck, who had arrived on the seventeenth of June, and assumed the command of the Anglo-Sicilian army, should return to Sicily, Sir John Murray should not again be left commander of that army. At the conclusion of the war, General Murray was arraigned before a court-martial, for his conduct at Tarragona; which acquitted him of intentional disobedience, but found him guilty of an error in judgment in abandoning artillery, and stores, which might have been safely embarked.

Lord William Bentinck conducted Murray's army back to Alicante: there, hearing of the success at Vittoria, he decided on pursuing Suchet. But that general, after the defeat of Joseph and Jourdan, had taken a position behind the Lobregat, where he remained until the middle of August, at which period he advanced against Lord William, who had resumed the siege of Tarragona on the second of the month. The Anglo-Sicilian army being, in every point of view, inferior to the French, raised the siege on the fifteenth, falling back to Cam-bills, upon which Suchet blew up the works, destroyed the artillery and stores, and then retired again behind the Lobregat,

Lord William taking up a position at Villa Franca to watch him, with an advanced post at Ordal, about ten miles from his head-quarters. This post, consisting of one British, one Calabrian, and three Spanish battalions, had its pickets suddenly driven in on the night of the twelfth of September, by a large body of the enemy. The allies, who had four guns, fought bravely, but, being greatly out-numbered, lost their guns, had one thousand men killed, wounded, or made prisoners, and finally fell back in disorder to Villa Franca; and Suchet still approaching, supported by Decaen, caused Lord William Bentinck to retire upon Tarragona. During the retreat, a vigorous attack was made by a regiment of cuirassiers on the Brunswick hussars, which was as gallantly repelled.

Although the Anglo-Sicilian army, and the Spanish corps co-operating with it, had been singularly unfortunate, they had, by occupying Suchet's attention, at least prevented his army from acting against Lord Wellington. Immediately, however, after Lord William Bentinck's arrival from Sicily to assume the command, he renewed his proposal of withdrawing the Anglo-Sicilians, under the plea that Sicily was in danger, and that they might be more usefully employed, in conjunction with Murat, in revolutionizing Italy. To the first proposal, Lord Wellington wrote the following laconic reply, dated the first of July.

"My Lord: In answer to your lordship's despatch of the twentieth, I have to observe, that I conceive that the island of Sicily is at present in no danger whatever.—I have the honour to be, &c."

In reference to revolutionizing Italy, his lordship said, in another letter to Lord William, "I entertain no doubt that the English and Murat, or the English and any other power, that could put thirty thousand or forty thousand men in the field, would create a revolution in Italy.

"It is very difficult to form an opinion of Murat's sincerity, but I am quite certain he will do nothing, unless the Emperor of Austria should take a line with the allies. In that case he will probably conclude with you. If he should conclude with

you, I authorize you to embark from Spain all your Anglo-Sicilian corps, and take them where you please, in order to carry into execution your treaty with Murat."

The blockade of Pamplona having been entrusted to the Spaniards, under the Conde de la Bisbal, Lord Wellington determined on besieging San Sebastian. This place, which was difficult of access, and defended by three thousand five hundred men, was invested in the early part of July, and the first parallel opened on the twelfth. Sir Thomas Graham directed the operations, which were carried on by the fifth division, under Major-General Oswald, including Hay and Robinson's British, and Spry's Portuguese brigades. Batteries having been thrown up on the sand-hills opposite the eastern sea-wall of the fortress, which had been breached by Marshal Berwick in 1719, they commenced playing upon the convent of San Bartolomé, and on an unfurnished redoubt near it, and the convent was soon laid open. A false attack having been ordered to be made upon it, which the troops converted into a real, but unsuccessful one, red-hot shot were employed to drive out the garrison; but this expedient failing, it was resolved to attempt the possession of the convent and redoubt by storm. Accordingly, on the seventeenth, General Hay was directed to cross the ravine near the river Urumea, which washes the northern side of the town, and attack the redoubt, General Bradford at the same time directing all his efforts against the convent. Major-General Oswald having ordered the attack to be made at ten in the morning, the convent garrison was taken by surprise; a heavy fire was now kept up against the assailing party from the town and castle, and reinforcements were also sent to the convent, but they were driven through the village of San Martin, which had been burnt by the French, along with the fugitives from the convent and redoubt. In this attack the allies lost about seventy men, by passing through San Martin to the glacis in pursuit of the enemy, in direct disobedience of the orders which they had received "not to advance beyond that village."

Approaches having been made, both to the right and left

from San Martin, the batteries opened on the twentieth, and in the evening the enemy abandoned a small circular work, made of casks, on the causeway. A parallel, across the sandy isthmus which connects the town and castle with the mainland, having been commenced, an aqueduct leading into the town was discovered; part of this structure was converted into a mine to throw up earth against the escarpe, and make a way over it, by which the town might be entered. The assault having been postponed to the twenty-fourth, when much of the town had been burnt, and three breaches had been made in the walls, General Hay's brigade advanced to the assault an hour before daylight, Spry's and Robinson's brigades, and part of Wilson's, forming a reserve in the trenches. From the trenches to the first breach that was to be mounted three hundred yards were exposed to the enemy's fire, and shot, shells, hand-grenades, and stones were poured upon the assailing column, with the most destructive effect. The breach and walls were also covered with burning planks and beams. It was, however, gallantly mounted, and the mine in the aqueduct being sprung, and destroying a considerable part of the counterscarp and glacis, the explosion so terrified the defenders of the breach, that they hastily abandoned it: but now the Portuguese, who were to have mounted also, and taken advantage of the panic, not being provided with scaling ladders, the enemy rallied, and nearly the whole of the assailants perished. The summit of another breach had been gained by Lieutenant Jones of the engineers and nine men of the first royals, but a mine was now sprung, and the supporters removed from a false bridge, when the troops that were following these brave fellows were either blown up, or precipitated to the base of the wall. These failures occasioned such a panic among the rest of the storming party, that they despaired of success, and retired with the loss of eight hundred men and forty-five officers.

Intelligence of this complete failure being communicated to Lord Wellington, he hastened from Lesaca, where headquarters had been established to enable him to communicate readily with the besieging army, for the purpose of making

arrangements for the conduct of the siege, but finding that the stock of ammunition was totally unequal to his objects, he converted the siege into a blockade, until fresh supplies should be received from England, and placed the battering-train in Passages: returning to Lesaca, he received information that Soult was again attempting to penetrate into Spain; his whole attention was now required, in that quarter, to out-manceuvre and defeat that able veteran and profound tactician.\*

When Napoleon was informed that the French army, under the pseudo-king Joseph, had retired beyond the Ebro, (but before intelligence of the ruinous issue of the battle of Vittoria reached him), he had appointed Marshal Soult lieutenant and commander-in-chief of the French armies in Spain, and the southern part of France, by an imperial decree, dated July the first. The marshal assumed the command on the thirteenth, and on the twenty-third issued a proclamation to his troops, from which the following extracts, relating to the war in the Peninsula, and generously acknowledging the military talents of Lord Wellington, are made.

\* Marshal Soult, Duke of Dalmatia, was born about 1770, and entered the army as a private soldier, when only sixteen years of age. In 1792, his good conduct and reputation as a military instructor, occasioned his appointment to an adjutant-majorship in the national guards, in which he soon rose to the rank of adjutant-general. At the battle of Fleurus, fought on the twenty-seventh of June, 1794, Soult was chief of the staff to Lefevre's division, and opposed Marceau, who commanded the right wing of the French army, and who, having been defeated by Beaulieu, wished Lefevre to let him have four battalions of his division to recover his position, threatening to commit suicide if refused. Marceau, irritated at Soult's opposition, challenged him to fight on the following day; to which he replied, "Whether to-day or to-morrow, you will always find me ready to tell you the truth, and pay you the respect I owe you. Do not kill yourself, but fight in your ranks, and when we shall have secured our position, you shall have the battalions you wish for." The Prince of Coburg immediately afterwards charged Lefevre's division repeatedly and with great impetuosity, but Soult was always at the most dangerous post, to repel him. By six p.m. all the army of the Moselle was retreating, except Lefevre's division, and he also was going to withdraw, when Soult entreated him to wait, persevere, and keep his ground, as he inferred, from the movements of the enemy's second line, that they were going to retire. Jourdan, the commander-in-chief, who, being in a balloon above the scene of

“Soldiers ! While Germany was the theatre of great events, that enemy, who under pretence of succouring the inhabitants of the Peninsula, has in reality devoted them to ruin, was not inactive. He assembled the whole of the disposable force,

action, could see all the manoeuvres, speedily confirmed the correctness of Soult's anticipations by sending an order to Lefevre's division to advance ; and the Prince of Coburg, after being engaged for eighteen hours, fell back in good order. Marceau then said to Lefevre, “The chief of your staff is a man of merit, he will soon bring himself into notice ;” to which Lefevre replied, “Yes, he is passable, I am satisfied with him, he conducts the business of my staff pretty well.” Marceau then held out his hand to Soult, saying, “General, I have to beg that you will forget the past ; and although from my rank I am destined to give you instructions, yet I have received such a lesson from you to-day, as I shall not forget while I live. It is you alone who have gained the battle of Fleurus.” Having attained the rank of general of division, he accompanied Massena into Italy and was wounded at Genoa, and, with his brother, made prisoner, but exchanged on his recovery, and made commander-in-chief of the army of observation of the kingdom of Naples. Napoleon appointed him colonel-general of the foot chasseurs of the consular-guard, and was so much gratified at the improved discipline of that corps under Soult's instructions, that he gave him the chief command of the camp of Boulogne. Being in command of the right wing of the French army at the battle of Austerlitz, Napoleon sent him an order to attack instantly, and obtain possession of the heights of Pratzen ; on which Soult told the aide-de-camp “that he would commence the attack as soon as he could do it successfully, but that it was not yet the proper time.” Buonaparte was much enraged at his reply, and sent a second messenger with peremptory orders. In the interim, the enemy had weakened their centre by extending their left ; upon which Soult immediately fell upon them, and all who opposed him were either killed or captured. Napoleon, who saw from a height the important results of the general's movements, approached Soult at full gallop, and embracing him before all his staff, said, “My Lord Marshal Soult, I esteem you as the most able tactician of my empire.” To which Soult replied by a gratifying compliment, “Sire, I believe it, since your majesty has the goodness to tell me so.” His military skill was conspicuous in the battle of Jena, and he saved the French army after the defeat of Augereau's corps at Eylau by keeping General Beningsen's army in check ; and when Napoleon wished to retreat, said to him, “Let us remain where we are, sire, for though we have been dreadfully mauled, we shall pass for conquerors if we remain the last on the field of battle, and I have observed some movements in the Russian army which induce me to think that the enemy will effect his retreat during the night.” Buonaparte acted on Soult's opinion, the correctness of which was soon established by the retreat of the Russians. The active part which Soult took in the Peninsular war down to 1812, has been already related in these volumes ; the conclusion of his brilliant career is also associated with the military memoirs of Lord Wellington.

English, Spanish, and Portuguese, under his most experienced officers, and, relying on the superiority of his numbers, advanced in three divisions against the French force assembled on the Douro. With well-provided fortresses in his front and rear, a skilful general, enjoying the confidence of his troops, might, by selecting good positions, have braved and discomfited this motley levy. But, unhappily, at this critical period timorous and pusillanimous counsels were followed. The fortresses were abandoned and blown up, hasty and disorderly marches gave confidence to the enemy, and a veteran army, small indeed in number, but great in all that constitutes a military character, which had fought, bled, and triumphed in every province of Spain, beheld with indignation its laurels tarnished, and itself compelled to abandon all its acquisitions—the trophies of many a well-fought and bloody day.

“When at length the indignant voice of the troops arrested this disgraceful flight, and its commander, touched with shame, yielded to the general desire, and determined upon giving battle near Vittoria—who can doubt, from this generous enthusiasm, this fine sense of honour, what would have been the result, had the general been worthy of his troops! had he, in short, made those dispositions and movements which would have secured to one part of the army the co-operation and support of the other.

“Let us not, however, defraud the enemy of the praise that is due to him. *The dispositions and arrangements of their general have been prompt, skilful, and consecutive. The value and steadiness of his troops have been praise-worthy.*—Yet do not forget that it is to the benefit of your example they owe their present military character, and that whenever the relative duties of a French general and his troops have been ably fulfilled, their enemies have commonly had no other resource than flight.

“Soldiers! I partake of your chagrin, your grief, your indignation. I know that the blame of the present situation of the army is imputable to others—be the merit of repairing it yours. I have borne testimony to the emperor of your bravery

and zeal. His instructions are to drive the enemy from these lofty heights, which enable them proudly to survey our fertile vallies, and chase them across the Ebro. It is on the Spanish soil that your tents must next be pitched, and from thence your resources drawn. No difficulties can be insurmountable to your valour and devotion. Let us then exert ourselves with mutual ardour, and be assured that nothing can give greater felicity to the paternal heart of the emperor, than the knowledge of the triumph of his army—of its increasing glory—of its having rendered itself worthy of him and our country. Extensive but combined movements for the relief of the fortresses are upon the eve of taking place. They will be completed in a few days. Let the account of our successes be dated from Vittoria, and the birth of his imperial majesty be celebrated in that city, so shall we render memorable an epoch deservedly dear to all Frenchmen.”

Preparatory to the execution of his plan for the relief of Pamploña and San Sebastian, Soult re-organized his troops, amounting to seventy-eight thousand men, and named his force “the army of Spain.” This great army was divided into the right wing under Comte Reille, the left commanded by General Clauzel, the centre headed by General Drouet, Comte D’Erlon, and the reserve under the conduct of General Villatte. The cavalry consisted of two divisions of dragoons, led on by Generals Treilhard and Tilly, and a light division was committed to the direction of Pierre Soult, the marshal’s brother.

When Soult assumed the command of “the army of Spain,” the allies occupied the following positions, on a line extending for sixty miles along the Pyrenees. Major General Byng’s brigade of British infantry, and Morillo’s Spanish foot, were posted on the extreme right at the pass of Roncesvalles; Lieutenant-General Sir Lowry Cole, with the fourth division, was stationed at Biscaret, to support Byng; and the third, General Picton’s division, at Olaque, in reserve: these formed the right wing. Sir Rowland Hill was placed in the valley of Baztan with Walker’s and Pringle’s brigades, near the Puerto de Maya, the Conde de Amarante’s Portuguese division east-



ward of that place, about five leagues from Roncesvalles, and General Archibald Campbell's brigade of Portuguese at Los Alduides, within the French frontier. The remainder of the second division formed a reserve in the valley; and the sixth, under General Pack, were placed at San Estevan. The light division under Baron Alten, and the seventh under Lord Dalhousie, held the heights of Santa Barbara, the town of Vera, and the Puerto de Echalar, from which they communicated with the valley of Baztan: these formed the centre. The left wing, comprising the first and fifth divisions under Sir Thomas Graham, was employed in the siege of San Sebastian, and was covered by Lord Aylmer's brigade, and Freyre's (late Giron's) Spanish corps, on the Bidassoa, while Longa's troops connected the centre and extreme left.

Marshal Soult, taking advantage of the absence of Lord Wellington, who was near to San Sebastian, and therefore at a considerable distance from the Pyrenean passes, on the twenty-fifth of July attacked General Byng, at Roncesvalles, with thirty-five thousand men. Sir Lowry Cole advanced to his relief with the fourth division, and their united forces obstinately defended the pass, against superior numbers and equal valour, but were compelled to retire at night-fall to the neighbourhood of Zubiri, the enemy having succeeded in turning their position. While Soult was thus occupied, Drouet, with thirteen thousand troops, surprised the position of the allies at Maya, the videttes having fallen asleep, and drove back their pickets and advanced guard, with the loss of four guns and about sixteen hundred men. Part of the seventh division, however, coming up, the key of their position was recovered: but Sir Rowland Hill, understanding that it was the intention of Sir Lowry Cole to retreat, withdrew the division in the night to Iturita. It was late on the evening of the twenty-fifth, when Lord Wellington, who was at Lesaca, received intelligence of these disasters; he was much chagrined by the misconduct of the watches, and the loss sustained near Maya, and lost not a moment in setting out for the army, to restore confidence, to check and oppose Soult.

As he approached Sorauren, from Pamplona, he discovered the enemy advancing towards the village, a movement which would prevent the progress of Hill's corps in that direction. His lordship instantly alighted from his horse, and with his pencil wrote a memorandum, ordering General Hill to march on Lizasso; the enemy, almost at that moment, entering Sorauren, he had just time to gallop out at the one end, while his aide-de-camp escaped at the other.

When General Picton had fully ascertained that Cole was retreating, he advanced to strengthen him with the third division, and, taking the command, ordered a retreat towards Pamplona, the French army greatly exceeding in numbers that which was under his orders. As he approached Huarte, he decided on opposing Soult's advance, but immediately afterwards received orders from Lord Wellington to halt there, accompanied by intelligence that La Bisbal was marching to his support. Shortly after the troops had obeyed this welcome summons, the arrival of Lord Wellington was announced; as he galloped down the line he was greeted with loud cheers, and his veteran legions already anticipated a glorious commemoration of the battle of Talavera.

On the twenty-seventh, the allies were principally stationed on or near the Sierra de Oricain, the enemy occupying a parallel ridge, separated from the Sierra by a deep ravine. The action on that day commenced by Soult's attacking a steep hill near the Roncesvalles extremity of the ridge, which was defended by a Portuguese battalion and the Spanish regiment of Praira. The attack was bravely repulsed, but, as preparations were being made for its renewal, Lord Wellington strengthened this important post with the fortieth English regiment and that of El Principe; and this force maintained the hill, against repeated assaults of the enemy, for two successive days.

The sixth division arrived from San Estevan on the morning of the twenty-eighth, and, while taking up a position opposite Sorauren, was attacked by a strong detachment from that village. The enemy were, however, exposed to so tremendous a fire from the sixth division in their front, from the fourth on their right, and Campbell's brigade of Portuguese in

their rear, that they fell into disorder, and retreated with great loss; during their expulsion by General Ross, they also suffered severely from a party lodged in a chapel at Sorauren, from which they had previously driven the seventh caçadores.

Soult now made a general, furious, and long-continued attack on the allies' front; but only succeeded in dislodging one Portuguese regiment from its position, which obliged General Ross's brigade to fall back. This advantage was, however, but temporary, for, Lord Wellington ordering the twenty-seventh and forty-eighth English regiments to charge with the bayonet, and the Portuguese regiment having rallied, and General Ross's brigade returning with it to the charge, the French were thrown back with enormous loss. While these scenes of slaughter were being acted, Lord Wellington was personally exposed to imminent danger, the height on which he stood, and whence his eye could command the whole field, being within musket-range of the enemy. He escaped, however, uninjured, to gather fresh laurels for himself, and confer new benefits on his country, although a ball which glanced from the Marquis of Worcester's sword-belt and unhorsed him, passed through his lordship's sash. Lord Wellington had not expected any fighting on the twenty-eighth, and was actually giving expression to that opinion in a letter to General Graham, when he was interrupted by a heavy fusillade.

There was a cessation of hostilities on the twenty-ninth, on which day General Drouet joined Marshal Soult: so that the whole concentrated French army of Spain was now able to act against little more than half of the allied troops. The French commander-in-chief now endeavoured, by attacking General Hill's corps at Lizasso, to turn the left of the allies, success in which would have enabled him to relieve San Sebastian: he had been obliged to relinquish all hopes of raising the blockade of Pamplona, although he had so nearly accomplished that important object, that the Conde de la Bisbal had even commenced 'spiking the guns of the blockading force, and the garrison, encouraged by the near approach of the French, had made a bold sortie, and taken fourteen pieces of artillery from the Spaniards.

Early on the morning of the thirtieth of July the enemy advanced, in great force, towards the mountains southward of Lanz, upon which Lord Wellington directed the Earl of Dalhousie to turn the enemy's right in the valley of Lanz, and General Pieton to turn his left by the road to Roncesvalles, while he made arrangements for attacking his centre. All these profoundly skilful manœuvres succeeded, and the enemy was compelled to abandon his nearly impregnable position, almost without a struggle, and retire towards France before the victors.

While the English commander-in-chief was thus driving Marshal Soult from every position, Drouet had obliged Sir Rowland Hill to retire from Lizasso to a range of hills near Eguarras, which he maintained against all the enemy's efforts to dislodge him. Lord Wellington had now advanced in pursuit of the main French army to Olague, in Drouet's rear, which induced that general to retire in the night to the pass of Dona Maria; the marquis, on the following day, advanced to Iturita, in order to turn that position also, ordering Generals Hill and Dalhousie to advance at the same time, and attack Drouet on the right and left, orders which they executed with great energy and success. On the following day, the pursuit, which was only interrupted by a dense and sudden fog, was resumed, and many prisoners and much baggage were taken; and on the first of August, Spain was again delivered from a French army, with the exception of Suchet's corps.

The French admit that in the battles of the Spanish Pyrenees they lost above thirteen thousand men; the loss of the allies was about six thousand, and included among the wounded Generals Stewart and Pack, Colonels Grant, Gordon, Wallace, Cameron, Hill, and Fenwick, and Majors Gomm, Mac Kenzie, Mitchell, M'Pherson, Wilson, Despard, Wood, White, Moore, and Fitzgerald. No officer of high rank was killed, although from the nature of the ground they were necessarily much exposed.

The battles of the Spanish Pyrenees completely disappointed Soult's expectations of relieving Pamplona and San Sebastian, and of celebrating Napoleon's birth-day at Vittoria. He had

accomplished none of these objects, but, on the contrary, had lost a considerable number of his troops, and dispirited the remainder; while the English army became still more strongly convinced of their superiority over the French, and that their own commander understood military tactics better even than that general whom Napoleon had pronounced to be "the best tactician in his empire."

As the allies were now posted on the Pyrenees overlooking France, some of their posts being even within the frontier, the Marquis of Wellington, on the ninth of July, felt it necessary to issue the following general order for the regulation of the conduct of his troops while on the French frontier:—"1. The commander of the forces is anxious to direct the attention of the officers of the army to the situation in which they have hitherto been amongst the people of Portugal and Spain, and that in which they may hereafter find themselves among those of the frontiers of France.—2. Every military precaution must henceforward be used, to obtain intelligence and prevent surprise; general and superior officers at the head of detached corps, will take care to keep a constant communication with the corps upon their right and left, and with their rear; and the soldiers and their followers must be prevented from leaving their camps and cantonments on any account whatever.—3. Notwithstanding that these precautions are absolutely necessary as the country in front of the army is the enemy's, the commander of the forces is particularly desirous that the inhabitants should be well treated, and private property must be respected.—4. Officers and soldiers must recollect that their nations are at war with France, solely because the ruler of the French nation will not allow them to be at peace, and is desirous of forcing them to submit to his yoke; and they must not forget that the worst of the evils suffered by the enemy in his profligate invasion of Spain and Portugal, have been occasioned by the irregularities of his soldiers and their cruelties, authorized and encouraged by their chiefs, towards the unfortunate and peaceful inhabitants of the country.—5. To revenge this conduct upon the peaceable inhabitants of

France, would be unmanly, and unworthy of the nations to whom the commander of the forces now addresses himself, and at all events would be the occasion of similar and worse evils to the army at large, than those which the enemy's army has suffered in the Peninsula, and would eventually prove highly injurious to the public interests.—6. The rules, therefore, which have been hitherto observed in requiring, and taking, and giving receipts for the supplies from the country, are to be continued in the villages on the French frontiers, and the commissaries attached to each of the armies, of the several nations, will receive the orders from the commander-in-chief of the army of his nation, respecting the mode and period of paying such supplies."

This order is remarkable, not only for its justice and humanity, but also for its sound policy, and probably had a considerable effect in preventing the French peasantry from rising against the allies, although their national unity was so deeply wounded by the invasion of their country.

In the early part of August, the Duc de Berri announced to the Marquis of Wellington, that twenty thousand men, organized and armed, were ready in the south of France to rally round the Bourbon standard, and proposed that he should place himself at their head, and join the allies. His lordship referred this letter to the secretary for foreign affairs in London, for consideration; and in his despatch to Lord Bathurst, dated Lesaca, August eighteenth, adds—"That the interests of the house of Bourbon, and of all Europe, were the same, viz. in some manner or other to get the better and rid of Buonaparte. The dominion of Napoleon rested internally upon the most extensive and expensive system of corruption that was ever established in any country, and externally upon his military power, which was supported by foreign contributions. If he should be confined to the limits of France by any means, his system must fall. Though it might be a question with the house of Bourbon, whether they would involve their partisans in France, upon any thing short of a declaration from the European powers leagued against Buonaparte, not to lay down

their arms until he should be dethroned, yet there could be none with the allies, whether they would receive the assistance offered."

The French being now a second time expelled from Spain, Lord Wellington determined upon reducing San Sebastian and Pamplona. For this purpose the battering-train and stores, which had been removed from the works before San Sebastian to Passages, and embarked there, were relanded on the sixth of August; but it was not till the nineteenth that the long expected convoy arrived from England with an efficient train, ordnance, and ammunition. The transports also brought a company of sappers and miners, and Sir George Collier landed a number of men and guns from the squadron, to co-operate in the siege.

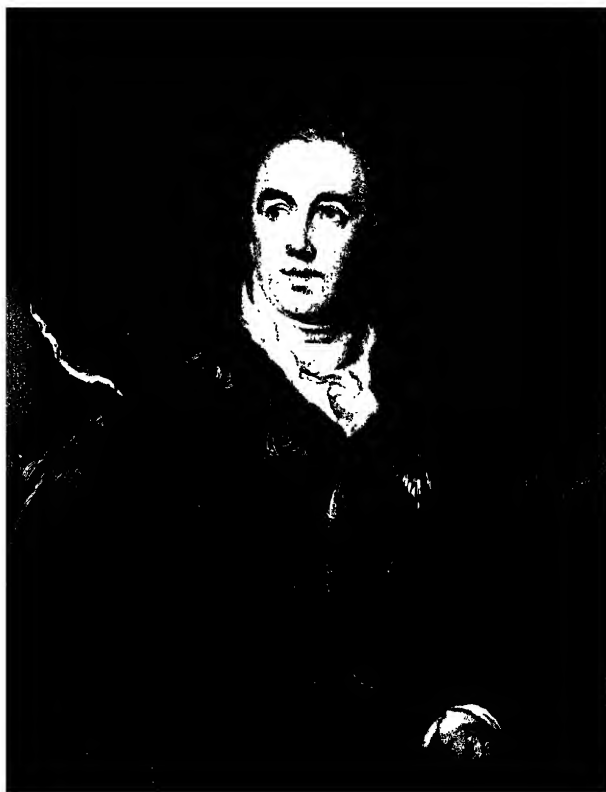
It is a remarkable circumstance, that although England possessed the largest navy in the world, a sufficient number of ships was never stationed on the coasts of Spain and Portugal, effectively to blockade the ports that were in the enemy's hands, or even to transport artillery and stores, from Lisbon or Corunna, to the immediate seat of the war. To this may be attributed the facility with which the French maintained the communication by sea, between San Sebastian and St. Jean de Luz, and Bayonne, which enabled them to supply the beleaguered fortress with supplies of all kinds, and with surgeons, artillerymen, and sappers. His lordship, who had frequently been inconvenienced by the want of naval assistance, remonstrated on this subject, with Viscount Melville, the first lord of the Admiralty, in a despatch dated the twenty-first of August, 1813, from Lesaca.

"My dear lord—I have received your letter of the twenty-eighth of July. I do not know what Sir Charles Stewart has written to government regarding want of naval means on the Lisbon station. What I have written has been founded upon my own sense of the want of naval assistance on this coast, as well as on the coast of Portugal; and I assure you, that I neither know nor care what has passed or may pass in parliament, or in the newspapers, on the subject.









ROBERT SMULDERS DUNDAS, F.R.S. & F.A.S. OF N. AMERICA

*Melville*



“I complain of an actual want of necessary naval assistance and co-operation with the army, of which I believe no man will entertain a doubt who reads the facts stated in my reports to government. I know nothing about the cause of the evil. It may be owing to a general deficiency of naval force, for all the objects to which it is necessary to attend in an extended system of war. It may be owing to a proper preference of other services over this, or it may be owing to the inapplication of the force entrusted to their command by the admirals and captains. I state the fact, which nobody will deny, and leave it to government to apply a remedy or not, as they may think proper, hoping only that they will let me know whether they propose to apply a remedy or not.

“As far as I am concerned, I have no objection to the whole or any part of the army being employed in expeditions against the French and American posts, if the government think that policy preferable to that which they have followed lately. I may entertain an opinion upon the subject, but as the commander of the army, I should not think it necessary to say one word on the subject, any more than I shall regarding the deficiency of the naval means to assist us as we ought to be assisted by the navy, when I shall know from government that they do not propose to give us any more.

“It will then remain for me to see whether the service can be carried on during the winter, under the circumstances of the delays and disappointments to which we are now liable, from the want of security for vessels to sail on the coast singly, and from the want of convoys for them to sail together, and to report to government if I should find it cannot.

“I beg to observe, that the circumstances of the coast of Portugal are very different from those of the Channel, in regard to the facilities which the enemy has of interrupting the communication, and it is, for many reasons, much more easy to guard: the inconveniences also to which the public service is exposed from the want of the secure navigation of the coast of Spain and Portugal, by the army, are of a far greater magnitude than those suffered by the want of security on the coasts

of the Channel. If the insecurity should be of any considerable duration in point of time, it will affect the army in its bread and corn; and the truth is, that the delay of any one ship affects the operations of the army, as I assure you that we have not more of anything than we want; and the delay or loss of some particular ships loaded with ordnance or military stores would go to impede all the operations of the campaign. For instance, we have done literally nothing since the second of August, because there was a mistake regarding the preparation of an ordnance equipment, which was afterwards delayed by contrary winds, and the delay for want of convoy, or capture on the coast, of a vessel having on board ammunition or stores, commonly called camp equipments, would just stop the operations of the army till the ammunition or stores could be replaced. For this reason, I acknowledge that I should differ from you in thinking this the last point to be attended to. Allowing for the partiality I may be disposed to feel for it, I should think that, considering the expense already incurred by keeping this army in the field, it would be bad policy to cramp their operations by leaving the maritime communications insecure.

“I shall not trouble you with the facts, as they will come before you from another quarter, and I believe nobody will deny that either we have not sufficient naval means, or that they are misapplied. But besides these facts, I assure you that there is not an hour in the day, in which some statement does not come before me of the inconvenience resulting from the want of naval means; and even while writing this letter, the commissary-general has been here to complain that his empty provision-ships are detained at Santander for want of convoy.—Believe me, &c. WELLINGTON.”

Sir Thomas Graham being now in possession of a sufficient number of mortars, and other necessary means, recommenced the siege of San Sebastian on the twenty-sixth of August, directing his fire against the towers flanking the curtain on the eastern face, the demibastion on the south-eastern angle, and the end of the curtain of the southern face. On the same

night the island of Santa Clara was occupied by a naval and military force, under the orders of the Honourable James Arbutnot and Captain Cameron of the ninth; and the advanced-guard, consisting of twenty-five men, made prisoners. The garrison made a sortie on the twenty-seventh, but were repulsed with the bayonet before they could destroy any of the works. An incessant fire having been maintained from eighty pieces of ordnance for several days, the breaches appeared to be practicable, upon which an assault was ordered by Lord Wellington, who had inspected them personally, on the following morning when the tide was low. The attack was directed by Sir Thomas Graham, Sir James Leith commanding the assault, and the troops employed were volunteers from the first, fourth, and light divisions; from Robinson's, Hay's, and Spry's brigades of the fifth division, and the fifth Portuguese caçadores; General Robinson's brigade leading the attack.

About eleven A.M., as the storming party approached, exposed to a heavy fire of grape-shot and shells, the enemy exploded two mines, which overthrew a large portion of the retaining wall next the sea: but only about thirty men were injured, as the assailants were at some distance, and the summit of the breach was gallantly gained. Here, however, an almost insurmountable difficulty was presented. There was only space sufficient to enter by single files, and the inside of the wall to the right of the curtain formed a perpendicular scarp from fifteen to twenty-five feet to the level of the streets. The whole of the forlorn-hope was, in consequence, swept down by a heavy fire of musketry from the ruined houses within the walls, which had been loopholed and entrenched; while the supporting party was prostrated by a flank fire of grape and round shot and musketry. Notwithstanding this carnage, the troops repeatedly mounted the breach, but none of the brave fellows who did so escaped destruction. These desperate and unsuccessful attacks having been persevered in for nearly two hours, Sir Thomas Graham (perceiving that it would be impossible to carry the breach by the usual means) decided, after consultation with Colonel Dickson, commandant of the artillery, on the following

bold and dangerous experiment; the guns in the batteries of the allies were now fired over the heads of the storming party, and by this galling fire the garrison was driven from the curtain and traverse. At the same time, a quantity of combustibles exploded within the walls, and in the confusion that resulted, the assailants got possession of the first traverse, and, pushing their opponents from the retrenchments in the streets, captured about seven hundred of them, and compelled the remainder to take refuge in the castle. Many houses were set in flames by the explosion of the combustibles laid in the streets for their defence, and the horrors of the scene were heightened by a dreadful storm of thunder, lightning, and rain in the night; to this was added the continued firing from the castle upon the town, and the plundering of the place by the allied troops. The loss of the British in this desperate undertaking amounted to sixteen hundred, and of the Portuguese to eight hundred men killed and wounded; and the army had to lament the death of Sir Richard Fletcher, the chief engineer, and Captains Rhodes and Collyer of that corps; Colonel Craufurd of the ninth foot; Majors Kelly of the fifty-ninth, Rose of the twentieth, and Werga of the thirty-eighth, besides many others of lower rank. Among the wounded were Generals Leith, Oswald, and Robinson; Lieutenant-Colonels Burgoyne of the engineers, Piper of the fourth, and Cameron of the second regiments.

The anti-English section of the Spanish press availed itself of the destruction of a considerable part of San Sebastian by fire, (which was in reality caused by the explosion of combustibles laid in the streets by the French, as well as by their throwing shells into the town when it was in possession of the allies), to charge the English with having had a deliberate intention to destroy the town, because its inhabitants previous to the war, had traded with the French in preference to them. The editor of the "*Duende*" even incited the Spaniards to take vengeance on the British officers for the sack of San Sebastian. This libel, and many others, Lord Wellington knew to be written by the Xefe Político of Gui-

puscoa, probably at the instigation of the Spanish minister of war, who wished to deprive his lordship of the commandership-in-chief of the Spanish armies ; yet on the prosecution of the ostensible writer by the British ambassador, before the junta de censura, he was acquitted. The English newspapers, also, frequently, but unintentionally, occasioned much mischief, by publishing remarks offensive to our allies, and, on one occasion, when the Portuguese government was displeased at a paragraph that had been published in England, the Marquis of Wellington addressed the following letter to the Portuguese minister, which displays considerable knowledge of the character of the press at that particular period.

“Our newspapers do us plenty of harm, by that which they insert, but I never suspected that they could do us the injury of alienating from us a government and nation, with which on every account we ought to be on the best of terms, by that which they omit. I, who have been in public life in England, know well that there is nothing more different from a debate in parliament, than the representation of that debate in the newspapers. The fault which I find with our newspapers is, that they so seldom state an event or transaction as it really occurred, (unless when they absolutely copy what is written for them,) and their observations wander so far from the text, even when they have a despatch or other writing before them, that they seem to be absolutely incapable of understanding, much less of stating the truth on any subject.

“The Portuguese government and nation, therefore, should be more cautious how they allow themselves to judge of the estimation in which they are held by the prince-regent and his ministers, and by the British nation, by the newspaper statements. They may depend upon it that the Portuguese army and nation are rising in estimation every day, and I recommend to them to despise every insinuation to the contrary.

“Don Miguel Forjaz is the ablest statesman and man of business that I have seen in the Peninsula, but I hope that he will not be induced, by such folly as the contents and



omissions of our newspapers, to venture upon the alteration of a system, which, up to the present day, has answered admirably, has contributed in a principal degree to our great and astonishing success, and has enabled the Portuguese government and nation to render such services to the cause, and has raised their reputation to the point at which it now stands.

“I am afraid that the licentiousness of the press will prevent the establishment of a free constitution in every country in which the attempt is made, and that this is the solution of the problem, why it has been found impossible, in modern days, to establish freedom in any country.”

San Marcial, on the left of the Bidassoa, was the scene of a brilliant action between the French and Spaniards, in which the former were signally defeated. Soult, wishing to relieve San Sebastian, advanced on the thirty-first of July against the chief corps of the covering army, consisting of eight thousand Spaniards under General Freyre, which was posted strongly near the high road to Bayonne. Two French divisions forded the river opposite the left of the Spanish position, and ascended the heights, but, when they had nearly reached the summit, were charged so impetuously with the bayonet, that they were driven back in disorder, and many were drowned from their missing the fords. Having, however, thrown a pontoon bridge over the Bidassoa, about fifteen thousand of the enemy crossed in the afternoon, to make a general attack on the heights of San Marcial. Lord Wellington was present, and, as he rode along the Spanish lines, while the French were advancing, was received with the most enthusiastic *vivas*. When the enemy had made considerable progress up the hill, the Spaniards again attacked them so vigorously, that they wheeled round, panic-struck, and fled to the river, in which many were lost, from ignorance of the fords, and the pontoon bridge being overloaded, gave way, by which accident many more perished. Lord Wellington declared that the charge made by the Spaniards on this occasion was equal to that of any troops he had ever seen engaged.

While this unsuccessful attempt to penetrate to San Sebastian

was being made at San Marcial, another corps of Soult's army endeavoured to reach the besieged fortress by the road through Oyarzun. This body forded the river near Vera and Salon, opposite the position of the ninth Portuguese brigade, which Lord Wellington ordered Inglis's and Kemp's brigades to support. The allies posted themselves strongly in front of the convent of San Antonio, and the enemy learning the defeat at San Marcial, many of them forded the river during the night, to return to the encampment, but the waters having risen, the rear-guard was obliged to return by the bridge at Vera; here, from the causeway being narrow, they were for a long time exposed to a destructive fire from the light division. The French lost two generals of division, and, in addition to those who were drowned, above two thousand men were killed and wounded in the affairs of San Marcial and Vera; the allies lost almost as many, of whom, above two-thirds were Spaniards, who had on these occasions proved themselves fully equal to French soldiers. The French were the aggressors in both actions, but the allies, while repelling their attacks on these chosen points, necessarily assailed their posts near Eschalar, Zugarramudi, and Maya, obtaining advantages in every instance.

San Sebastian being in possession of the allies, Lord Wellington decided on reducing the castle of La Motte, but the operations were delayed for a few days by the continuance of the conflagration in the town. The convent of Santa Teresa was stormed on the fifth of September, and two twenty-four pounders and a howitzer being placed on the islet of Santa Clara, were manned by British sailors, while, batteries having been erected in the town near the castle, fifty-four pieces of ordnance were employed in its bombardment; Lord Wellington not having any hesitation as to the destruction of the castle, although he avoided bombarding the town. On the eighth, General Rey, the commandant, agreed to surrender; all the defences of the garrison being destroyed, their provisions consumed, and even their horses being eaten. About eighteen hundred men were made prisoners, and ninety-three pieces of ordnance, twenty-five

thousand rounds of shot, four hundred shells, three hundred and eighty barrels of gunpowder, with above seven hundred thousand musket cartridges, fell into the hands of the captors.

For nearly a month after the capture of the castle of San Sebastian the allied army remained on the Pyrenees, Lord Wellington being unwilling to enter France until Pamplona was reduced. His delay in advancing occasioned considerable dissatisfaction to those who were unacquainted with the difficulties of his situation, and some of the English newspapers were loud in their complaints. This induced his lordship to remark, ironically, "If I had been at any time capable of doing what these gentlemen expected, I should now, I believe, have been in the moon. They have long ago expected me at Bourdeaux; nay, I understand there are many of their wise readers, amateurs of the military art, who are waiting to join the army till head-quarters shall arrive in that city; and when they shall hear of the late Spanish battle, I conclude that they will defer their voyage till I arrive at Paris."

The want of support, and even the direct opposition, experienced by Lord Wellington from the Spanish government, as commander-in-chief of their armies, and particularly the view taken by the new regency, that they were not bound by the act of their predecessors in conferring the command on his lordship, induced him to address a letter to the minister of war on the thirtieth of August, in which he tendered his resignation. After requiring that "the existing regency would be pleased to ratify the agreement made by their predecessors, in such terms as that he could not be mistaken, as he had been before, regarding the meaning intended to be conveyed by the letter of the former minister of war, when he originally accepted the command of the Spanish armies," his lordship continued:—"It is really necessary for many reasons connected with the public service, that the government should come to an early and final decision upon this subject, and should have an opportunity of making a new arrangement for the command of their armies, if they should think that they ought not to

comply with what I have now had the honour of submitting to your excellency. Therefore, in case the regency should not consider it proper to comply with my request, I beg leave hereby to resign the command of the Spanish armies, with which the cortes and regency of Spain have honoured me.

“More than half of Spain has been cleared of the enemy above a year, and the whole of Spain, excepting Catalonia and a small part of Arragon, since the months of May and June last; the most abundant harvest has been reaped in all parts of the country; millions of money spent by the contending armies are circulating everywhere; and yet your armies, however weak in numbers, are literally starving. The allied British and Portuguese army under my command has been subsisted, particularly latterly, almost exclusively upon the magazines imported by sea; and I am concerned to inform your excellency, that besides money for the pay of all the armies, which has been given from the military chest of the British army, and has been received from no other quarter, the British magazines have supplied quantities of provisions to all the Spanish armies, in order to enable them to remain in the field at all.”

In reply to this letter, the minister of war informed his lordship, that the regency had directed him to lay his resignation before the cortes; and that further instructions on the subject would be sent, on the assembling of that newly-elected body.

Experience having taught the marquis “that one veteran was equal to five raw soldiers,” he was now much chagrined at having his well-trained battalions withdrawn from the Peninsula, and replaced with undisciplined troops; and, having frequently protested against such injurious changes, at last wrote to his royal highness the Duke of York, at that time commander-in-chief in England, upon the impolicy of such conduct: “It is a matter of perfect indifference to me, personally, whether the army is strong or weak, or whether I am to carry on operations in France, in Spain, or in Portugal; but I hope your royal highness will consider, that if the public interests

require, as I have been told, that I should carry on operations during the winter, it is expedient that the veteran soldiers should remain with the army; and, that if the war is to continue, it should be reinforced early in the spring."

Pamplona, after a blockade of nearly four months' duration, capitulated on the thirty-first of October to Don Carlos d'España; the garrison of four thousand men being made prisoners of war. When provisions began to fail, the governor applied to the Spanish general, who commanded the blockading force, for seven thousand rations daily for the inhabitants; but d'España, knowing that this number included the garrison, sent back a message, that unless the inhabitants were fed as well as the garrison, while any food lasted, he should hold the governor responsible for their treatment. A suspicion existing that the governor would blow up the fortress, and endeavour to escape, as had been done at Almeida, General d'España intimated to the governor, that if the place was intentionally injured, he would put the governor and all the officers to death, and decimate the men. On the surrender of the city, this brave and determined Spaniard would not admit the garrison to the privileges of prisoners of war, until he had ascertained that the inhabitants had not been ill-treated during the blockade.

Considerable surprise was now felt amongst the allied troops, at Lord Wellington's prudent measure of fortifying his position on the Pyrenees, and particularly after the fall of Castle La Motte. But, by these means his lordship was prepared either to advance into France, or, if the French, by making peace with Germany, should concentrate an overwhelming force on the Spanish frontier, to maintain his position, as he had done at Torres Vedras, against any force which they might employ against the allies.

## CHAP. VII.

LORD WELLINGTON CROSSES THE BIDASSOA, AND ESTABLISHES HIS LEFT WING IN FRANCE—THE FRENCH DRIVEN FROM THE CAMP AT SARRE—THIRTY THOUSAND CONSCRIPTS ORDERED FOR THE REINFORCEMENT OF SOULT'S ARMY—GENERAL ORDER AND PROCLAMATION BY LORD WELLINGTON ON ENTERING FRANCE—SPEECHES IN PARLIAMENT CONNECTED WITH THE PENINSULAR WAR—MARQUIS WELLESLEY, LORD LIVERPOOL—MESSRS GRANT, WHITBREAD, AND CANNING—POSITIONS OF THE FRENCH ARMY ON THE PYRENEES—BATTLE OF THE FRENCH PYRENEES, OR OF THE NIVELLE—SOULT RETREATS TO BAYONNE—WELLINGTON SENDS BACK THE SPANISH TROOPS TO SAVE FRANCE FROM BEING PLUNDERED—ADDRESS TO HIM FROM THE COMMUNES OF ST. JEAN DE LUZ AND SIBOURN—MISCONDUCT OF THE SPANISH GOVERNMENT—THE MARQUIS OF WELLINGTON PROPOSED AS KING OF SPAIN—HIS OPINION OF THE RESTORATION OF THE BOURBONS—NEGOTIATIONS FOR RESTORING FERDINAND VII. TO THE THRONE OF SPAIN—LORD WELLINGTON'S OPINION OF THEM—PASSAGE OF THE NIVE—CHANGE OF REGENCY IN SPAIN—BATTLES NEAR BAYONNE—THE DUC D'ANGOULEME JOINS THE ALLIED ARMY—SUCHET'S MOVEMENTS IN CATALONIA—PASSAGE OF THE ADOUR—BATTLE OF ORTHEZ—LORD WELLINGTON SENDS A CORPS TO BOURDEAUX.

LORD WELLINGTON having received intelligence from Germany, which rendered it probable that the army of Spain, under Soult, would not be reinforced, except by conscripts, decided, in the beginning of October, on advancing into France with the left wing of the allied army; the right, from its holding Roncesvalles and Maya, having it in their power to enter that country at pleasure. Accordingly, before daybreak on the seventh, while a violent storm prevented the movements of the artillery and pontoon train from being heard, and enabled the troops to approach the Bidassoa unperceived by the enemy, (whose conversation when preparing their breakfasts was distinctly heard by the allies,) the first and fifth divisions, and some brigades, on a signal from the church-steeple of Fuenterrabia, crossed the river in five columns. The extreme left forded the Bidassoa near its mouth, to attack the entrenchments near Ardaye; the Spaniards, commanded by General Freyre, crossing higher up, were to assail the works on the Montagne Verte and the heights of Mandalle; while the light division, and Longa's Spanish troops, were to drive the enemy from the mountain of Com-

missari and the Vera pass. To the Andalusian troops, under Giron, was assigned the difficult duty of attacking the Great La Rhune, a mountain on the extreme right, (in France,) which commands a view of all the country between the Pyrenees and Bayonne. The fifth division, which had nearly crossed the river before it was fired upon, soon dislodged the enemy from the loop-holed houses near Ardaye, and the second brigade of guards, with part of the German legion, covered the formation of a pontoon bridge for the passage of the artillery higher up; the first brigade of guards, and some Portuguese, under Wilson, fording the river under the protection of the guns mounted on San Marcial, where Lord Wellington placed himself, and from which he had a view of all the French positions from Mandalle to the sea.

Part of the fifth division drove the enemy from three positions in quick succession, while a brigade having crossed the river near Fuenterrabia, and following the line of the coast, got into the rear of the French, and compelled them to retreat towards Urognie. The Spaniards, under Freyre, had in the mean time gained the heights of Mandalle, after a severe contest; upon which the French corps that was stationed opposite San Marcial, finding that both their flanks were turned, retreated with such precipitation as to leave three unspiked guns on one of the heights. Alten and Longa's corps were also successful in carrying the pass of Vera and Mount Commissari by repeated bayonet charges; so that by the early part of the afternoon all the enemy's strong posts, except the Great La Rhune, were carried. A lofty rock, on which a chapel had been converted into a military post by the French, was so resolutely defended, that Giron's troops, after many gallant attempts to dislodge their opponents, remained in the enemy's hands when night set in.

On the following morning, after the thick Pyrenean fog had dispersed, Lord Wellington, upon reconnoitring the enemy's positions, found that a rock near to the chapel-rock might be approached, although with great difficulty, on its right side, and that the works in front of their camp at Sarré might be

assailed at the same time. In consequence of this discovery, Giron's corps was directed to drive the French from the rock ; and the entrenchment that protected the right of the camp being also stormed, the enemy abandoned their other works for its protection. His lordship also established a battalion on the chapel-rock, and, in the course of the night the French withdrew both from the chapel and the camp at Sarré. The success of these enterprises established the left wing of the allied army on the soil of France, at a loss of about fifteen hundred men, the French having lost nearly three thousand, together with eleven guns ; Sir Thomas Graham, who commanded this wing of the army, now returned to England to take upon him a command in the Netherlands, and was succeeded, as second in command of the allied armies, by Lieutenant-General Sir John Hope.

A detachment of the seventh division having, imprudently, advanced into the village of Sarré on the ninth, were attacked by a greatly superior force, and suffered severely, until some Spanish regiments coming to their aid enabled them to maintain their position ; on the twelfth, a redoubt in advance of the camp of Sarré, held by the Spaniards, was surprised, but the enemy were allowed to retain possession of it, as it was too far in advance of the allies' lines.

Lord Wellington being now established on the French side of the Pyrenees, and being stronger, if the Spanish army were included, than Soult, a levy of thirty thousand conscripts was decreed to reinforce "the army of Spain," as it was still absurdly called, not one of its soldiers being in that country. Monsieur Regnault de St. Jean d'Angely, in proposing this levy to the French senate, said, "The armies in Spain, it was admitted, having been compelled to yield before superior numbers and the advantages which the enemy drew from their maritime communications, needed reinforcement, for England, while in the north of Europe it lavished its intrigues and its promises, was not less lavish in the south of its resources and sacrifices. The proposed levy, however, raised in the departments adjacent to the Pyrenees, would



suffice to stop the successes upon which the enemy were congratulating themselves too soon; it would suffice for resuming the attitude which became France, and for preparing the moment when England should no longer dispose of the treasures of Mexico for the devastation of both the Spains." The Count de Bournonville, in reporting to the senate from a special commission on this subject, stated, that "England, who intrigues much and hazards little, has not dared to compromise her land-forces by sending them to combat in the north of Germany, and uniting them with the Russian and Prussian phalanxes; she feared reverses which she could not but foresee, and which for her would be irreparable. In this thorny conjuncture, and that it might have the air of doing something for the powers whom it had set to play, the cabinet of London has preferred mingling the English troops with the Spanish and Portuguese bands, being sure that it could withdraw them without inconvenience according to its interest. Hence that sudden augmentation of its force, which had determined our armies to a retrograde movement; and these bands, encouraged by some ephemeral successes, have carried their audacity so far as to invest the places of St Sebastian and Pamplona. The proposed levy would enable the French armies of the Peninsula to resume their ancient attitude."

Urogne having been burnt and pillaged by the allies on their entering France, the commander-in-chief republished the general order of the ninth of July, accompanied by the following, dated Lesaca, eighth of October, 1813.

"1. The commander of the forces is concerned to be under the necessity of publishing over again his orders of the ninth of July last, as they have been unattended to by the officers and troops which entered France yesterday.

"2. According to all the information which the commander of the forces has received, outrages of all descriptions were committed by the troops in presence even of their officers, who took no pains whatever to prevent them.

"3. The commander of the forces has already determined, that some officers, so grossly negligent of their duty, shall be

sent to England, that their names may be brought under the attention of the prince-regent, and that his royal highness may give such directions respecting them as he may think proper, as the commander of the forces is determined not to command officers who will not obey his orders."

This general order, as well as that to which it refers, was translated into the French and Basque languages, and extensively circulated, being soon afterwards strengthened by the following proclamation in the same languages.

"Proclamation to the French, by Field-Marshal the Marquis of Wellington, general in chief of the allied armies.—Head quarters, November the first, 1813.

"On entering your country, I make known to you that I have given the strictest orders, of which a translation is subjoined, to avert the misfortunes which are generally the consequence of the invasion of an enemy's army, an invasion, which you are aware, has resulted from that made by your government on Spain, and of the success of the allied armies acting under my orders.

"You may rest assured that I will carry these orders into effect, and I request of you to arrest and conduct to my headquarters all those who, in disobedience of them, may do you any injury. But it is necessary that you should remain in your houses, and should not take any part in the operations of the war, of which your country is about to become the theatre."

Marshal Soult also employed the pen as an auxiliary in war, he circulated addresses, printed in all the languages spoken by the allied armies, inciting to desertion, denouncing vengeance against those who should invade France, and declaring, that "the whole French nation was in arms, and, if the English, Spanish, and Portuguese should set foot upon their territory, they should meet with nothing but death and destruction."

The difficulty of supplying the allied armies was at this time extremely great, and was much increased by the ministry neglecting to keep a sufficient naval armament in the Bay of Biscay. This neglect also enabled the French troops to obtain abundant supplies by means of coasting-vessels, while, if they

had been obliged to obtain them by land-carriage, the expense and irregularity would have been excessive, and the horses would have been employed in that service, instead of being taken to remount the cavalry.

On the fourth of November, the British parliament met, and the highest satisfaction was expressed by all parties at the brilliant success which had crowned the Marquis of Wellington's efforts to expel the French from Spain, and at the beneficial effects likely to result from that expulsion to the interests of European liberty.

The Marquis Wellesley declared in the house of lords that the satisfaction he felt in the events which had now changed the destinies of Europe, was with him a principle, and not a sentiment. It was not so much because those events had raised the military reputation of this country, and of our allies, that they had the highest value in his eyes, but because they were the natural result of wise and cautious measures, executed with the greatest degree of vigour, and displaying a wisdom of combination, and prudence of plan, which could not fail ultimately to be rewarded with the success by which they were attended. He would not dwell on former errors, but he would not hesitate to say, that the glorious successes which had lately crowned our arms in Spain, and the arms of our allies in the north of Europe, were to be traced to the long train of persevering counsels persisted in by the government of this country. Though these counsels had not always immediately produced the results that were expected, they were not the less the cause of what had ultimately taken place. While we were exerting ourselves in a struggle apparently hopeless at that moment, the public counsels of this country were of the utmost importance to European liberty, for opportunity was thus given to the rest of Europe to reconsider their former errors, and to learn that great lesson which the example of Britain afforded them. Nothing could be more true than the last words which that great statesman, Mr. Pitt, ever delivered in public, "that England had saved herself by her firmness, and other nations by her example." "What a satis-

factory and consoling reflection was it for us, that from this fountain the sacred waters of gladness and glory had flowed, that to the persevering spirit of this country, it was owing that other nations were at last animated to deeds worthy of the cause in which they were engaged, and of the example which was set them.

The Earl of Liverpool rejoiced, that on this great occasion, a spirit of unanimity prevailed in the British parliament. We had seen, during the preceding twenty years, coalitions whose size promised strength, crushed by the power of the enemy. What was it then that had given this irresistible impulse to the present? The feeling of national independence, that feeling which first arose in the Peninsula, gave the war a new character, and afforded grounds to hope, not only for the deliverance of that country, but of the rest of Europe. There had before been wars of governments, but none, like this, between nations; and all our principles of policy and prudence must have been belied, if the issue of the present confederacy had not been very different from that of any of the former ones. They had before them examples of perseverance unexampled in any other cause than that of liberty. They had seen the least military nations of Europe become formidable, and successfully resist the best disciplined troops of France. Small as Portugal was, the establishment of the Portuguese army had been of the greatest consequence, as the foundation of the success of the allied armies in the Peninsula; and as it gave, in addition to the general national feeling, a military tone, under the influence of which the Portuguese troops have been raised to an equality with the British. He was advancing no paradox, but a truth which was felt and admitted on the continent, when he said, that the success of the Peninsular cause gave new life to the suffering nations of Europe.

In the other house of parliament, Mr. Charles Grant (Lord Glenelg) with much eloquence observed that, "If we had shown a dastardly spirit at the commencement of these troubles, where now would have been the deliverance of Europe? There will be no prouder page in history than that which

tells of this struggle, and its victorious result, which tells that at a time when the foundations of the world seemed to be shaken, when all former constitutions were swept away, rather as if by a sudden whirlwind than by any of the ordinary means of destruction, there was yet one nation, which, reposing under the shade of a happy constitution, proud of its ancient liberties, and worthy to defend them, dared to measure its strength at one time against the unnatural energies of a frantic democracy, at another time against the gigantic resources of the most tremendous despotism that ever scourged the world. If, after this narration, history were obliged to add, that in this struggle, at last we fell, but that we fell gloriously with our arms in our hands, and our faces to the foe, even this would have been no mean praise ; but, thank God, history will be called, not to lament the fall of British greatness, but to celebrate its renewed exploits, and its living triumphs. It is to the theatre of these triumphs—it is to that soil which till lately seemed incapable of producing a single effort—that the moralist of after-ages will resort for examples, when he denounces the fall of unhallowed greatness. There, too, will the patriot look for lessons of enthusiasm, and disinterested virtue ; and this is the glorious feature of the present war.

Mr. Whitbread said, that the proud exultation which then was manifested throughout the nation, was hailed by no one, in the house or in the country, with more enthusiastic feelings than by himself ; and that he gave credit to the ministry, and to him who was at the head of it, till cut off by the dreadful deed which every one deplored, for *the great and steady confidence which they had placed in the talents and genius of our great commander.*

On the seventeenth of November, Mr. Canning, in his place in parliament, after adverting in the happiest manner to the expectation that peace would be concluded between this country and France, inquired—“But has this country gained nothing by the glorious contest, even supposing peace should be far distant? Is it nothing to Great Britain, even purchased at so large a price, that her military character has

been exalted? Is it no satisfaction—no compensation to her to reflect, that the splendid scenes displayed on the continent are owing to her efforts? that the victories of Germany are to be attributed to our victories in the Peninsula? That spark, often feeble, and sometimes so nearly extinguished as to excite despair in all hearts that were not above it;—that spark which was lighted in Portugal, which was fed and nourished there—has at length burst into a flame that has dazzled and illuminated Europe. At the commencement of this war our empire rested upon one majestic column our naval power. In the prosecution of the war, a hero has raised another stupendous pillar of strength to support our monarchy, our military pre-eminence. It is now that we may boast, not only of superiority at sea, but on shore. The same energy and heroism exist in both the arms of Great Britain. They are rivals in strength, but inseparable in glory. Out of the calamities of war has arisen a principle of safety, that, superior to all attacks, shall survive through ages, and to which our posterity shall look forward. Compare the situation of England with her condition at the renewal of the war. Were we not then threatened by the aggressions of an enemy, even upon our own shores? Were we not then trembling for the safety and sanctity even of our homes? Now contemplate Wellington encamped on the Bidassoa! I know that a sickly sensibility leads some to doubt whether the advance of Lord Wellington was not rash and precipitate. I cannot enter into that refinement which induces those who affect to know much to hesitate upon this subject. I cannot look with regret upon a British army encamped upon the fertile plains of France. I cannot believe that any new grounds for apprehension are raised by an additional excitement being afforded to the irritability of the French people. I foresee no disadvantage from entering the territories of our enemy, not as the conquered, but the conquerors. I cannot regret that the Portuguese are now looking upon the walls of Bayonne, that circle in those wolves which would have devastated their capital—that the Portuguese now behold planted on the towers of Bayonne, the standard which their enemy would have made to float

upon the walls of Lisbon. I cannot think it a matter of regret, that the Spaniards are now recovering from the grasp of an enemy, on his own shores, that diadem which was stripped from the brow of the Bourbons, to be pocketed by an usurper. I cannot think it a matter of regret, that England, formerly threatened with invasion, is now the invader; that France, instead of England, is the scene of conflict. I cannot think all this matter of regret; and of those who believe that the nation or myself are blinded by our successes, I entreat that they will leave me to my delusion, and keep their philosophy to themselves."

At the beginning of November the French army occupied a position in the Pyrenees, which was naturally of great strength, and which three months had been spent in fortifying. It formed a semicircle extending through Uroguè, Ascain, Sarré, Ainhouë, Espalette, and Cambo, with a great projection of the centre at Sarré. A range of works extended from the sea to the high ridge called La Petite Rhune, which was strongly fortified, and on the high steep hills from thence to Ainhouë, was a chain of redoubts, at very short distances. This range was occupied in great force by the enemy's centre, while a strong corps at Sarré was protected by a regular enclosed work with ditch and palisades. The right of Soult's army was on the left of the Nivelle, and extending to the sea, in front of St. Jean de Luz; the enemy's centre, as we have stated, was near to Sarré; the left on a height behind Ainhouë, and on the mountain of Manderin in the vicinity of that village, on the right of the Nivelle; and the divisions of Generals Foy and Parris were at St. Jean Pied de Pont.

The weather for a considerable time had been very severe, much snow falling in some parts of the allies' position, and continued rain in others; but as it improved towards the tenth of November, Lord Wellington decided on attacking the enemy's centre and left on that day, and endeavouring to establish himself in the rear of their right; by which he would either compel him to evacuate his strong position, or deprive him of his communication with Bayonne.

For the execution of this plan the left wing under General

Hope, comprising the first and fifth divisions, Lord Aylmer's British and two Portuguese brigades, and connected with the left centre by the army of Galicia, was directed to make a formidable demonstration against the camp at Urogne, in which Sir George Collier's squadron was to assist, by appearing off St. Jean de Luz, and throwing shells into the rear of the enemy's camp.

The right wing under Sir Rowland Hill consisted of the second and sixth British, Hamilton's Portuguese, and Morillo's Spanish divisions, with a brigade of cavalry, Mina's Spanish corps occupying the extreme right. The right centre under Marshal Beresford, included the third, fourth, and seventh divisions. The left centre, commanded by Baron Alten, comprised the light division and Longa's Spanish infantry: all these corps were to make a simultaneous attempt to drive the enemy from his strongly fortified positions. Giron's Spanish corps, and the cavalry under Sir Stapleton Cotton, formed a reserve behind the centre.

The centre and right of the allies commenced their march several hours before daylight on the tenth, towards the centre and left of the enemy, and having approached near their lines, lay down to conceal themselves until sunrise. At dawn, the fourth division, under General Cole, pushing rapidly towards a strong redoubt in front of the village of Sarré, soon obtained possession of it, the place being quickly abandoned, and without one effort for its preservation, by the enemy. The light division, under Baron Alten, advancing with irresistible impetuosity against the intrenchments on La Petite Rhune, drove their defenders from one post to another, so that the garrisons in the different redoubts lost all courage and fled, leaving the whole of this very strong position in the hands of their enemies. A general attack was now made by the third and seventh divisions, under Generals Colville and Le Cor, on the fortified heights behind Sarré, which had a steep ascent, and were covered with abatis and lines of entrenchment. The assaulting columns advanced under a heavy fire of musketry, with such determination, that the enemy retreated to the bridge at Nivelles in extreme confusion. The



garrison of one redoubt, consisting of five hundred men, was, however, made prisoners: depending on the difficulties of approaching their position, as well as on its great strength, they resisted until the light division was forming to storm it, that instant Marshal Beresford interposing a column to cut off their retreat, they became satisfied of the wisdom of surrendering.

While the centre of the allies continued to drive the enemy from all their strong posts near Sarré and La Rhune, Sir Rowland Hill with the right wing advanced against the heights of Ainhoïe, the sixth division under General Clinton leading. His men forded the Nivelle, and ascending the heights of Ainhoïe, soon defeated their opponents, and seized a redoubt which was abandoned hastily by the enemy; Clinton's division, and Hamilton's Portuguese, then took possession of the remaining redoubts, all which were evacuated as they approached. General Stewart's division, the second, also drove the enemy from a parallel ridge in the rear, defended by a strong field-work. These two divisions now advanced on Espelette, when the French deserted the only works they still held in advance of Ainhoïe, and hastily retreated in the direction of Cambo.

Lord Wellington was a spectator of the brilliant success of the right wing, and as he was now in possession of the heights on both banks of the Nivelle, ordered his centre and right to march upon St. Pé. The several divisions crossed the river at that place, and, fearlessly attacking the enemy on the heights, dislodged them with considerable loss, after a sharp but brief contest. Soult was enabled to escape to the entrenched camp at Bayonne, the approach of night and the fatigue of the allied troops preventing further action or pursuit.

In the mean time, Sir John Hope with the left wing had driven the enemy from Urogne, and from all the entrenchments by which it was defended; but nothing further was attempted by this wing, as the commander-in-chief intended only that it should alarm the extreme right of the French position, and induce Soult to believe that he had determined on expelling him from St. Jean de Luz. After Soult's retreat, Sir John repaired

the bridges over the lower Nivelle, which had been destroyed by the French, and followed them towards Bayonne.

Thus, in a few hours, Soult with seventy thousand men was driven from a chain of positions, naturally strong, and rendered by several months' labour almost impregnable, with the loss of fifty-one pieces of cannon, and nearly two hundred prisoners. The allies lost about two thousand five hundred killed and wounded, including Colonel Lloyd of the ninety-fourth, among the former, and Generals Byng and Kemp among the latter.

On the eleventh of November the allied troops pursued the French army towards Bayonne, halting in a strong position within twelve miles of that fortress, and the weather being inclement, they were placed in cantonments protected by a defensive line, between the Nivelle and the sea, St. Jean de Luz being made the head-quarters. The Spanish troops continuing to plunder the villages through which they passed, and being guilty of other excesses, Lord Wellington sent them all, with the exception of Morillo's corps of three thousand men, back to their native country, considering it better to weaken his army than to exasperate and arm the inhabitants against him. The misconduct of the Spaniards arose partly from a wish to avenge themselves on the desolators of their country, but principally from a desire to enrich themselves, as they were daily receiving letters from their friends in Spain congratulating them on their being established within France, and urging them to take advantage of their situation to make their fortunes. Morillo, through Sir Rowland Hill, communicated this fact to Lord Wellington, who was extremely indignant, for he considered that such conduct was as repugnant to sound policy as it was to humanity: his lordship declared that he had not come into France to plunder, nor had he lost thousands of officers and soldiers, to the end that the survivors might pillage and destroy. The maintenance of such strict discipline in the Anglo-Portuguese army had a most beneficial influence, inducing those of the inhabitants who had fled to its approach to return to their homes, and ensuring an abundant supply of provisions for the troops. At St. Jean de

Luz also the authorities presented the following complimentary address to the noble commander-in-chief.—“My Lord : The notables of the communes of St. Jean de Luz and Siboure present themselves to your lordship, to express the gratitude of all the inhabitants for the favour which they enjoy in having you amongst them.

“France, secretly groaning under the evils of a dreadful war, has no other desire, no other want, than peace. We know, my lord, that all your endeavours are directed to attain this object. May you succeed in so noble a design ! You will have earned the gratitude of the universe, and we shall not cease to address our prayers to heaven for the preservation of a hero as great as he is wise.”

At the very time that the Spanish troops were misconducting themselves so grossly as to render their being sent back across the Pyrenees necessary, the Spanish authorities actually ordered the inhabitants of Spain not to supply any thing for the use of the allied army, and in other respects displayed such a jealous and malignant spirit, that Lord Wellington, in his advice to Lord Bathurst at the end of November, says, “I recommend to you to demand as security for the safety of the king’s troops, against the criminal disposition of the government, and of those in authority under them, that a British garrison should be admitted into San Sebastian, giving notice that unless this demand were complied with, the troops should be withdrawn.”

In a second letter to the same nobleman in the early part of December, his lordship, adverting to the democratic and anti-English spirit evinced by the Spanish government, expresses himself thus:—“It is quite impossible that such a system can last ; what I regret is, that I am the person that maintains it. If I was out of the way, there are plenty of generals who would overturn it. Ballasteros positively intended it ; and I am much mistaken, if O’Donnell, and even Castanos, and probably others, are not equally ready. If the king should return, he also will overturn the whole fabric, if he has any spirit. But things have gone so far, and the

gentlemen at Cadiz are so completely masters of their trade of managing that assembly (the cortes), that I am afraid there must be another convulsion; and I earnestly recommend to the British government to keep themselves clear of the democracy, and to interfere in nothing while the government is in their hands, excepting in carrying on the war, and keeping out the foreign enemy."

This jealousy and unfavourable feeling extended even to the nobility of Spain. An Irish newspaper, in its extravagant praise of Lord Wellington, stated that he deserved to be made king of Spain, and that the most influential of the Spanish grãndees had offered him the throne. No sooner had this paragraph reached the Peninsula, than the Dukes of Ossuna and Frias, Viscount de Gante, and the Marquis de Villena, published an ill-tempered letter, declaring that they neither did nor would acknowledge any other king than Ferdinand VII.; that they detested and abhorred the very idea of any usurper ruling over the Spaniards; and that they were persuaded that the other grãndees, as soon as this statement should come to their knowledge, would hasten in the same decided manner to give a public testimony of their principles and their fidelity.

The question of the restoration of the Bourbons being now much discussed, elicited the following opinion from Lord Wellington on the twenty-first of November, in a communication to Earl Bathurst:—"I have not myself heard any opinion in favour of the house of Bourbon. The opinion stated to me upon that point is, that twenty years have elapsed since the princes of that house have quitted France; that they are equally, if not more unknown to France, than the princes of any other *royal* house in Europe; but that the allies ought to agree to propose a sovereign to France instead of Napoleon, who must be got rid of, if it is hoped or intended that Europe should ever enjoy peace: and that it was not material whether it was of the house of Bourbon, or of any other *royal* family.

"I have taken measures to open a correspondence with the interior, by which I hope to know what passes; and I will

take care to keep your lordship acquainted with all that I may learn. In the mean time, I am convinced more than ever that Napoleon's power stands upon corruption; that he has no adherents in France but the principal officers of his army, and the *employés civils* of the government. But even these last I consider doubtful.

“Notwithstanding this state of things, I recommend to your lordship to make peace with him, if you can acquire all the objects which you have a right to expect. All the powers of Europe require peace, possibly more than France; and it would not do to found a new system of war upon the speculations of any individual on what he sees and learns in one corner of France. If Buonaparte becomes moderate, he is probably as good a sovereign as we can desire in France; if he does not, we shall have another war in a few years: but if my speculations are well founded, we shall have all France against him. Time will have been given for the supposed disaffection to his government to produce its effect; his diminished resources will have decreased his means of corruption; and it may be hoped, that he will be engaged, single-handed, against insurgent France and all Europe.

“There is another view of this subject, however, and that is the continuance of the existing war, and the line to be adopted in that case. At the present moment it is quite impossible for me to move at all, although the army was never in such health, heart, and condition as at present; and is probably the most complete machine for its numbers now existing in Europe. The rain has so completely destroyed the roads, that I cannot move, and at all events it is desirable before I go farther forward, that I should know what the allies propose to do in the winter, which I conclude I shall learn from your lordship as soon as the king's government shall be made acquainted with their intentions by the king's diplomatic servants abroad. As I shall move forward, whether in the winter or the spring, I can inquire and ascertain more fully the sentiments of the people, and the government can either empower me to decide to raise the Bourbon standard, or can determine the question

hereafter themselves, after they shall have all the information before them, which I can send them of the sentiments and wishes of the people.

“I can only tell you, that if I were a prince of the house of Bourbon, nothing should prevent me from now coming forward, not to a good house in London, but to the field in France; and if Great Britain will stand by him, I am certain he would succeed. This success would be much more certain in a month or more hence, when Napoleon commences to carry into execution the oppressive measures which he must adopt, in order to try to retrieve his fortunes. I must tell your lordship, however, that our success, and every thing, depends upon our moderation and justice, and upon the good conduct and discipline of our troops. Hitherto these have behaved well, and there appears a new spirit among the officers, which I hope will continue to keep the troops in order. But I despair of the Spaniards. They are in so miserable a state, that it is really hardly fair to expect that they will refrain from plundering a beautiful country, into which they enter as conquerors, particularly adverting to the miseries which their own country has suffered from its invaders. I cannot therefore venture to bring them back into France, unless I can feed and pay them; and the official letter which will go to your lordship by this post, will show you the state of our finances, and our prospects. If I could now bring forward twenty-thousand good Spaniards, paid and fed, I should have Bayonne. If I could bring forward forty thousand, I do not know where I should stop. Now I have both the twenty-thousand and the forty-thousand at my command upon this frontier, but I cannot venture to bring forward any, for want of means of paying and supporting them. Without pay and food they must plunder: and if they plunder they will ruin us all.”

After the expulsion of Joseph Buonaparte, and the French armies from Spain, Napoleon opened a negotiation with Ferdinand VII. for his restoration to the Spanish throne. His motives for this, probably were, to strengthen his armies by the restoration of the prisoners of war in England, to

release Marshal Suchet's corps, and the French garrisons in Valencia and Catalonia, and to embarrass the English by placing a foolish, but tyrannical king over the Spaniards. His artful representation to Ferdinand was, "that under the existing circumstances of his empire and his policy, he wished at once to settle the affairs of Spain; that England was encouraging jacobinism and anarchy there, for the purpose of destroying the nobility and the monarchy, and erecting a republic. That he could not but grievously feel the destruction of a neighbouring state connected by so many maritime and commercial interests with his own—that he desired to remove every pretext for English interference, and to re-establish those ties of friendship and good neighbourhood by which Spain and France had been so long connected, and therefore he had sent the Count Laforest, under a feigned name, to whom his royal highness might give entire credit in all that he should propose."

M. Dubors, as Count Laforest called himself, represented "that the emperor had exerted himself to the utmost in Bayonne, to accommodate the differences which then existed between Ferdinand and his father, but the English had marred every thing—they had introduced jacobinism into Spain, where the land was laid waste, religion destroyed, the clergy ruined, the nobility crushed, the marine existing only in name, the colonies dismembered, insurrection excited, and, in fine, every thing overthrown. These islanders desired nothing but to change the monarchy into a republic, and yet, to deceive the people, they put the name of his royal highness at the head of all their public acts. Moved to compassion by these calamities, and by the lamentations of all good Spaniards, the emperor had chosen him for this important mission, which he requested might be kept secret." Ferdinand replied, "that so unexpected a proposition required much reflection; he must have time for considering it, and would let him know the result." Laforest, without waiting for the promised answer, obtained an audience the following day, when he said, "that if his majesty accepted the kingdom of Spain, to which the

emperor wished to restore him, they must concert means for getting the English out of that country." To this, Ferdinand replied, that, "considering the circumstances in which he was placed at Valençay, he could make no treaty, and indeed could take no measures without the consent of the nation as represented by the regency." Laforest assured him that it certainly was not the emperor's intention, that his majesty should do any thing contrary to the wish of Spain, but that it was necessary that means for ascertaining that wish should be found. King Ferdinand rejoined, "that having been absent from his country five years and a half, he knew nothing of its state but what was published in the French newspapers." "These," said Laforest, "have exhibited the true state of things, and he who is born to a kingdom, has no will of his own, he must be a king, and is not a private individual free to choose for himself that way of life which he may think most agreeable; and where is he who when a kingdom is offered him would not instantly accept it? Yet withal, if he who should be king, were to say, "I renounce all dignity from this time, and, far from seeking honours, desire only to lead a private life," in that case the affair becomes of a different kind. If therefore your royal highness be in this predicament, the emperor must have recourse to other means, but if, as I cannot but believe, your royal highness thinks of retaining the sceptre, the indispensable preliminary must be, to settle the principal basis of the negotiation upon which afterwards to treat, and for this purpose to appoint a Spaniard as your commissioner, one of those who are at this time in France." To this rhetorical display Ferdinand only repeated, "that the subject required consideration." On the next day he stated his opinion formally: "The emperor has placed me here, and if he chooses that I should return to Spain, he it is who must consult and treat with the regency, because he has means of doing this which I have not, or he must afford me means, and consent that a deputation from the regency should come hither, and inform me concerning the state of Spain, and propose to me measures for making it happy. Anything which



I may then conclude here with his imperial majesty will be valid; and it is the more necessary that such a deputation should come, because there is no person in France whom I could fitly employ in this affair."

The French diplomatist next endeavoured to persuade this abused and captive king, that the English and Portuguese governed Spain, and that their intention was to place the house of Braganza upon the Spanish throne, beginning with his sister the Princess of Brazil. But Ferdinand in conclusion stated, "If the interest of Spain requires that I should be the friend of the French I will be so; but if it requires that I should be the friend of the English, their friend I shall be; and if this should not suit the emperor, the infantes and I will remain well pleased where we are at Valençay." Buonaparte soon afterwards sent the Duque de San Carlos to Valençay, to negociate as Ferdinand's minister with Laforest, and a treaty was concluded, embracing the following stipulations. That the emperor of the French recognized Ferdinand and his successors as kings of Spain and the Indies, according to the order established by the fundamental laws of Spain, and that he recognized the integrity of the Spanish territory as it existed before the war, and would deliver up to the Spaniards such provinces and fortified places as the French still occupied in Spain. Ferdinand obliging himself on his part to maintain the same integrity, and that also of the adjacent isles and fortified places, and especially Minorca and Ceuta, and to make the English evacuate these provinces and places, the evacuation by the French and English being to be made simultaneously. The two contracting parties bound themselves to maintain the independence of their maritime rights, as had been stipulated in the treaty of Utrecht, and observed till the year 1792. All Spaniards who had adhered to king Joseph, were to re-enter upon the honours, rights, and privileges which they had enjoyed, and all the property of which they might have been deprived, should be restored to them, and to such as might choose to live out of Spain, ten years should be allowed for disposing of their possessions. Prisoners on both sides were

to be sent home, and also the garrison of Pamplona, and the prisoners of Cadiz, Corunna, the Mediterranean islands, or any other depôt which might have been delivered to the English, whether they were in Spain, or had been sent to America, or to England. Ferdinand bound himself to pay an annual sum of thirty millions of reals to Charles IV., his father, and in case of his death an annuity of two millions to the queen his mother. Finally, a treaty of commerce was to be formed between the two nations, and till this could be done, their commercial relations were to be placed on the same footing as before the war of 1792.

On the third of December, Ferdinand sent the treaty for ratification to the regency, accompanied by the following note "Divine providence, which, in its inscrutable wisdom, permitted him (Ferdinand) to pass from the palace of Madrid to that of Valençay, had granted to him the blessings of health and strength, and the consolation of never having been for a moment separated from his beloved brother and uncle the infantes Don Carlos and Don Antonio. They had experienced in that palace a noble hospitality, their way of life had been as agreeable as it could be under such circumstances, and he had employed his time in the manner most suitable to his new obligations. The only intelligence which he had heard of his beloved Spain was what the French gazettes supplied. These had given him some knowledge of the sacrifices which the nation had made for him, of the magnanimous and unalterable constancy manifested by his faithful vassals, of the persevering assistance of England, the admirable conduct of its general-in-chief, Lord Wellington, and of the Spanish and allied generals who had distinguished themselves. The English ministry had publicly declared their readiness to admit propositions of peace founded upon his restitution; nevertheless, the miseries of his kingdom still continued. He was in this state of passive, but vigilant observation, when the emperor of the French spontaneously made proposals to him, founded upon his restitution, and the integrity and independence of his dominions, without any clause that would not be

compatible with the honour, and glory, and interest of the Spanish nation. Being persuaded that Spain could not, after the most successful and protracted war, conclude a more advantageous peace, he had authorized the Duque de San Carlos to negociate, in his name, with the Count de Laforest, whom the Emperor Napoleon had nominated as plenipotentiary on the part of France, and he had now appointed the duque to carry this treaty to the regency, in proof of the confidence which he reposed in them, that they might ratify it in their usual manner, and send it back to him after this necessary form without loss of time. "How satisfactory is it for me," added his majesty in conclusion, "to stop the effusion of blood, and to see the end of so many evils! and how do I long to return, and live among a people who have given the universe an example of the purest loyalty, and of the noblest and most generous character!"

The regency, in acknowledging the receipt of this communication, on the eighth of January, 1814, expressed "their happiness at seeing once more the king's signature, being assured also of his good health, and of the noble sentiments which he cherished for his dear Spain. If they could but ill express their own satisfaction, still less could they the joy of that noble and magnanimous people who had sworn fidelity to him, nor the sacrifices which they had made, were making, and still would make till they should see him placed upon the throne of love and justice which they had prepared for him. They must content themselves with declaring to his majesty, that he was the beloved and the desired of the whole nation. It was, however, their duty to put him in possession of a decree passed by the cortes on the first of January, 1811, by which it was enacted, "that no treaty which the king might conclude during his restraint and captivity, should be recognized by Spain." By this line of conduct they were released from the necessity of making the slightest observation upon the treaty, in which his majesty had the most authentic proof that the sacrifices made by the Spaniards for the recovery of his royal person, had not been made in vain. They also congratulated him upon the near

approach of that day, when they should enjoy the inexpressible happiness of delivering up to him the royal authority, which they had preserved for him in faithful deposit during his captivity."

When the Duke of San Carlos left Valençay under the assumed name of Ducos, on this mission, Napoleon nominated Don Pedro de Macanaz to negotiate on the part of Ferdinand, with his minister Laforest. He also liberated Generals Zayas and Palafox from Vincennes, and sent them to Valençay. These victims were followed by Escorquiz, who, together with Macanaz, concluded an arrangement with Laforest for the release of all the French prisoners, the generals and officers to proceed by post to their own country, and the men to be delivered up on the frontier as fast as they arrived there. Palafox was sent to communicate this intelligence to the regency, which, on the twenty-eighth of January, referring to their reply of the eighth, added, that "an ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary had now been named on his majesty's part for a congress, in which the allies were about to give peace to Europe. In that congress, they said, the treaty would be concluded, and it would be ratified not by the regency, but by his majesty himself, in his own royal palace of Madrid, whither he would be restored, to occupy, in the most absolute liberty, a throne rendered illustrious by the heroic sacrifices of the Spaniards, and by his own sublime virtues. They also expressed their satisfaction at the thought, that they should soon deliver up to his majesty the authority wherewith they were intrusted, a charge of such weight that it could rest only upon the robust shoulders of a monarch who, by re-establishing the cortes, had restored to freedom an enslaved people, and driven the ferocious monster despotism from the throne of Spain." Thus was Napoleon's attempt to separate Spain from its alliance with England, and to reinforce his armies in the south of France with the prisoners of war in Spain and in England, which would have given Soult an immense preponderance in numbers over the Marquis of Wellington—happily defeated.

An unsuccessful attempt was made to keep these negotiations secret both from Lord Wellington, and the British ambassador at Madrid, and the meanness of the proceeding occasioned the following despatch, addressed to Lord Bathurst, on the tenth of January, 1814.

“I have long suspected that Buonaparte would adopt this expedient, and if he had less pride, and more common sense, and could have carried his measure into execution as he ought to have done, it would have succeeded. I am not certain that it will not succeed now, that it is to say, so much of the misery felt in Spain is justly attributed to the vices and constitution of the government, that I think there must be many who would desire to put an end to them even by the sanction of this treaty of peace. If Buonaparte had at once withdrawn his garrisons from Catalonia and Valencia, which in all probability he must lose at all events, and had sent Ferdinand to the frontier or into Spain, (and he must be as useless a personage in France, as he would probably be in Spain,) I think it can scarcely be doubted that the peace would have been made, as, at all events, the prosecution of the war would have been so difficult as to render it almost impracticable, and great success hopeless.

“From this treaty your lordship will see that Buonaparte is of the same opinion with me, regarding the importance of our operations here.”

The Spanish generals, as well as the Spanish government, joined in endeavouring to conceal from Lord Wellington's knowledge a negotiation on which the fate of the English army might have depended ; but how much they were mistaken is obvious from his lordship's despatches at that date. Adverting to this treacherous conduct, his lordship says, in a letter to his brother Sir Henry Wellesley, dated the thirteenth of January, “General Copons has not reported to me the arrival of the Duke (San Carlos,) and, what is still more extraordinary, for which I shall call him to account, has not sent me a letter in cipher recently intercepted, he knowing that we possess the means of deciphering them all.

“I suspect that the same opinion about the peace prevails among the Spanish military here. They have all some notion of what has occurred, but not a word has any one of them said to any of us, and I have repeated intelligence and warning from the French, of some act of treachery meditated by the Spaniards.”

The Spanish regency, which, from jealousy of Ferdinand's principles of government, had objected to his treaty with Napoleon, and had kept that important attempt at changing the relations of Britain, and particularly of the British army with Spain, concealed from Lord Wellington, now consisted of Cardinal Bourbon, Don Pedro Agar, and Don Gabriel Ciscar, the former regency having been removed by the cortes because they hesitated to enforce a decree against the clergy.

To prevent the French army under Soult from being reinforced by the garrisons of Catalonia, Arragon, and Valencia, his lordship ordered the Spanish generals in those provinces not to make any capitulations with the troops without his consent, unless they should surrender as prisoners of war.

The British troops were confined to their cantonments for several weeks by bad weather, during which time their only operation consisted in Marshal Beresford's driving the enemy from the bridge of Urdaine, of which post he retained possession.

Meanwhile the inhabitants of St. Jean de Luz, where headquarters were established, long accustomed to see their own generals adorned with gold-lace and military orders, and accompanied by a numerous retinue, were surprised at seeing the Marquis of Wellington walking in their streets entirely unattended, and dressed in a plain frock-coat; they were also pleased at perceiving that he conversed familiarly with any person he met.

Marshal Soult's position at Bayonne was particularly strong. That city, the ancient Lapurdum, was subject to the English crown during the long period that we were governed by the Plantagenets, and is celebrated for being the place where bayonets were invented: It had been strongly fortified since

the commencement of the Peninsular war, and was the chief depôt for the French armies in Spain. The city is situated on the left, the citadel on the right of the Adour, near the junction of that river with the Nive, and about four miles from the sea. Soult's entrenched camp was protected by the guns of the citadel; and nearly the whole of its front, from the Nive to the Adour, was covered by a wide morass. Batteries were raised at intervals, which were connected by breast-works, while palisades, ditches, and *trous de loup*, increased the difficulties of an assault. The works between the right bank of the Nive and the Adour were even still more formidable. This camp was defended by fifty thousand men, and reinforcements of conscripts were arriving daily.

Notwithstanding the strength of Soult's position, it was absolutely necessary to drive him from it, because it commanded the only road into the interior of France, that was practicable for a large army; Lord Wellington, therefore, decided on endeavouring to cause its evacuation by manœuvring solely, as it was much too strong to be carried by assault, and for that purpose he put the allied army in motion on the ninth of December. Sir Rowland Hill crossed the Nive at Cambo; the sixth division, under Marshal Beresford, passed it at Ustaritz; and General Pringle's brigade by a ford at Halsen. The enemy's troops near Cambo had a narrow escape from being captured by the sixth division, as they were completely cut off from the road through St. Jean Pied de Port, and could only gain Petit Monguerre by making a wide circuit. An attempt to maintain their position at Ville Franque was made by their right; but they were almost immediately dislodged by the light companies of the sixth division and a Portuguese brigade. In the night-time the French withdrew all their posts into the entrenched camp.

Sir John Hope, with the left wing, had at the same time received orders to make a strong reconnoissance upon the entrenched camp, and at three A. M. on the ninth began his march; the battle commenced about eight with a heavy fire from both parties, but the French were soon driven back

to Anglet. By one p. m. the first division had obtained possession of the heights opposite Anglet; the fifth division sweeping the space from thence to the sea, while their light infantry occupied the Bois de Bayonne. General Alten had also compelled the enemy to retreat towards the Chateau de Marrac, remarkable as being the place where Ferdinand was formerly entrapped by Napoleon. Early in the morning of the tenth, Soult advanced against Sir John Hope with the greater part of his army, divided into two strong columns, of which the first drove in the outposts of the fifth division to the plateau of Barouillet; the second attacking, without success, the light division that was entrenched in the village of Arcangues. The main body of the French now advanced along a broad valley between these places, and directed a violent attack on the right of the fifth division, which, although assailed in front and flank, and losing many men, still bravely maintained its ground; and the enemy, after several times renewing the attack, retired on the approach of night. In the course of this fierce combat Sir John Hope was struck on the shoulder and leg, two horses were wounded under him, his clothes were perforated in many places, and his hat shot through four times. Lord Wellington was also constantly exposed in riding from point to point, as there was no one eminence from whence he could obtain a view of the whole scene of operations. The regiments of Frankfort and Nassau Usingen, having heard of the liberation of Germany from the French yoke, came over in the night to the allies, in order that they might be restored to their native country.

About two o'clock in the afternoon of the eleventh, the enemy appeared, in great force, before Barouillet, driving in the pickets, and a feint attack was made on Arcangues, while a serious one was being made on the Plateau of Bassussarry; and, although great efforts were used by the enemy, he was everywhere repulsed. At sunrise on the twelfth the French army was again moving in three or four divisions, and there was some severe skirmishing near Barouillet. These opera-



tions ceasing in the afternoon, the enemy that night retired within their entrenched camp; from whence Soult marched, before daybreak, with thirty thousand men, through Bayonne, to attack General Hill, whose force did not exceed thirteen thousand. The marshal advanced in two lines, with supporting columns, up the long slope in front of Hill's centre, which that officer immediately strengthened. The principal point of attack was a height close to Sir Rowland's position, which was taken and retaken several times, but remained at last in the hands of the allies.

The enemy made only a faint attack on the right, but the columns that had advanced up the hollow way made a powerful impression on the left centre: Lord Wellington having foreseen this movement, previously ordered Beresford to reinforce Hill with the sixth division, but before its arrival Sir Rowland had completely repulsed the enemy.

The commander-in-chief was highly gratified with the whole conduct of Sir Rowland in this affair; and, riding up to him, shook him heartily by the hand, saying, "Hill, the day's your own;" having then closely examined the scene of action, his lordship declared "that he had never seen so many dead Frenchmen in so small a space."

This was the last offensive operation undertaken by Marshal Soult, whose loss during these four memorable days amounted to six thousand killed and wounded; that of the allies was upwards of five thousand, and included among the wounded, Generals Hope, Robinson, Barnes, and Le Cor.

The last aggression on the part of Marshal Suchet occurred in the beginning of January, 1814, when he attempted to surprise Villa Franca, where the head-quarters of the Anglo-Sicilian army were established. He hoped, by a forced night-march with fifteen thousand men, to surprise and capture the troops stationed there; but intelligence of his approach preceding him, the British cavalry and artillery fell back on the road to Arbos, and Sarsfield's Spanish corps retired across the country to the left. Suchet, being thus disappointed, withdrew from Villa Franca in the afternoon, and returned rapidly to the Lobre-

gat.—Shortly after this failure, the Nassau troops in Catalonia refused to serve under him, as their countrymen were then acting against Buonaparte; two thousand four hundred of them were consequently made prisoners; and this loss was succeeded by the withdrawal of two thousand of his Italians.

On the seventeenth of January, 1814, Sir William Clinton, who then commanded the Anglo-Sicilian army, failed in an attempt to surprise the division of General Pannetier at Molinos del Rey, on the Lobregat, Copons, the Spanish commander, arriving too late to cut off the retreat of the French. Suchet's corps was now reduced to a comparatively small body, two-thirds of his cavalry, eight or ten thousand of his infantry, and eighty of his field-pieces, being sent to Lyons; and the garrisons of Monzon, Mequinenza, and Lerida, being made prisoners of war, by a stratagem of Colonel Van Halen, one of his aide-de-camps, who had deserted to the Spaniards.

While the allied armies in the south of France were rendered comparatively inactive by the severity of the weather, Napoleon endeavoured to recruit his military strength, and rouse the national spirit of the French. In addressing his council of state, he said, "Wellington is in the south—the Russians threaten the northern frontier—Austria the south-eastern—yet, shame to speak, the nation has not risen in a mass to repel them! Every ally has abandoned me—the Bavarians have betrayed me! Peace! No peace till Munich is in flames! I demand of you 300,000 men; I will form a camp at Bourdeaux of 100,000, another at Lyons, a third at Metz—with the remnant of my former levies I shall have 1,000,000 men in arms. But it is men whom I demand, full-grown men—not these miserable striplings, who choke my hospitals with sick, and my highways with their carcases.—Give up Holland! rather let it sink into the sea! Peace, it seems, is talked of, when all around should re-echo with the cry of war!"

Regnault de St. Jean d'Angely replied, "The cry of alarm and of succour sent forth by our sons and brethren in arms, still gloriously combating upon the banks of the Rhine,

has resounded upon the Seine and the Rhone, the Doubs and the Gironde, the Moselle and the Loire, the mountains of Jura and of the Vosges, the Alps and the Pyrenees. All true Frenchmen are already prepared to meet the wants of their country—to meet the dangers and sacrifices which must prevent other dangers and sacrifices far more frightful, both for their extent, and for the humiliation which must accompany them. If the coalesced armies could penetrate beyond the Pyrenees, the Alps, or the Rhine, then the day of peace could not shine upon France, there could be no peace till we should repulse the enemy, and drive him far from our territory. Noble sons of our dear France! generous defenders of our glorious country! you who close the entrance of France against the English, the Russians, and their allies, you shall not be left without support in the holy and honourable struggle to which you have devoted yourselves. A little while, and numerous battalions of men, mighty in strength and courage, will come to aid you in again seizing upon victory, and in delivering the French soil.”

Adverting to the negotiations for peace that were then pending, Napoleon, in his address to the legislative assembly, introduced the following explanatory passage: “Brilliant victories have shed a lustre on the French arms in this campaign,—unexampled defections have rendered these victories useless. Every thing has turned against us—France itself would be in danger, were it not for the energy and unanimity of the French. I have never been seduced by prosperity, adversity will find me superior to its attacks. Often have I given peace to nations when they had lost all. From part of my conquests I have erected thrones for kings who have abandoned me. I had conceived and executed great designs for the prosperity and happiness of the world. A monarch and a father, I know what peace adds to the security of thrones and of families. Negotiations have been set on foot. I hoped that the congress would by this time have met, but delays which are not attributable to France, have deferred the moment which is called for by the wishes of the world.”

During this interval, also, the Marquis of Wellington published a proclamation, dated the 18th, December 1813, declaring the ports of French Navarre, south of the Adour, open to all nations who were not at war with any of the allied powers, and at the close of the year he imposed an *ad valorem* duty of five per cent. upon all articles except grain and salt, and stores for the army.

It appears from Lord Wellington's despatch of the twenty-seventh of January, 1814, that our army was much distressed from want of pecuniary resources. "The money for the Spanish army," said his lordship, "is still at Corunna, as well as 150,000 dollars from Lisbon. We are short eighteen thousand pounds for the last month's pay to the troops, and there is not a shilling in any of the military chests. We are just as bad as the Spaniards. I yesterday wanted to send off a courier to General William Clinton, in Catalonia, and the money for his expenses was borrowed from those who happened to have a little to lend."

The unsuccessful result of Soult's attack, with greatly superior numbers, on General Hill, induced the French marshal to change the position of his army. He now posted his right wing, under Reille, in the entrenched camp near Bayonne; the centre, under Drouet, he extended along the right bank of the Adour to Port de Lanne; and the left, under Clausel, he placed on the right of the Bidouse, from its confluence with the Adour below Guiche to Palais:—his head-quarters were established at Peyrehorades. To protect this line, the bridges on the Bidouse were fortified with *têtes de pont*—Hastings was retrenched; redoubts were erected along the Adour; St. Jean Pied de Port was strengthened; and Dax, which was the entrepôt for reinforcement, and for the stores that came by land, was strongly entrenched.

The allied army, after the recent well-fought battle, principally re-occupied their old cantonments, the left wing being near Barouillet, the centre at Arcangues, and the right between the Nive and the Adour, with Picton's division in its rear, and Buchan's brigade of Portuguese on both sides of the Joyeuse,

—while Mina, with three battalions of Spaniards, occupied Bidarry and Baygorry on the left of the Nive, to observe the enemy's movements from St. Jean Pied de Port, where General Harispe commanded. Nothing of importance took place between the opposed armies till the early part of January, when General Harispe, who was a native of the valley of Baygorry, succeeded in raising an insurrection among the inhabitants of that place and of Bidarry, who, supported by Paris's division of the army of Catalonia, and part of the garrison of St. Jean Pied de Port, attacked Mina on the 12th and drove him into the valley of Los Aldudes. The ill-conduct of Mina's troops was the principal cause of this insurrection, and the hatred towards them was increased by their being obliged to levy provisions—they were too distant from the British magazines to receive supplies. These excesses of the Spanish troops Lord Wellington thus characterizes, in a letter addressed to Marshal Beresford, on the seventh of February.

“Their conduct is terrible.—I have done every thing in my power by severity and fair means hitherto without success, and every question is taken up as one of national honour. The truth is, the officers will not discipline their troops, and the generals will not give themselves any trouble about the matter, and rather encourage indiscipline.”

To suppress the insurrection of the Biscayan villages, the commander-in-chief published the following proclamation in the French and Biscayan languages.

“To the inhabitants of Bidarry and Baygorry :—The conduct of the people of the villages of Bidarry and Baygorry has given me the greatest pain—it differs from that of all the other inhabitants of the country, and they have no right to act as they have acted.

“If they wish to make war, let them join the ranks of the army, but I will not permit them with impunity to act alternately the part of peaceable inhabitants and of soldiers.

“If they remain quietly in their homes, nobody shall molest them, but on the contrary they shall be protected like the inhabitants of other places occupied by my troops. They must

know that I have performed all the engagements I made to the country, but I warn them, that if they choose to war against me, they must forsake their hearths, and become soldiers—they must not remain in the villages.”

“Head-quarters Jan. 28th, 1814.” “WELLINGTON.”

His lordship not only maintained a discipline so strict as to cause the inhabitants to view the British troops rather as protectors than enemies, but even set the French a much needed example of the observance of the Sabbath, by regularly attending divine worship, while at St. Jean de Luz, on the sandy beach, within a hollow square formed by one of his brigades.

The inactivity imposed upon Lord Wellington; by the state of the weather, begun to excite uneasiness at home, and the ministry wished to remove either a part or the whole of his army to Holland, or to Hanover; pressing to ascertain what object his lordship proposed to himself, by continuing where he then was, that could possibly induce Napoleon to make peace. To this he replied, that “he was in a commanding situation on the most vulnerable, if not the only vulnerable border of France; that if he had the requisite means to bring forty thousand Spaniards into the field, and was properly supported by the fleet, he would most probably be upon the Garonne; a movement which, by depriving Napoleon of such great resources in men and money, as well as by diminishing his reputation, would contribute more towards a peace than ten British armies on the side of Flanders; and finally, that on his present ground he had done, and was still doing, good service to the allies in the north: since for five years he had given employment to two hundred thousand of the best French troops, which otherwise would have been brought against them; for it was absurd to suppose that the Portuguese or Spaniards could have resisted for a moment, if the British force had been withdrawn.” Two thousand of his veterans were, however, drafted for service in Holland. His chagrin at this loss may have been partially alleviated by the gratitude of the Emperor of Austria, who, at this period, conferred on him the distinction of grand cross of the military order of Maria Theresa.

Early in January, 1814, the Duc d'Angoulême arrived from England at the British head-quarters, under the assumed title of Comte de Pradelles, accompanied by the Duc de Guiche, Comte Etienne de Damas, and Comte d'Escars ; but, as negotiations were then pending with Napoleon, and the congress of the allies had expressed no wish to have the Bourbons restored, the Marquis of Wellington could only receive him as a private individual. The duke addressed a proclamation to the French army, inviting the soldiers "to rally round the fleur de lys, which he had come to display once more in his dear country," and guaranteeing, in the name of the king, Louis XVIII, his uncle, to those who should enlist under his banner, their rank and pay with rewards proportioned to their services. "Soldiers," said the prince in this address, "it is the descendant of Henri Quatre, it is the husband of a princess, whose misfortunes are unequalled, but whose only wishes are for the prosperity of France; it is a prince, who, forgetting, in imitation of your king, all his own sufferings and mindful only of yours, throws himself now with confidence into your arms." The Marquis de la Rochejaquelein, prior to this time, had visited Bourdeaux, the mayor of which, M. Lynch, pledged himself to deliver up the keys of that city to the royal duke. Accompanied by the marquis, the prince now waited on Lord Wellington at Garitz, to report this circumstance, and to propose that his lordship should send one or two vessels, with a few hundred men, to land him on the coast of Poitou, in order that he might inflame the Vendéans against Buonaparte. The British commander, however, was obliged, by political considerations, to decline any interference in this expedition.

Marshal Soult having, about the twenty-first of January, abandoned the fortress of Bayonne to the defence of its garrison, by withdrawing all his troops from the entrenched camp, the English generalissimo decided on crossing the Adour, investing that city, and penetrating into the heart of France, as soon as the weather would permit the advance of his army. The roads having become practicable, on the fourteenth of February Lord Wellington put the right wing, commanded by General Hill, in

motion. Sir Rowland drove in the enemy's pickets on the Joyeuse, and, attacking Harispe's division, compelled it to retire toward St. Martin, and from thence to Garris, where he was joined by Paris's division and by reinforcements from the French centre. In the afternoon of the fifteenth Morillo was despatched towards St. Palais, to cut off Harispe's retreat, while Sir William Stewart attacked the enemy's very strong position in front. He carried this important object with little loss, and maintained it successfully against all the desperate efforts of the enemy for its recovery: late in the evening the French retreated to St. Palais, which they reached before Morillo's corps arrived, and were thus enabled to cross the Bidouse, the bridges over which they took the precaution to destroy. But General Hill soon caused these structures to be restored, and followed Harispe as far as Sauveterre, covering the road leading to Orthez, where Marshal Soult with the bulk of his army hastened to his support. The centre of the allied army marched to the Bidouse on the fifteenth, leaving the sixth and eighth divisions between the Nive and the Adour, to watch the garrison of Bayonne; and the left, under Sir John Hope, was directed to cross the Adour below Bayonne, as soon as the state of the river permitted that operation, and proceed to invest that fortress.

Preparations were consequently made for placing a bridge formed of *chassees marées* over the river, for the passage of artillery and stores, and, on the twenty-fifth a sufficient number of troops and ordnance having passed over, the citadel, in which was a garrison of ten thousand men, under General Thouvenot, was closely invested. The difficulties connected with the passage of the Adour were almost insurmountable, and several lives were lost in the attempt, but it was at length, and to the great astonishment of the enemy, successfully accomplished. While Sir John Hope was thus preparing for the siege of Bayonne, Marshal Beresford with the fourth and seventh divisions, forming the left centre, attacked the posts at Hastings and Oyergave, driving their defenders into the *tête de pont* at Peyrehorade; and, on the twenty-fourth, the right centre and the right crossed the Gave d'Oleron between Sauveterre and



Navarreins, while Picton with the third division threatened to attack Sauveterre. The troops at that place, apprehensive of being prevented from joining Soult, who was then at Orthez, rapidly fell back thither, having first destroyed all the bridges on the Gave de Pau.

Soult, with nearly forty thousand men, had decided on making a stand at Orthez for the preservation of his magazines, and to prevent his being cut off either from the Pyrenees or from Bourdeaux. His position, which was remarkably strong, extended about a mile along a range of tabular heights; the left of his army, under Clauzel, occupied Orthez; the centre, under Drouet, was on a hill that overlooks the road to Dax; while the right, under Reille, was stationed near the village of St. Boës; the reserve, consisting of Harispe's and Vilatte's divisions, and some Basques, being in the rear of the centre.

The left of the allied army, under Sir John Hope, being engaged in the siege of Bayonne, the commander-in-chief had only the centre and right disposable against Soult, and on the twenty-sixth of February these seven divisions were concentrically directed against his force. Marshal Beresford, on the morning of that day, advanced with the fourth and seventh divisions along the right bank of the Gave de Pau, by the road from Peyrehorade to Orthez; the cavalry and third division crossed that river near Bereux, the sixth and light divisions were placed by Lord Wellington at that point, in readiness to cross on the following morning, and Sir R. Hill occupied a commanding height on the left bank of the Gave de Pau, opposite Orthez, and covering the road to Sauveterre.

The cavalry and light divisions having crossed the Gave, moved with Hill's, the fourth, and seventh divisions, in parallel columns, to attack Soult's formidable position. About nine o'clock a vigorous assault was made on St. Boës by the fourth and seventh divisions, and Col. Vivian's brigade of cavalry; the third and sixth, with Lord E. Somerset's cavalry, advancing under Picton to attack the French left and centre. The light division continued in reserve between these bodies, while Sir Rowland Hill was ordered to force the passage of the river above

Orthez, so as to turn the left of the French position, and place himself in its rear.

After an obstinate resistance, the village of St. Boës was carried by the fourth division under Sir Lowry Cole. Marshal Beresford then attempted to drive the enemy from two lines of heights above it; but all his efforts proved ineffectual, and the Portuguese brigade of Vasconcellos being broken, was obliged to retreat, covered by part of the reserve under the gallant Baron Alten.

Lord Wellington, seeing that this point could not be carried, ordered the third, sixth, and seventh, with part of the light division, to aid the fourth, by attacking the height between the enemy's centre and left, and the artillery was placed, after a brisk charge, on a knoll, from whence it swept the whole of the enemy's centre. The French, notwithstanding a stout resistance, were driven to the summit of the main position of their centre, where a fierce struggle ensued: but finding it impossible to withstand the British bayonet, they retreated in good order, although under a heavy fire from the guns of the allies.

Soult finding that his centre had been dislodged, was obliged to withdraw his wings, and order a general retreat: but Sir Rowland Hill having forced the passage of the Gave, moved in a direction to cut off the retreating army from Sault de Navailles. The French perceiving this design, quickened their retreat, and Sir Rowland, accelerating his march, the retreat soon became an actual flight, the columns of Soult's army being completely broken; upon which one of our officers remarked, "that in the battle they met the charge like lions, but that the pursuit was like hare-hunting."

The pursuit of the enemy was retarded by an important incident: Lord Wellington had been struck on the pommel of his sword by a musket-shot, which bruised him so severely, that he was unable to cross this broken country on horseback, with rapidity enough to direct the operations in detail.

The rout of the French army was complete—the troops throwing away their arms, and even their knapacks and

haversacks to facilitate their escape;—six guns and between four and five thousand men were left on the field killed or wounded, and several thousand prisoners were made in the pursuit. Great numbers of conscripts also took this opportunity for deserting a bad cause and a compulsory service. General Bechaud was killed, and General Foy severely wounded; and the whole loss of Soult's army is estimated at about fifteen thousand, while that of the allies amounted to only two thousand three hundred, including six hundred Portuguese.

In the night following their defeat at Orthez, the French crossed the Luy de Bearne, and retreated to Hagetman, where they were joined by two battalions of conscripts, and the garrison of Dax. One corps then marched to Aire for the protection of its magazines, while the remainder proceeded to St. Sever to reorganize. The centre of the British army commenced the pursuit of the defeated foe the day after the victory of Orthez, in three columns, in the expectation of being able to surround them near St. Sever, but the difficulties of the road prevented the flank columns from arriving there before the enemy had withdrawn towards Agen. Lord Wellington now detached Marshal Beresford to Mont de Marsan, where a large magazine of provisions was seized; and directed Sir Rowland Hill to follow the French corps that had retreated to Aire. That general found the enemy, on the second of March, posted strongly on a range of hills two miles from the town, with their right protected by the Adour. The attack was made by the second division under General Stewart, advancing against the right of the French position, from which it speedily dislodged its opponents, and by Da Costa's Portuguese brigade attacking their centre, in which attempt they were repulsed and driven back in great disorder. General Stewart now brought up Barnes's brigade to the assistance of the Portuguese. By this force the enemy was driven back in confusion, and the arrival of another brigade decided the contest, which terminated in the French being expelled from Aire, and its magazines falling into the hands of Sir Rowland Hill. In this

affair the Honourable Lieutenant-Colonel Hood, of the general's staff, was killed, and about one hundred and fifty of the allies put *hors du combat*.

Part of the corps that had been defeated at Aire retreated towards Tarbes, whither Soult also directed his march, to put himself in communication with Suchet, who was still in Spain; the British army being unable to prevent him, in consequence of the rising of the rivers. Another section of it fled in disorder to Pau, the birth-place of Henri Quatre, from whence they were driven by General Fane, who caused an hospital to be established there for the troops, which was humanely attended by the *Sœurs de la Charité*.

The marquis's head-quarters being now established at St. Sever, the Duc d'Angouleme proceeded thither, followed by the Marquis de la Rochejacquelein. It was at this time that M. Bontemps Dubarry arrived from Bourdeaux, to invite the Duc to enter that city, and to assure Lord Wellington that the British troops would be received there as friends. His lordship therefore decided on sending Marshal Beresford thither, with three divisions, to drive out the garrison, that the inhabitants might be at liberty, either to continue their allegiance to Napoleon, or to declare in favour of the Bourbons. La Rochejacquelein felt so confident that this declaration would be made, that when the Duc expressed a doubt on the subject, he requested permission to precede the English by thirty-six hours, adding, that his head should be the forfeit, if the inhabitants did not mount the white cockade. Lord Wellington's instructions to the marquis on his departure were as follows:

“ If they should ask for your consent to proclaim Louis XVIII. and to hoist the white standard, you will state that the British nation and their allies wish well to Louis XVIII. and as long as the public peace is preserved where our troops are stationed, we shall not interfere to prevent that party from doing what may be deemed most for its interest: nay, farther, that I am prepared to assist any party that may show itself inclined to aid us in getting the better of Buonaparte

"That the object of the allies, however, in the war, and, above all, in entering France, is, as it is stated in my proclamation—peace; and that it is well known the allies are now engaged in negotiating a treaty of peace with Buonaparte. That, however I might be inclined to aid and support any set of people against Buonaparte while at war, I could give them no farther aid when peace should be concluded; and I beg the inhabitants will weigh this matter well before they raise a standard against the government of Buonaparte, and involve themselves in hostilities.

"If, however, notwithstanding this warning, the town should think proper to hoist the white standard, and should proclaim Louis XVIII., or adopt any other measure of that description, you will not oppose them; and you will arrange with the authorities the means of drawing, without loss of time, for all the arms and ammunition which are at Dax, which you will deliver to them.

"If the municipality should state, that they will not proclaim Louis XVIII. without your orders, you will decline to give such orders, for the reasons above stated."

On the approach of the English troops to Bourdeaux, the senator Cornudet, who was commissioner-extraordinary in that department, dissolved the civil and ecclesiastical authorities, ordered all the employés of government to leave the city, and then withdrew with the public chests, having set fire, with his own hands, to two frigates on the stocks. General L'Huillier, the military commandant, also withdrew; but the archbishop and M. Lynch, the mayor, prepared to receive the Duc d'Angoulême and the English; and when Marshal Beresford reached the city gates, on the twelfth of March, the mayor, attended by the municipality, informed him, that if he was about to enter Bourdeaux as a conqueror, he might command the keys, which there were no means of withholding; but if he came in the name of the king of France, and his ally, the king of England, they would be joyfully presented to him. On the marshal's replying, that he came to occupy and protect the city, as belonging to an ally, and inhabited

by the subjects of Louis XVIII., the troops were admitted, amidst shouts of *Vive le Roi!* and the insignia of the Bourbons were everywhere displayed.

On the Duc's arrival, Te Deum was performed at the cathedral, and M. Lynch issued the following proclamation:—  
“Inhabitants of Bourdeaux! Happy circumstances have called upon the paternal magistrate of your city to become the interpreter of your long-suppressed wishes, and the organ of your interests, by welcoming in your name the nephew of Louis XVI., whose presence has converted into allies an irritated nation, bearing the character of enemies till they reached your gates. It is not to subjugate our country, that the English, and the Spaniards, and the Portuguese appear where they now are;—they are come with united forces into the south of France, actuated by the same feelings as the nations of the north, to destroy the scourge of Europe, and supply his place by a monarch who will be the father of his people. The hands of the Bourbons are undefiled with French blood; the testament of Louis XVI. is their guide, and they renounce all thoughts of resentment. They proclaim, that clemency and tolerance are the leading features of their conduct; and in deploring the terrible ravages of that tyranny which licentiousness introduced, they forget the errors caused by the illusions of liberty. No more tyranny; no more war; no more conscription; no more vexatious taxes, are the concise and consoling expressions addressed to you by a prince who has the daughter of Louis XVI. for his consort. I am proud that you are the first who have set an example in France. Everything tends to assure us that our misfortunes are about to terminate, and that national rivalry will cease with them.

“It seems to have been decreed by Providence that the great commander who so well deserves to be entitled “the liberator of nations,” should attach his glorious name to this glorious epoch—this memorable consummation of all my wishes. Fellow-citizens! Such are the hopes and motives which have supported me at this trying period, and directed my conduct,

and determined me if necessary to sacrifice my life for you. God is my witness, that I have no object in view but the good of my country—Long live the king !”

Marshal Soult was extremely chagrined and irritated by the occupation of Bourdeaux, and immediately addressed this counter-proclamation to his soldiers, containing the most bitter invectives, and violent threats, against the English and the royalist French:—“Soldiers ! there will be no repose for us till this hostile army shall be annihilated, or till it shall have evacuated the territory of the emperor. It does not suspect the dangers which surround nor the perils which await it, but time will teach this army and the general who commands it, that our territory is not invaded with impunity, and that French honour is not with impunity insulted. The British general has had the audacity to entice you and your countrymen to revolt and sedition—he has dared to insult the national honour—he has had the baseness to excite the French to break their oaths and to be guilty of perjury. Yet a few days, and those who have been capable of believing in the sincerity, and delicacy, of the English, will learn to their cost that the English have no other object in this war than to destroy France by its own instrumentality, and reduce the French to servitude like the Portuguese, the Sicilians, and all the other people who have groaned under their yoke. Let these deluded Frenchmen look back upon the past, they will see the English at the head of every conspiracy, of the overthrow of all principles, of the destruction of all establishments, whether of greatness or of industry, for the sake of gratifying their inordinate ambition and their insatiable avarice. Is there a single place on the surface of the globe, where they have not, either by fraud or violence, brought about the ruin of the manufactories which rivalled, or surpassed their own. Soldiers ! let us devote to shame and general execration every Frenchman who shall have favoured the projects of the enemy. There is no longer any bond between them and us—our motto is honour and fidelity—our duty is marked out—implacable hatred to traitors, and to the enemies of the French

name. Interminable war to those who would divide in order to destroy us, as well as to the wretches who would desert the imperial eagles for any other standard. Let us have always in our mind fifteen ages of glory, and the innumerable triumphs which have rendered our country illustrious. Let us contemplate the prodigious efforts of our great emperor, and his signal victories, which will eternize the French name. Let us be worthy of him, and that we may bequeath to our posterity without a stain, the inheritance which we have received from our fathers."

During these important transactions, the conferences for peace with Napoleon were continued at Chatillon, but as he purposely delayed the negotiations, the allied powers concluded a treaty for twenty years, by which Austria, Russia, Prussia, and England engaged not to treat separately with France, and to maintain, respectively, an army of one hundred and fifty thousand men, exclusive of garrisons, England being allowed to subsidize foreign troops instead of employing her own, and agreeing to pay five millions sterling per annum to the other allies. Although this league was concluded on the first of March, Napoleon had the boldness to send, on the fifteenth, as his ultimatum, the following amongst other terms: "that France should have for boundaries the whole of the Rhine, and great part of the Waal; also, that she should possess the fortress of Nimeguen; that Italy, including Venice, should be held by his son-in-law Eugene Beauharnois, who should also be indemnified as having been Grand Duke of Frankfort; also, that indemnities should be granted to his brother Jerome, as having been king of Westphalia; to Joseph, as having been king of Naples; and to Louis, for his grand duchy of Berg." These were the conditions on which he offered to conclude peace, when Lord Wellington was victorious in the south of France, and Austria, Russia, and Prussia were occupying the north in great force, and menacing its capital: they were of course rejected.

Among the allied sovereigns, the Emperor of Russia alone advocated the "getting rid of Napoleon," and restoration of



the Bourbons, but Lord Wellington was very desirous that the other powers should declare themselves, as explicitly, on this point. Writing to Lord Liverpool on the fourth of March, his lordship says, "In proportion as we advance, I find the sentiment in the country still more strong against the Buonaparte dynasty, and in favour of the Bourbons, but I am quite certain there will be no declaration on the part of the people, if the allies do not in some manner declare themselves, and, at all events, while they are negotiating with Buonaparte.

"Any declaration from us would, I am convinced, raise such a flame in the country as would spread from one end of it to the other, and would infallibly overturn him. I cannot discern the policy of not hitting one's enemy as hard as one can, and in the most vulnerable place."

Marshal Soult having been reinforced, crossed the Adour on the twelfth of March, to attack Lord Wellington's right flank and rear, and the following day advanced by Lambega and Conchez towards Aire. Wellington immediately ordered up a body of troops from Bayonne and Bourdeaux, occupying, with those that were with him, a strong position between Aire and Garlin; but on the seventeenth Soult hastily retreated to Lambega. Having been strengthened by the arrival of a strong detachment from Bourdeaux, Lord Wellington advanced in two columns towards Vic Bigorre, where the enemy seemed inclined to risk a battle. They were, however quietly driven out of the vineyards in front of the town, and retreated to Tarbes, where the whole were concentrated: Lieutenant-Colonel Sturgeon of the royal-staff corps, an officer of very superior merit, was killed in this affair. Soult's right wing being soon turned by the skilful manœuvres of the British commander, and General Hill attacking Tarbes with his light troops, the marshal fell back upon some heights near that place, and in the night retired by St. Gaudens on Toulouse, which he reached on the twenty-fourth, the British troops not arriving before that city till the twenty-seventh, owing to the badness of the roads there, and the interruption occasioned by a pontoon train, artillery, and stores that encumbered them.

## CHAP. VIII.

BATTLE OF TOULOUSE—ABDICATION OF NAPOLEON AND RESTORATION OF LOUIS XVIII.—CONVENTION BETWEEN THE MARQUIS OF WELLINGTON AND MARSHALS SOULT AND SUCHET—THE MARQUIS APPOINTED AMBASSADOR AT PARIS—CREATED MARQUIS OF DOURO AND DUKE OF WELLINGTON—PARLIAMENT VOTES £300,000 FOR THE PURCHASE OF AN ESTATE, AND INCREASES THE DUKE'S PARLIAMENTARY INCOME TO £17,000 PER ANNUM—HE VISITS MADRID—DESPOTISM OF FERDINAND—PROPOSAL TO MAKE THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON KING OF SPAIN—HIS VIEWS OF FERDINAND'S POLICY—THE DUKE TAKES LEAVE OF THE ARMY AT BOURDEAUX AND RETURNS TO ENGLAND—TAKES HIS SEAT IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS—THE LORD CHANCELLOR'S ADDRESS ON THE OCCASION—HIS GRACE RETURNS THANKS TO THE HOUSE OF COMMONS—IS SENT TO PARIS TO NEGOTIATE ON THE SLAVE TRADE—INSPECTS THE FORTRESSES IN THE NETHERLANDS, AND ATTENDS THE CONGRESS AT VIENNA—NAPOLEON ESCAPES FROM ELBA AND RETURNS TO FRANCE—THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON ASSUMES THE COMMAND IN THE NETHERLANDS—1814.

Toulouse, which is seated on the right bank of the Garonne, that protects its western side, has the canal of Brienne on the east and north; and, as the southern side was inaccessible by artillery from the state of the roads, and the only bridge over the Garonne was strongly fortified, Marshal Soult considered the city safe from capture. The French army occupied a range of bold heights to the eastward of the city, called Mount Calvint, which were fortified with redoubts and intrenchments. This formidable position Lord Wellington decided on attacking, and accordingly moved his army across the Garonne over a pontoon bridge, in constructing which such great difficulties had occurred, that one of the engineer officers expressed his fears that it could not be accomplished till the river had fallen; to which Lord Wellington animatedly replied, "If it will not do one way, we must try another, for I never in my life gave up any thing I undertook."

On the eighth, the eighteenth hussars had a brilliant affair with the enemy's horse under Marshal Soult's brother, near the village of Croix d'Orade, and obtained possession of the bridge over the Ers, which opened the right, or weakest part of Soult's position, to the allies. One hundred prisoners were taken, but Colonel Vivian, who commanded the eighteenth, was severely wounded.

The French army, amounting to about forty thousand men, on the tenth of April occupied the following positions. General Arrican's division covered the *têtes du pont* of the three bridges over the canal; the divisions of Clauzel, Harispe, and Villette held the summit of Mount Calvinet, their left extending to a knoll called La Pujade, which was fortified with two strong redoubts and other works, their centre and right being also protected by redoubts and intrenchments. The reserve comprised Armagnac's and Taupin's divisions of infantry, and General Pierre Soult's of cavalry, two bodies of the latter being placed in front of the line under Generals Veal and Berton, and Count Reille with two divisions defended the fauxbourg St. Cyprien, which was on the left bank of the Garonne, but connected with Toulouse by a fortified bridge. To watch this corps, General Hill retained ten thousand men, which left about thirty-five thousand, of which number five thousand were Portuguese and eight thousand Spaniards, at Lord Wellington's disposal, to attack Soult's formidable position at Calvinet.

On Easter Sunday, the tenth of April, the battle of Toulouse commenced by Marshal Beresford's crossing the bridge at Croix d'Orade, and taking possession of the village of Mont Blanc. He then advanced in three columns to the extreme right of the enemy's position. During this operation, the Spanish foot was formed in two columns, near the bridge of Orade, and with General Ponsonby's cavalry, and under the protection of a battery of Portuguese artillery, advanced to the left of the enemy's line. The first column of Spaniards advanced boldly, driving back a French brigade, but, on approaching the enemy's works, was broken by their heavy fire, and not being well supported by their second line, it was fiercely attacked by the enemy, and thrown back in great disorder to the Ers. Lord Wellington here rallied some of them in person; and the light division coming up, the bridge was preserved, and General Freyre was enabled to re-form his dispersed battalions.

While the Spaniards thus failed in their attack on the enemy's left, Beresford had completely succeeded on their

right, the divisions of Clinton and Cole having formed, ten thousand strong, on the same range of heights as the enemy. He was, however, obliged to wait for his artillery, which had been left at Mont Blanc.

General Picton, who had been directed to make only a feint attack on Pont Jumeau, which spanned the canal, seeing the French in pursuit of the Spaniards, converted the feint prescribed in his instructions into a real attack on the *tête de pont*, but found it so formidable, that he was obliged to retire with great loss. Sir Rowland Hill had, during this period, driven the enemy from his first line of works in the fauxbourg St. Cyprien; but as the second line could not be carried by a *coup de main*, Reille sent one of his divisions to Soult's assistance, reserving only one for its defence.

Marshal Beresford, about one o'clock, having brought up his artillery, advanced with the fourth and sixth divisions against the redoubts covering the enemy's centre. A considerable interval existing between the two columns in their advance, Marshal Soult sent General Taupin to attack the sixth, or foremost division, in front and on the left flank, hoping to crush it before it could receive support from the fourth. Taupin therefore charged it in front, while Pierre Soult's cavalry and part of D'Armagnac's infantry assaulted its flank. The French advanced with great intrepidity under a destructive fire, but being charged with the bayonet, turned and fled, being joined in their flight by the troops stationed in the two redoubts. Desperate attempts were subsequently made to recover these redoubts, but they remained in the hands of the captors.

Soult now contracted his line, limiting it to the space intercepted between the knoll of La Pujade, and the Pont des Demoiselles, but after a fruitless attempt to recover the redoubt in the centre of Mount Calvinet, finding that he was likely to be attacked both in flank and front, he evacuated all his works on that range, and took up a position near the fauxbourg St. Etienne, from whence also he retired at night behind the canal. On the eleventh he finally evacuated Toulouse, marching by way of Carcassone to join Suchet, who was then retreating from Spain with the army of Catalonia:

In this battle, which was fought some days after Napoleon's abdication of the throne of France, and might therefore have been prevented by an early communication of that fact, nearly five thousand of the allies were killed or wounded, including Generals Brisbane, Pack, Mendizabal, and Espeleta, among the latter: of the French generals, Taupin and Lamoranier were killed, and Harispe, Baurot, and St. Hilaire were wounded and made prisoners. The loss of the French in killed and wounded was about the same as that of the allies.

At noon on the twelfth of April, the marquis of Wellington attended by his staff, entered Toulouse amidst the acclamations of the inhabitants, who had hoisted the white flag, and wore white cockades. He was received by the deputy-mayor, who had been commissioned to present the following address:—

"The deputy-mayor of the city of Toulouse to his excellency the Marquis of Wellington.

"Sir,

April 12, 1814.

"In the name of the people of Toulouse, which this happy circumstance makes us doubly feel the honour of representing, we entreat you to convey to our dear king, Louis XVIII. the homage of love and respect which twenty years of suffering have only increased, to receive in his name the key of his good city, and to accept, Sir, the unbounded gratitude that your conduct, great, generous, and unparalleled in history, has inspired."

This loyal and flattering document was acknowledged by his lordship in the following terms.

"To the Municipality of Toulouse.

"Gentlemen,

Toulouse, April 12th, 1814.

"In entering your city, it is necessary that I should remind you that I have invaded France, at the head of the allied armies of his majesty the king of Spain, and of their royal highnesses the prince regent of England, and the prince regent of Portugal, in consequence of the unjust war which the present government of France has made on those powers, and of the military successes of these armies.

"The object of the governments I have the honour to serve, has always been peace—a peace founded on the independence

of their respective states, and of that of all the powers of Europe, and I have every reason to believe that the ambassadors of those august sovereigns are at present engaged, in concert with their allies of the north of Europe, at Chatillon sur Seine, in negotiating such a peace, if it is possible to attain it, with the present government of France.

“I perceive that the city of Toulouse, like many other cities of France, contains individuals who wish to follow the example of Bourdeaux, in throwing off the yoke under which France has suffered during so many years, and in assisting to restore the legitimate house of Bourbon, under whose government France prospered during many centuries. It is for them to decide, if, after what I have announced to them, and which I had also announced to the city of Bourdeaux, before I allowed the allied troops to enter it, they will declare in favour of the Bourbons. If they do so, it will be my duty to view them as allies, and give them all the succour in my power while the war continues; but it is equally my duty to let them know, that if peace is made with the present government of France, it will be no longer in my power to give them any succour or assistance whatever.—I have the honour to be, &c.—WELLINGTON.”

It must excite surprise, that although Marshal Soult was driven from his strongly fortified position on Mount Calvinet, and on the following day evacuated Toulouse, the French should put in any claim to a victory on the tenth of April, yet they have not only asserted this monstrous absurdity, but the government has even granted a sum of money, “in aid of the monument to be raised in honour of the battle of the tenth of April, 1814.” The inhabitants of Toulouse, however, evidently viewed the English as victors, and in compliment to them, had the piece announced for performance at the theatre on the 12th, changed to Richard Cœur de Lion, warmly cheering those passages and songs which could be applied to their courage and success. During the performance, one of the municipal officers announced to the audience the abdication of Napoleon, and the proclamation of Louis XVIII. as king of France. These important events had resulted from the allied sovereigns

having obtained possession of Paris, on the thirtieth of March, and having declared that they would not make peace with Buonaparte, upon which the conservative senate formally pronounced his deposition on the third of April. The Bourbon dynasty was immediately restored, and the island of Elba given, in independent sovereignty, to Napoleon Buonaparte.

Not only was much blood shed wantonly at Toulouse, in consequence of the provisional government of France not communicating the abdication of Napoleon and cessation of hostilities to Marshal Soult, but the same neglect occasioned a considerable sacrifice of life at Bayonne. On the fourteenth of April the French sallied from that fortress in great force, dislodged the besiegers from the entrenched village of St. Etienne, where General Hay was killed, and drove in the pickets of the centre of the allies, wounding General Stafford; Sir John Hope also was wounded and made prisoner while driving the French back to the citadel, which was soon accomplished. The number of killed and wounded was about eight hundred, almost equally divided between the combatants. The white flag was hoisted on the citadel a few days afterwards, and the war in the Peninsula, which had cost France above half a million of men, terminated on the spot where it originated in Napoleon's attempting to impose his brother Joseph on the Spaniards as their king, instead of Ferdinand, their hereditary prince.

The occurrences that had taken place at Paris were officially communicated to Marshal Soult on the thirteenth of April, and he was directed to suspend hostilities in consequence, but he declined obeying the provisional government. Lord Wellington, therefore, prepared to attack him at Castlenaudy, and Soult, finding that Suchet had sent in his adhesion to the Bourbons, Comté Gazan, by order of the two marshals, waited on Lord Wellington, to conclude the following convention, the last military memorandum that was issued in the Peninsular war.

“Toulouse, 18th April, 1814.

“Field-Marshal the Marquis of Wellington and the Marshals the Duke of Dalmatia and the Duke of Albufera,

being desirous of concluding a suspension of hostilities between the armies under their respective orders, and of agreeing upon a line of demarcation, have named the under-mentioned officers for that purpose. On the part of the Marquis of Wellington, Major-General Sir George Murray, and Major-General Louis Wimpffen; and on the part of the Duke of Dalmatia, and the Duke of Albufera, the General of Division, Count Gazan.

These officers having exchanged their full powers, have agreed upon the following articles :—

Art. 1. From the date of the present convention there shall be a suspension of hostilities between the allied armies under the orders of Field-Marshal the Marquis of Wellington, and the armies of France under the orders of Marshal the Duke of Dalmatia, and of Marshal the Duke of Albufera.

Art. 2. Hostilities shall not be renewed on either part without a previous notice being given of five days.

Art. 3. Defines the line of demarcation, with a proviso that if Lieutenant-General the Earl of Dalhousie and General Decaen had fixed a different line, the line agreed upon by these officers should be adhered to.

Art. 4. Hostilities shall also cease on both sides in regard to the places of Bayonne, St. Jean Pied de Port, Navarreins, Blaye, and the Castle of Lourdes. The governors of these places shall be allowed to provide for the daily subsistence of their garrisons in the adjacent country: the garrison of Bayonne within a circuit of eight leagues from Bayonne; and the garrisons of the other places named, within a circuit of three leagues round each place. Officers shall be sent to the garrisons of the above places, to communicate to them the terms of the present convention.

Art. 5. The town and fort of Santona shall be evacuated by the French troops, and made over to the Spanish forces. The French garrison will remove, with all that properly belongs to it, together with such arms, artillery, and other military effects as have not been the property originally of the Spanish government. The Marquis of Wellington will determine whether the French garrison of Santona shall return to France



by land or by sea, and in either case the passage of the garrison shall be secured, and it will be directed upon one of the places or ports most contiguous to the army of the Duke of Dalmatia. The ships of war, or other vessels, now in the harbour of Santona, belonging to France, shall be allowed to proceed to Rochefort with passports for that purpose. The Duke of Dalmatia will send an officer to communicate to the French general commanding in Santona, the terms of the present convention, and cause them to be complied with.

Art. 6. The fort of Venasque shall be made over as soon as possible to the Spanish troops; and the French garrison shall proceed by the most direct route to the head-quarters of the French army. The garrison will remove with it the arms and ammunition which were originally French.

Art. 7. The line of demarcation between the allied armies and the army of Marshal Suchet shall be the line of the frontier of Spain and France, from the Mediterranean to the limits of the department of the Haut-Garonne.

Art. 8. The garrisons of all the places which are occupied by the troops of the army of the Duke of Albufera shall be allowed to return without delay into France. These garrisons shall remove with all that properly belongs to them, as also all the arms and artillery originally French. The garrisons of Murviedro and of Peniscola shall join the garrison of Tortosa, and their troops will then proceed together by the great road, and enter France by Perpignan. The day of the arrival of these garrisons of Gerene, the fortresses of Figueras and of Rosas shall be made over to the Spanish troops, and the French garrisons of these places shall proceed to Perpignan. As soon as information is received of the French garrisons of Murviedro, Peniscola, and Tortosa having passed the French frontier, the place and forts of Barcelona shall be made over to the Spanish troops, and the French garrisons shall march immediately to Perpignan. The Spanish authorities will provide for the necessary means of transport being supplied to the French garrisons in their march to the frontier. The sick or wounded of any of the French garrisons, who are

not in a state to move with the troops, shall remain, and be treated in the hospitals where they are, and will be sent into France as soon as they have recovered.

Art. 9. From the date of the ratification of the present convention, there shall not be removed from Peniscola, Murviedro, Tortosa, Barcelona, or any of the other places, any artillery, arms, ammunition, or any other military effects belonging to the Spanish government, and the provisions remaining at the evacuation of these places shall be made over to the Spanish authorities.

Art. 10. The roads shall be free for the passage of couriers through the cantonments of both armies, provided they are furnished with regular passports.

Art. 11. During the continuance of the present convention, deserters from either army shall be arrested, and shall be delivered up if demanded.

Art. 12. The navigation of the Garonne shall be free from Toulouse to the sea, and all boats in the service of either army employed in the river, shall be allowed to proceed unmolested.

Art. 13. The cantonments of the troops shall be arranged so as to leave a space of two leagues at least between the quarters of the different armies.

Art. 14. The movements of the troops for the establishment of their cantonments shall commence immediately after the ratification of the present convention. The ratification is to take place within twenty-four hours for the army of the Duke of Dalmatia, and within forty-eight hours for the army of the Duke of Albufera.

Signed . . . . G. Murray—Louis Wimpffen—Count Gazan.

Confirmed . . Wellington—The Marshals and Dukes of Dalmatia and Albufera.

Sir Charles Stewart, British ambassador to the Court of Berlin, arrived from Paris at Toulouse on the twenty-first of April, to offer the appointment of ambassador at the French court to the Marquis of Wellington. His lordship accepted the office, and arrived at Paris on the fourth of May.

In that city his lordship received the information of his having been created Marquis of Douro and Duke of Wellington; that parliament had voted three hundred thousand pounds for the purchase of an estate for him in England, and increased his parliamentary income to seventeen thousand per annum.— Besides these distinctions, the crown prince of Sweden conferred upon him the military order of the Sword.\*

Having received the homage of assembled statesmen, warriors, and kings, at Paris, he left that city on the tenth of May; and, passing four days at Toulouse, reached Madrid on the twenty-fourth, where all the honours that had been, from time to time, conferred on him by the cortes and the regency, were confirmed by Ferdinand, who also created him captain-general of Spain.

When Napoleon found that the Spanish government refused to ratify the treaty he had concluded with Ferdinand in the month of March, he released the king, and permitted him to return to Madrid; previously exacting from him a promise that the French garrisons should be sent back to their native country. Arrived in a kingdom where the majority of the people were favourable to the inquisition, and to absolute royal power, it can scarcely excite surprise that Ferdinand should have acted

\* It is not generally known that the Grand Cross of the Bath conferred upon the Duke of Wellington was vacated by the death of Lord Nelson. Major-General the Hon. Arthur Wellesley (afterwards created Viscount, Earl, Marquis, and Duke of Wellington) was nominated a supernumerary companion for his services at the battle of Assaye; and in a letter from Earl Camden, the secretary at war, to the Marquis Wellesley, after stating that his majesty had been pleased to raise General Lake to the dignity of the peerage, his lordship went on to say, that in consideration of the eminent and brilliant services of Major-General Wellesley, his majesty had not only directed that the insignia of the order should be forwarded to him, but that he should be created an extra Knight Companion of the order; and that his creation and investiture should not wait for a succession to a regular vacancy therein. The Marquis Wellesley was accordingly authorized to invest him, or to appoint any other person so to do. In October, 1805 (says Sir Harris Nicolas) the order and the country lost one of its brightest ornaments, by the death of Lord Nelson, at Trafalgar; and it is remarkable, that the greatest military should have succeeded the greatest naval commander of the age, in the constituent number of companions.

despotically, and have persecuted without remorse the advocates of popular liberty. Indeed, so clearly was his intention of placing himself above the law indicated, even before his return to Madrid, that several members of the cortes wished to assemble an army, to protect themselves against the anticipated tyranny of their king. Some proposed the deposition of Ferdinand, and the elevation of his brother Don Carlos; and it is asserted that advocates were not wanting for investing the Duke of Wellington with the regal title and authority.

From his experience of the Spanish nation and character, his grace knew that neither the ultra-liberal constitution framed by the cortes, nor the exercise of uncontrolled power by the king, would be agreeable to Spain; and his principal object, in visiting Madrid, was to moderate the enthusiasm and the claims of both parties. His views on these exciting topics were expressed in an admirable memorandum, presented to Ferdinand before his grace's departure from Madrid. It possesses much historic interest, not only because it was the duke's last official paper on Spanish affairs, while employed in that country, but also on account of its intrinsic value, and the ardent zeal it displays for the interests of Great Britain.

"To His Catholic Majesty Ferdinand VII. King of Spain:

"The Spanish nation having been engaged for six years in one of the most terrible and disastrous contests by which any nation was ever afflicted,—its territory having been entirely occupied by the enemy, the country torn to pieces by internal divisions, its ancient constitution having been destroyed, and vain attempts made to establish a new one; its marine, its commerce, and revenue entirely annihilated; its colonies in a state of rebellion, and nearly lost to the mother-country,—it becomes a question for serious consideration, what line of policy should be adopted by his majesty, upon his happy restoration to his throne and authority.

"In considering this question, I shall lay aside all national partialities and prejudices, and I shall go so far as to admit—what neither his majesty nor the people of Spain will be disposed to admit—that the conduct which Great Britain has

held during the war is to be put entirely out of the question, and that his majesty has the right, not only in fact, but in justice, to choose between the lines of policy and alliance which may be offered to his acceptance.

“The restoration of the ancient government in France is certainly a new feature in the political situation of the whole world; and it is but fair to give due weight to this event in the consideration of the affairs of Spain.

“Spain like Great Britain is essentially confined within what may be called its natural limits. His majesty cannot hope to hold a dominion beyond those limits for any length of time, or to possess an influence which the natural strength of his government would not otherwise give him. In the last century, by a particular chain of circumstances, Spain was enabled to establish a part of the royal family in Italy, but, however close the relationship still existing between the reigning house in Spain and those branches of it, they have been but of little use to Spain in the various wars which have occurred since that period, in the last and present centuries. These powers like others have necessarily followed the system which best suited their own interests, and have adhered to Spain only in the instance in which this adhesion was likely to be beneficial to themselves. This is owing to the peninsular situation of Spain, and affords the strongest practical proof, how little it suits the interests of Spain to push political objects beyond the boundary of her natural limits. If this were not true, it will be admitted that the first object for every rational government to attend to is, the internal interest of the country under its charge, and this object is to be preferred doubly, when, as it happens, the state of Europe at the moment renders probable a long peace.

“There is no doubt then, that the objects of his majesty will be the amelioration of the internal situation of his kingdom, the restoration of its marine, its commerce, and revenue, and the settlement of its colonies.

“Supposing France under its new government to be more capable or better disposed than Great Britain to forward his

majesty's objects abroad, which may be doubted, it remains to be seen which of the powers is most likely to forward the objects of his internal government, and to enable him to restore his monarchy to its ancient splendour.

“France, like all other nations of Europe, has suffered considerably by the war, and is now but little capable of giving his majesty the assistance which he requires for the attainment of any of the objects for which assistance is wanted.

“Notwithstanding the restoration of the ancient government in France, this country will not easily forget the injuries which it has received from the French armies; and the unpopularity which will attend an alliance with France, connected, as it probably will be, with a dereliction of the alliance with Great Britain, will aggravate the difficulties of his majesty's situation.

“The revival of the commerce of Spain is an object of the utmost importance, not only for the people, but for the government itself, but there is no doubt that the commerce with the richer country, Great Britain, will be far more profitable than that with the poorer, particularly in those articles in which consist principally the riches of Spain. The cheapness also and goodness, in respect to their price, of all the manufactures of Great Britain, are an additional inducement to prefer them, as they will bear, on importation, larger duties than those of any other country.

“It must besides be observed that some commercial arrangement with Great Britain is most desirable to Spain, as, till such a one is made, it will be impossible to prevent the contraband trade which is now carried on so much to the prejudice of that country.

“But the principal object for the attention of the king's government, at the present moment, is the settlement of the colonies. The only mode of effecting any desirable arrangement is, that the Spanish government should open themselves entirely upon the question, and come to a clear understanding with Great Britain.

“It may be depended upon, that if Spain is cordially and intimately connected with Great Britain, the British ministers

are too well acquainted with the interests of their country to think of risking their connexion with Spain for a little more of the trade of the Spanish colonies in America.

“They may be of opinion, that under existing circumstances it is desirable for Spain to alter the nature of her connexion with her colonies, and to hold them as dependent or federated states, rather than as colonies, and they may wish that the king’s subjects should participate in the supposed benefits of this commerce, but they cannot oppose the rights which the Spanish government have, to make such arrangements upon these points as they may think most beneficial to their own interests; and a good understanding once established, Great Britain will cordially support these arrangements to the utmost of her power.

“But besides these difficulties which must occur on the settlement with the colonies, from the want of a firm alliance and good understanding with the British government on that subject, which may be attributed to his majesty’s subjects, there are others of far greater magnitude, which are to be attributed to the United States. It will not be denied that in the existing state of the finances of Spain, and of her marine, his majesty could not hope to coerce the government of the United States, either to do his majesty justice in regard to parts of his territories in America which they have unjustifiably seized, or to refrain from aiding and abetting the rebellion of his subjects in the colonies. These objects can be effected only by the interference of the British government; and it may be depended upon, that however interested Great Britain may be to prevent the growth of the power of the United States, the British ministers will not increase the difficulties of their peace with that power, by introducing into the negotiations questions on Spanish interests, if there should not be a clear and decided understanding between his majesty and the prince regent on all points, not only regarding America, but Europe, and that they should be quite certain that under no circumstances will Great Britain again see Spain in alliance with her rivals in Europe, or in the ranks of her enemies.

“It appears, then, that all the domestic interests of Spain are most likely to be promoted by a good understanding, and cementing the alliance with Great Britain; and the more minutely this part of the subject is viewed, the more clearly will it appear that such understanding is desirable, if not necessary to Spain.

“The finances of Spain are in the utmost disorder; the revenue is unproductive, if not nearly destroyed, and is, at all events, quite unequal to the expenses; but before these expenses can even be reduced by the reduction of the military establishments, money must be found to pay the arrears of the army. The various political events which have occurred must have shaken the credit of the Spanish government, and even if the government has credit, there is but little money in the country which could be borrowed as a resource: England alone can be looked to, for assistance in this respect.

“It cannot be expected, however, that the British government will come forward with the resources of the British nation, to aid his majesty, if they are not certain of the line of policy which his majesty will adopt both in America and in Europe; neither will it be in their power to give that aid, which every well-wisher of his majesty could wish to see afforded, if his majesty should not at an early period carry into execution his gracious promises made to his subjects in his decree of the fourth of May, and if some steps should not be taken to prove to the world the necessity, and justice, of the numerous arrests which attended his majesty's restoration to his throne, or for the release of the innocent, and the judicial trial of the guilty.

“All nations are interested in these measures, but Great Britain in particular, and the nature of the British constitution, and the necessity which the government are under of guiding their measures in a great degree by the wishes and sentiments of the people, must prevent their giving aid to his majesty in money, or from giving countenance to the endeavours which may be made to raise money by loan in England, at least till the world shall be convinced, by experience, of the sincerity of his majesty's professions in regard to his own



subjects, and of his desire to unite his interests with those of the British government.

“Great Britain is materially interested in the prosperity and greatness of Spain, and a good understanding and close alliance with Spain is highly important to her, and she will make sacrifices to obtain it; and there is no act of kindness which may not be expected from such an ally. But it cannot be expected from Great Britain, that she will take any steps for the firm establishment of a government, which she shall see in the fair way of connecting herself with her rival, and of eventually becoming her enemy. Like other nations, she must by prudence and foresight provide for her own interests by other modes, if circumstances should prevent his majesty from connecting himself with Great Britain, as it appears by the reasoning in this memorandum is desirable to him.

“Madrid, June 1st, 1814.”

“WELLINGTON.”

The decree of May the 4th, referred to in his grace's memorandum, announced that “immediate preparations shall be made for assembling the cortes. Liberty, and security, individual and royal, shall be firmly secured by means of laws, which, guaranteeing public tranquillity and order, shall leave to all that wholesome liberty—the undisturbed enjoyment of which, distinguishes a moderate government from an arbitrary and despotic one. This just liberty all likewise shall enjoy, to communicate their ideas and thoughts through the press—that is, within those limits which sound reason prescribes to all, that it degenerate not into licentiousness; for the respect which is due to religion and to government, and that which men ought mutually to observe towards each other, can under no civilized government be reasonably permitted to be violated with impunity. All suspicion also of any waste of the public revenue shall cease—those which shall be assigned for the expenses required for the honour of my royal person and family, and that of the nation which I have the glory to govern, being separated from the revenues, which with consent of the kingdom may be assigned for the maintenance of the state in all the branches of its administration. And the laws which

shall hereafter serve for a rule of action for my subjects shall be established in concert with the cortes—so that these bases may serve as an authentic declaration of my royal intentions in the government with which I am about to be charged, and will represent to all, not a despot or a tyrant, but a king and a father of his subjects.”

Unhappily, Ferdinand's promises were never performed, and his restoration, until Spain was released from misrule by his death, presented, in consequence, a constant scene of revolution, anarchy, and bloodshed.

On the fifth of June, the Duke of Wellington quitted Madrid, rejoined the army at Bourdeaux on the tenth, announced his intention of returning to England, in a general order on the fourteenth, and, passing through Paris, landed at Dover on the twenty-third: when his grace reached London he found that his royal highness the prince-regent was at Portsmouth with his imperial and royal visitors, the emperor of Russia and king of Prussia. Thither he followed them, and was received by his royal highness and his illustrious guests in the most honourable and gratifying manner.

When the emancipator of the Peninsula left England, to take the command of our army in Portugal, he was only Sir Arthur Wellesley—when he returned, he was Duke of Wellington, having been successively created Baron and Viscount, Earl, Marquis, and Duke; and on the twenty-eighth of June he took his seat in the house of Lords, all his patents of creation being read on that occasion.

The thanks of the peers having been voted to his grace on the preceding day, after he had taken the usual oaths, the Lord Chancellor Eldon rose and addressed him as follows:—

“My Lord Duke of Wellington,

“I have received the commands of this house, which I am persuaded has witnessed with infinite satisfaction your grace's personal introduction into this august assembly, to return your grace the thanks and acknowledgments of this house, for your great and eminent services to your king and country.

“In the execution of these commands, I cannot forbear to

call the special attention of all who hear me to a fact in your grace's life, singular, I believe, in the history of the country, and infinitely honourable to your grace, that you have manifested, upon your first entrance into this house, your right under various grants to all the dignities in the peerage of this realm, which the crown can confer. These dignities have been conferred at various periods, but in the short compass of little more than four years, for great public services occurring in rapid succession, claiming the favour of the crown, influenced by its sense of justice to your grace and the country, and on no one occasion in which the crown has thus rewarded your merits, have the houses of parliament been inattentive to your demands on the gratitude of your country. Upon all such occasions they have offered to your grace their acknowledgments and thanks, the highest honours they could bestow.

"I decline all attempts to state your grace's eminent merits in your military character, to represent these brilliant actions, these illustrious achievements which have attached immortality to the name of Wellington, and which have given to this country a degree of glory unexampled in the annals of this kingdom. In thus acting, I believe, I best consult the feelings which evince your grace's title to the character of a great and illustrious man.

"My duty to this house cannot but make me most anxious not to fall short of the expectation which the house may have formed as to the execution of what may have been committed to me on this great occasion, but the most anxious consideration which I have given to the nature of that duty, has convinced me that I cannot more effectually do justice to the judgment of the house, than by referring your grace to the terms and language in which the house has so repeatedly expressed its own sense of the distinguished and consummate wisdom and judgment, the skill and ability, the prompt energy, the indefatigable exertion, the perseverance, the fortitude and valour by which the victories of Vimero, Talavera, Salamanca, and Vittoria, were achieved, by which the sieges of Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajos were gloriously terminated, by which

the deliverance of Portugal was effectuated, by which the ever-memorable establishment of the allied armies on the frontiers of France was accomplished, armies pushing forward in the glory of victory at Orthez to the occupation of Bourdeaux.

“These achievements, in their immediate consequences infinitely beneficial to the common cause, have in their final results secured the peace, prosperity, and glory of this country, whilst your grace’s example has animated to great exertions the other nations of Europe, exertions rescuing them from tyranny, and restoring them to independence, by which there has been ultimately established among all the nations of Europe, that balance of power, which giving sufficient strength to every nation, provides that no nation shall be too strong.

“I presume not to trespass upon the house by representing the personal satisfaction which I have derived from being the honoured instrument of conveying to your grace the acknowledgments and thanks of this house upon every occasion upon which they have been offered to your grace, or by endeavouring to represent the infinite gratification which I enjoy in thus offering, on the behalf of the house, on this day, to your grace in person, those acknowledgments and those thanks. Your grace is now called to aid hereafter, by your wisdom and judgment, the great council of that nation, to the peace, prosperity, and glory of which your grace has already so essentially contributed, and I tender your grace, now taking your seat in this house, in obedience to its commands, the thanks of the house in the words of its resolution: ‘that the thanks of this house be given to Field-Marshal, the Duke of Wellington, on his return from his command abroad, for his eminent and unremitting services to his majesty and to the public.’”

His grace, evidently much embarrassed, replied to this excellent address in the following terms.

“My Lords—I have to perform a duty, to which I feel myself very inadequate, to return your lordships my thanks for this fresh mark of your approbation of my conduct, and of your favour.

“I assure your lordships that I am entirely overcome by

the honours which have been conferred upon me, and by the favour with which I have been received in this country by the prince-regent, by your lordships and by the public. In truth, my lords, when I reflect upon the advantages which I enjoyed in the confidence reposed in me, and the support afforded by the government, and by his royal highness the commander-in-chief, in the cordial assistance, which I invariably received upon all occasions from my gallant friends, the general officers of the army, who are truly an honour to their country—the gallantry and discipline of the troops, and in the manner in which I was encouraged and excited to exertion by the protection and gracious favour of the prince—I cannot but consider, that, however great the difficulties with which I had to contend, the means to contend with them were equal to overcome them, and I am apprehensive that I shall not be found so deserving of your favour as I wish.

“If, however, my merit is not great, my gratitude is unbounded; and I can only assure your lordships, that you will always find me ready to serve his majesty to the utmost of my ability in any capacity in which my services can be at all useful to this great country.”

The house of commons also voted its thanks to the Duke, which were presented by a deputation; and his grace having obtained permission to return thanks for the vote personally, attended in the house, and addressed the speaker as follows.

“Mr. Speaker—I was anxious to be permitted to attend this house, in order to return my thanks in person for the honour they have done me in deputing a committee of their members to congratulate me on my return to this country, and this after the house had animated my exertions by their applause, upon every occasion which seemed to merit their approbation, and after they had filled up the measure of their favours, by conferring upon me at the recommendation of the prince-regent—the noblest gift that any subject had ever received.

“I hope it will not be deemed presumptuous in me to take this opportunity of expressing my admiration of the great

efforts made by this house, and the country, at a moment of unexampled pressure and difficulty, in order to support the great scale of operations by which the contest was brought to so favourable a termination. By the wise policy of parliament, the government was enabled to give the necessary support to the operations which were carried on under my direction; and I was encouraged by the confidence reposed in me by his majesty's ministers, and the commander-in-chief, by the gracious favour of his royal highness, and by the reliance which I had on the support of my gallant friends, the general officers of the army, and on the bravery of the officers and troops, to carry on the operations in such a manner as to acquire for me those marks of the approbation of this house, for which I have now the honour to make my humble acknowledgments.

"Sir, it is impossible for me to express the gratitude which I feel; I can only assure the house, that I shall be always ready to serve his majesty, in any capacity in which my services can be deemed useful, with the same zeal for my country which has already acquired for me the approbation of this house."

After the cheers which followed this speech had subsided, the speaker rose, took off his hat, and addressing his grace, said—

"My Lord,—Since last I had the honour of addressing you from this place, a series of eventful years has elapsed; but none without some mark and note of your rising glory.

"The military triumphs which your valour has achieved upon the banks of the Douro and the Tagus, of the Ebro and the Garonne, have called forth the spontaneous shouts of admiring nations. Those triumphs, it is needless on this day to recount; their names have been written by your conquering sword in the annals of Europe; and we shall hand them down with exultation to our children's children.

"It is not, however, the grandeur of military success, which has alone fixed our admiration, or commanded our applause. It has been that generous and lofty spirit which inspired your troops with unbounded confidence, and taught them to know that the day of battle was always the day of victory,—that

moral courage and enduring fortitude, which, in perilous times, when gloom and doubt had beset ordinary minds, stood, nevertheless, unshaken ;—and that ascendancy of character, which, uniting the energies of jealous and rival nations, enabled you to wield at will the fate and fortunes of mighty empires.

“ For the repeated thanks and grants bestowed upon you by this house, in gratitude for your many and eminent services, you have thought fit this day to offer us your acknowledgments ; but this nation well knows that it is still largely your debtor. It owes to you the proud satisfaction, that amidst the constellation of great and illustrious warriors who have recently visited our country, we could present to them a leader of our own, to whom all, by common acclamation, conceded the pre-eminence ; and, when the will of heaven and the common destinies of our nature shall have swept away the present generation, you will have left your great name and example, as an imperishable monument, exciting others to like deeds of glory, and serving at once to adorn, defend, and perpetuate the existence of this country among the ruling nations of the earth.

“ It now remains only that we congratulate your grace upon the high and important mission on which you are about to proceed ; and we doubt not, that the same splendid talents, so conspicuous in war, will maintain, with equal authority, firmness, and temper, our national honour and interests in peace.”

During the speaker's address, the cheers were loud and frequent, and at the close there was a general, loud, and oft-repeated cry of— *hear !*

The mission to which the speaker alluded related principally to the slave-trade, which the French were extremely unwilling to relinquish, the press opposing even its restriction with great violence, representing “ that it was the secret object of the English to ruin the French colonies, that they might enjoy a monopoly of the West-India trade.”

When the acclamations ceased, the Duke took his leave, bowing repeatedly as he withdrew, while all the members, as

they had done at his entrance, uncovered, rose from their seats, and warmly cheered him at every fresh instance of acknowledgment on his part.

Upon the retirement of the Duke, Lord Castlereagh, his earliest and most faithful friend in that house, rose and addressed the speaker as follows:—

“ Sir, in commemoration of so grateful a day—a day on which we have had the happiness to witness within these walls the presence of a hero, never excelled at any period of the world, in the service of this or any other country—in commemoration of the eloquent manner in which that hero was addressed from the chair, on an occasion which must for ever be dear to Englishmen, and which will ever shed lustre on the annals of this house,—I move, Sir, That your address to Field Marshal his Grace the Duke of Wellington be printed.” This motion concluded the proceedings of the day, proceedings perhaps the most gratifying and interesting ever witnessed in the commons’ house of parliament in any reign.\*

\* Amongst the multiplicity of honours conferred upon the hero of the Peninsula at this period, perhaps the following order is not the least interesting or complimentary. “ At the Court at Carlton House, 19th of April, 1814, his royal highness, the prince-regent, in the name and on the behalf of his majesty, sovereign of the most noble order of the garter, has been pleased, by letters patent under the sign-manual of his royal highness, and the great seal of the order, to dispense, in virtue of the power for that purpose inherent in the sovereign, with all the statutes and regulations usually observed in regard to installation; and to give and grant to his majesty Alexander, emperor and autocrat of all the Russias, and unto Arthur Marquis of Wellington, knights of the said most noble order, full power and authority, respectively, to exercise all rights and privileges belonging to knights companions of the most noble order of the garter, as if his said imperial majesty and the said marquis had been formally installed—any decree, rule, or usage to the contrary notwithstanding.” It must have been an additional ground of pride and happiness to his grace, to perceive that his companions in arms, who had filled with so much courage and fidelity places less conspicuous than his own, but equally necessary to the perfection and success of his operations, were all rewarded and honoured for their valuable services. The wise and valiant Sir John Hope was created Lord Niddrie; Sir Thomas Graham, Lord Lynedoch; Sir Stapleton Cotton, Lord Combermere; Sir Rowland Hill, Lord Hill; and Sir W. C. Beresford, Lord Beresford; and a royal grant of crosses and medals was made to the officers who had served with distinction in the Peninsular campaign.



Prior to his leaving London, to act as ambassador at the French court, a magnificent banquet was given to the Duke of Wellington, on the occasion of presenting his grace with the various gifts and honours voted to him by the city of London.

After administering the oath of a freeman to his grace, and acquainting him with the substance of the different resolutions of the court for presenting the freedom of the city in a gold box, accompanied by a valuable sword, and placing a bust of his grace in the common-council room; the chamberlain proceeded.\*

\* If the City of London had been amongst the foremost to condemn the military policy, and depreciate the victories of Lord Wellington, the following series of complimentary resolutions will show how indefatigable they subsequently proved themselves in making the *amende honorable*.

Resolved, "That the thanks of this court be given to Lieutenant-General Lord Viscount Wellington for the consummate ability, fortitude, and perseverance displayed by him in the command of the allied British and Portuguese forces, by which the kingdom of Portugal has been successfully defended, and the most signal and important services rendered to his king and country.

Resolved, "That the freedom of this city, with a sword of the value of two hundred guineas, be presented to Lord Viscount Wellington, in testimony of the high sense which this court entertains of his great public services," May 9th, 1811.

Resolved unanimously, "That the thanks of this court be given to the most noble the Marquis of Wellington, general and commander-in-chief of his majesty's forces in Spain and Portugal, for his magnanimous conduct, so eminently displayed in the several victories obtained by the allied army over the French army, led on by the most able and distinguished marshals and commanders in the French service, and particularly in the brilliant and decisive victory near Salamanca, on the twenty-second day of July last, September 23d, 1812."

Resolved, "That the freedom of this city, voted by the court on the 9th day of May, 1811, to be presented to Lord Viscount Wellington, in testimony of the high sense they entertained of his great public services, be presented to the most noble the Marquis of Wellington, on his return to this country, in a gold box of the value of two hundred guineas, (together with the second, voted on the said 9th day of May,) by a committee of this court then to be appointed, October 29th, 1812."

Resolved unanimously, "That the thanks of this court be given to Field-marshal the Marquis of Wellington, knight of the most noble order of the garter, for the wisdom and energy with which he has conducted the late operations of the allied armies in Spain; and particularly for the splendid and

“Although the subjects of these resolutions are confined to the events which have recently taken place in Europe, the Citizens of London can never forget the many signal victories obtained by your grace in those regions which have been dignified by the triumphs of an Alexander, an Aurungzebe, and a Clive. By the exertions of your grace, the British empire in India has been placed in a state of security, which promises felicity to millions in that country, and an extension of commerce to Great Britain. To enumerate the brilliant actions of your grace in Europe, would require more time than the present occasion will admit, and would trespass too much upon your grace’s delicacy; but it is a truth, which I cannot refrain from declaring, that during the war in Spain and Portugal, which terminated in the complete emancipation of those kingdoms, a more illustrious instance is not recorded, happily combined with the celerity of Cæsar; and when your grace had planted the British standard in the heart of the enemy’s country, you gave a great example to the world of the practicability of that lesson which the great Roman poet taught his countrymen—

*Parcere subjectis, et debellare superbos.*

“I am conscious, my lord, how inadequately I express the sense of my fellow-citizens, of your grace’s merits, but they will recollect, that where I have failed, no one has succeeded; the British senate, and the first authorities in the two houses of parliament, have confessed themselves unequal to the task. But ample justice will be done to your grace by the world at

decisive victory obtained upon the twenty-first day of June last, near Vittoria, when the French army was completely defeated, with the loss of all its artillery, stores, and baggage: this court, feeling its inability to bestow any additional testimony of regard adequate to the exalted sense it entertains of the merits of the Marquis of Wellington, do unanimously resolve, that a bust of his lordship be placed in the common-council room of this city, in order that the citizens of London, when assembled in common-council, may ever have recalled to their recollection, the glorious deeds of the great military hero of their country, when at the same time they have in view the bust of the immortal Nelson.”

large, who will frequently and attentively peruse with admiration and delight those inimitable despatches, which, like the Commentaries of Cæsar, will hand down with honour the name of their illustrious author to the latest posterity. Your grace has been a chosen instrument in the hands of Providence during war. May you long enjoy in peace the love of your country and the admiration of mankind!—and in the discharge of that honourable office, to which his royal highness the prince-regent has recently appointed you, may you cement and perpetuate union and good-will between Great Britain and France, so essential to the peace and happiness of Europe!”

The noble Duke expressed his high sense of the honour conferred upon him by the City; and attributed the success of all his enterprises to the ability with which he was supported by his brother-officers, and to the valour and discipline of his majesty's forces, and those of the allies. On receiving the sword, he raised the tone of his voice, and speaking with particular energy, declared his readiness to employ it in the service of his sovereign and his country, should it unfortunately happen that the general wish of the nations of Europe for a permanent peace should be disappointed. Then ungirding his own sword, which he handed to one of his aides-de-camp, he replaced it by the splendid gift of the City of London.

The preceding ceremony was performed in the council-chamber; at the further extremity of which was raised on a pedestal the bust of his grace, in white marble.

The Dukes of York, Kent, Sussex, and Gloucester, Norfolk, Beaufort, and the cabinet ministers, being assembled, the guests next proceeded to the great hall in due order; and before they ascended the dais, where the chief tables were placed, went entirely round the hall; by which means the ladies who were assembled in the galleries, were gratified with a sight of those heroes who had, both by sea and land, so nobly supported the glory of their country. The dinner was served up in the first style of civic hospitality. After which the most remarkable succession of toasts, ever proposed in that ancient hall, but

appropriate to the splendid occasion, was given by sound of trumpet, and accompanied by suitable music.\*

The Duke of Wellington, after the toast to the King of Spain, &c. proposed the Right Honourable the Lord Mayor, and Prosperity to the City of London. After the toasts to Lords Beresford and Hill, the Commander-in-chief gave the Volunteers of the United Empire, particularly those of the City of London, to which the Duke of Sussex, as commandant of the corps of Loyal North Britons, made a most excellent reply, and proposed The Respectability of the Crown—the Durability of the Constitution—and the Prosperity of the People. In the course of the evening, the Duke of Wellington gave the Health of the Ladies, which was received with the most rapturous applauses. The Lord Mayor, in proposing the health of Field-Marshal the Duke of Wellington, spoke to the following effect. “The highly gratifying visit of his royal highness the prince-regent to this festive hall, accompanied by mighty sovereigns and renowned warriors of foreign nations, is still fresh in our recollection. Many, perhaps all of us, regretted that the British hero

\* *Toasts proposed at the Banquet in Guildhall in honour of Lord Wellington.*

The King—the Prince-Regent—the Queen and Royal Family—the Duke of Wellington, our immortal hero, the pride and glory of Britain—the Duke of York, and the Royal Dukes present—the Emperor of all the Russias, the Emperor of Austria, and the King of Prussia—the King of Spain—the Prince-Regent of Portugal—the King of the Two Sicilies, and the King of Sardinia, who have remained firm in their alliance with this country—Our brave and illustrious Heroes by Sea and Land—His Majesty's Ministers, the pacificators of Europe—the revered Memory of Lord Nelson, our great and immortal naval champion—Louis the XVIIIth.—the Ambassadors of the King of Spain, and the Prince-Regent of Portugal, and the Foreign Ministers present.—Admirals Lord Radstock, Sir George Berkeley, Sir J. B. Warren, Sir Sidney Smith, Sir Joseph York, and Sir Harry Neal, and the rest of our naval heroes, whose brave exertions have tended to raise the glory of their country—Lords Beresford and Hill, Sir Thomas Picton, Sir Henry Clinton, and the Officers and Privates of the victorious Army of the Peninsula, whose gallant exploits after freeing the kingdom of Portugal and Spain, planted in France the standard of Britain, and have led to the repose of the world—The memory of the Man whose virtues and energies saved England, and whose example has produced, under Providence, the deliverance of Europe—Our Senators in Parliament, and may their exertions ever be directed to the honour of the King and the welfare of the People.

was not seen amidst the laurelled conquerors upon that memorable occasion.

“The regret was natural, but perhaps unseasonable; for who can doubt but that the invincible commander of our own brave armies deserved a civic triumph to himself; it would be ingratitude not to celebrate distinctly the splendid victories achieved by our own illustrious general, which accelerated the restoration of peace; victories not bestowed by the capricious favour of fortune, but won by a noble perseverance, through adverse circumstances, and by hard-contested struggles with rival generals of consummate skill, and veteran troops of acknowledged valour, and that every tribute of praise is due to the native bravery of our own soldiers; of what avail would it have proved, if it had not been directed, and raised even to enthusiasm, by the military genius, the personal valour, and the indefatigable vigilance of their great commander? His grace will allow me, in the name of my fellow-citizens, to assure him, it is not in his presence that we praise him most, and that in the entertainment given to him this day, they do not pretend to do more than testify their gratitude for services rendered to his country, which in their estimation, not any honour from the crown, nor any applause from the people, can more than adequately reward.”

His grace, in reply, totally disclaimed any peculiar merit attaching to himself, but attributed it under Divine Providence to the perseverance of the nation, the wisdom of his majesty's counsels, the care and attention of his royal highness the commander-in-chief, and the brave co-operating exertions of his fellows in arms, so many of whom he felt highly gratified in seeing surrounding him upon this occasion; and, above all, he said he had the honour of commanding an army of Englishmen, who lost not an atom of the spirit of their country, and behaved as Englishmen should do.

The Lord Mayor, in pledging the healths of his Majesty's Ministers, took the opportunity of saying on this occasion, “that it would be superfluous to compliment them in words; the presence of the Duke of Wellington was itself a panegyric on

their conduct; they wisely appreciated his character, and trusted the best military energies of the nation to his unconstrained direction. By this and similar measures they had steadily assisted the great common cause, and amidst the unexampled success which attended their ministry, they had the candour to disclaim as presumptuous, the attributing to any man, or set of men, the auspicious termination of the late arduous contest. Such liberality of sentiment and conduct at once advanced their own merits, and benefited their country by promoting a spirit of conciliation through all ranks and parties in the state. And I must request his majesty's ministers to accept our grateful thanks for the glorious, and we trust permanent peace, which we attribute in an eminent degree to their ability in negotiation, as well as to their energy in conducting the war."

The Earl of Liverpool, in the name of the ministers of the crown, eloquently replied, by paying the highest compliments to the Duke of Wellington, whose successes had far outstripped all human expectation: his lordship said, his majesty's ministers had occasion to be grateful for the confidence which had been placed in them; and they attributed the glorious results of the late arduous contest to the steady perseverance of the nation, amongst whom none stood more conspicuous than the citizens of London.

Towards the close of the evening, a temporary staircase was opened from the galleries into the body of the hall, by which the ladies descended, and passed round the whole of the tables on the hustings; and every one had the honour of shaking hands with the immortal hero and the royal dukes.

Nearly seven hundred ladies were in the galleries, all superbly dressed. The decorations in the hall were almost similar to those at the late entertainment. There was not so great a display of plate, the city plate from the mansion-house alone being sufficient for the upper tables, and the remainder were served with very elegant British china: no person sat under the canopy of the throne; and the three chairs on which the Prince-regent, the Emperor of Russia, and

King of Prussia, sat, were raised on a platform, and remained unoccupied the whole evening : at the back of the throne was placed a single plate of glass, containing nearly sixty square feet, of British manufacture, which had a most beautiful effect. The corporation of London, upon this occasion, invited every person to the entertainment, who had been in any way noticed in the votes of parliament for their services, either by sea or land, as well as those they had themselves recognized in votes of thanks, and presented with the freedom, swords, or other rewards; in addition to which, were the relatives, and those that were connected with the Duke of Wellington, his staff, and many others both naval and military, who, although they had not been noticed publicly by name, had yet deserved well of their country for the services they had performed.

On the eighth of August his grace left England, and was presented, as British ambassador, to Louis XVIII. on the twenty-fourth. On his route to Paris, his grace inspected the fortifications in the Netherlands, and subsequently drew up a report on their importance. This admirable military document, which we give in full, displays an intimate acquaintance with the art of defence, although his grace had generally been the assailant, his attacks being attended with almost unexampled success. It is remarkable also, as showing that he had noticed the field of Waterloo (the Forest of Soignies), as a good defensive position, nearly a year before that memorable battle was fought and won.

Memorandum on the defence of the frontier of the Netherlands, dated Paris, September 22, 1814.

“The frontier on which it is the object of this memorandum to suggest the principles on which it should be defended, extends from Liege, along the Meuse and the Sambre, to Namur and Charleroi, and thence by Mons to Tournay and the sea.

“It is intersected by roads, canals, and rivers, running in all directions from the French territory, and some one or other of the numerous French fortresses opposite to it.

“The face of the country is generally open, and affords no feature, upon which reliance can be placed, to establish any defensive system.

“With all these disadvantages, this country must be defended in the best manner that is possible. In the partition which has been made of the different portions of the French territory, which have fallen vacant in consequence of the operations of the last campaign, it has been joined to Holland, not solely with a view to augment the pecuniary resources of that country, and its means of raising an army; but to give additional security to its frontier, by placing in the hands of the government of the Dutch provinces those countries which were always deemed essential to their defence; and from the whole to form a state on the northern frontier of France, which, by its resources, its military strength and situation, should be a bulwark to Europe on that side.

“To provide the best defence that can be devised for these provinces, will be not only to perform the condition implied in the acceptance of their government from the allied courts, but it is likewise a duty to their inhabitants. It cannot be expected that the government of the new sovereign should settle, or that the inhabitants should be so industrious as they ought to be, if they should see themselves exposed to be abandoned upon the first appearance of hostilities with their powerful neighbour.

“Whatever may be the difficulty, then, of finding a system for the defence of these provinces, it is obvious that they must be defended. The object is to discover the mode of defending them which shall best secure the end in view,—shall be best adapted to the political connexion of these provinces with Holland and other countries, and shall be most consistent with the military establishment, and least burdensome to the finances, of the Dutch government.

“The Netherlands having been joined with Holland, the connexion between those countries must be kept in view, in discussing the system of defence, for the frontier of the former



and likewise that it is probable that the disposable armies of Great Britain and Hanover would co-operate in the defence of these provinces.

“The secure communication then with England and the north of Germany, is an essential object in any system of defence to be adopted, and, above all, that with Breda and Bergen-op-Zoom, and with the Dutch places in the Lower Meuse and the Lower Rhine.

“The operations of the revolutionary war have tended in some degree to put strong places out of fashion, and an opinion prevails, which has been a good deal confirmed by the operations of the last campaign, that strong places are but little useful, and at all events are not worth the expense which they cost. Much may be urged against these new doctrines as applicable to any theatre of war, but in respect to that under discussion it is only necessary to remind those who are to consider and decide upon this subject, that in the war of the Revolution, the whole of the Austrian Netherlands, and the Pays de Liège, from the French frontiers to the Meuse, those very provinces fell into the hands of the enemy, in consequence of one unsuccessful battle of no very great importance in itself, fought near Mons, that the allies regained them with equal rapidity in the following campaign, when they had a superiority of force, and that very imperfect field-works only having been thrown up at some points during the period of their possession by the allies, the enemy did not find it so easy as they had before, and it required much more time to get possession of the country, when the enemy regained the superiority of force in the year 1794, notwithstanding that that superiority was much more commanding than it had been in November 1792.

“It cannot be expected that in the event of the commencement of hostilities, the French should not be superior to the allies in the Netherlands in the first instance, and, unless the country should be in some manner strengthened, the same misfortune as occurred in 1792 must be the consequence.

“The general unpopularity attached to fortifications, their expense, and the difficulty in remedying the defects of the situations of some of the ancient fortresses in the Netherlands, induced me to endeavour to find a situation, which being strongly fortified might cover the country, and which the enemy would not venture to pass: but I could find no situation which could answer the purpose. First, there is no situation in the country which affords any advantages to be taken up as a fortress, or which covers or protects any extent of country: secondly, there is no situation to which the enemy could not have an easy access both by land and by water for the artillery and stores necessary to attack it: and thirdly, there is no single situation in the country, which, if fortified, the enemy might not pass without risk, as, in case of being defeated and obliged to retire, he could not fail to find innumerable roads, which would lead him to some one or other of the strong places on the French frontier.

“The construction of such a place, therefore, might be attended by the most serious consequences to the allies, while it could under any circumstances be of but little detriment to the French.

“It is obvious, then, that the country must be fortified upon the old principle, and, considering by whom it was fortified formerly, the local advantages of the sites of some of the old fortifications, and that in many instances they present the means of inundating the country upon which it must in a great degree depend for its defence—and the expense to be saved by adhering to the old plans, in almost all—I am inclined to recommend that the old situations should in every instance be adhered to, and the old sites, with the modern improvements in the flanks, should in almost every instance be followed.

“By the adoption of the system above recommended, it will be observed that all the principal objects to be attended to are secured. The right of the line from the Scheldt to the sea, will be made so strong, as, with the aid of inundation, to be quite secure, even though left entirely to its garrisons; and it must be observed, that owing to the great command of water

in this part, the expense of the works to be constructed, and the time they will take, will be much diminished. The disposable army, then, having its communications with Holland secured by the strength of the right of the line, and by Antwerp, will be applicable entirely to the defence of the left.

“I do not consider that in a memorandum of this description it is desirable—nor, in the cursory view which I have taken of the Netherlands, can it be expected—that I should point out the positions to be taken by the disposable armies which can be allotted to their defence. Those which I should point out would be good or bad, according to the strength with which they should be occupied; according to that of the enemy; and supposing the enemy to be on the offensive, according to his plan of attack. The same reasoning applies to the fortification of positions beforehand, for armies to occupy eventually. The fortification of these positions cannot be a secret; and in a country such as the east provinces, no position can be taken with an army, which is not liable to be turned, and which would not be turned, if the works on it were to be previously constructed.

“There are, however, good positions for an army at La Trinité, and at Renaix behind Tournay, another between Tournay and Mons, on the high grounds about Blaton—there are many good positions about Mons—the course of the Haine from Binch towards Mons, would afford some good ones. About Nivelles, and between that and Binch, there are many advantageous positions; and *the entrance of the Forêt de Soignies*, by the high road which leads to Brussels from Binch, Charleroi, and Namur, would, if worked upon, afford others.

“Having given my opinion upon the general principle upon which these provinces should be defended, I proceed to point out the mode in which preparations should be made to carry into execution what I have proposed, if it is approved of, and the mode in which the work should be executed.

“First, I recommend that a committee of British and another of Dutch engineers should be appointed to go to each of the places above pointed out to be fortified, and that they should

form detailed plans, with sections, &c. of the works, estimates of the expense to be incurred, and a *memoire raisonné* upon each fortification—pointing out the garrison required for its defence, and their reasons for thinking such garrisons necessary.

“Secondly, with this information, the sovereign prince of the Netherlands will have it in his power to select such of the plans as he may think proper, and to employ those officers for the execution, whose plans and estimates he may approve.

“Thirdly, in the execution of all, the earth-work should be completed without loss of time. The foundations of the *revêtements* in masonry are perfect in almost every one of the fortresses which I viewed, and the rubbish should be cleared from the *revêtements* and ditches, and the works should be raised to the requisite height in earth, leaving room for the *revêtements* in masonry to be completed as the materials may be collected, and circumstances may afford opportunities.

“WELLINGTON.”

When the Duke arrived in Paris, and presented his credentials, he was introduced to Monsieur, who took him warmly by the hand, and said, “The king and all the royal family view with the most lively pleasure the selection which the prince-regent has made of a hero worthy to represent him. It is our wish and hope to see a durable peace established between the two nations, made rather for mutual esteem than for hostility.”

The negotiations which it was the Duke of Wellington's duty to conduct at Paris, were attended with considerable difficulties. In addition to the feeling prevalent in France respecting the slave trade, his grace had to complain of American privateers being armed, manned, equipped, and furnished with simulated papers in the French ports, to enable them to capture our trading vessels in the Channel. He had also to make a firm stand against the claim put in by the French government to the duchy of Bouillon, and he also made persevering, but unsuccessful efforts to obtain full compensation for British property confiscated in France, and for the seizure of the deposits in the Hamburgh bank. The French in this

instance displayed their usual repugnance to restitution, which extorted from the Duke this censure on the nation : “ Experience had proved that no reasoning would have the effect of inducing the French government to do justice to others in affairs of finance.”

Lord Castlereagh, the representative of Great Britain at the congress of Vienna, having returned to London to attend his parliamentary duties, the Duke of Wellington, in the beginning of February 1815, succeeded his lordship in endeavouring to establish the wisest relations, and to regulate a balance between the various European powers on a just and permanent basis. While thus employed, his grace received from Lord Burghersh the unexpected and astounding intelligence, that Napoleon had effected his escape from Elba, and was advancing towards Paris. The Duke immediately communicated this information to the assembled sovereigns and their ministers, and on the thirteenth of March a declaration, which will be found in the succeeding chapter, was issued by the congress, depriving Buonaparte of the protection of the laws. On the twenty-eighth of March the Duke was appointed commander-in-chief of the allied forces in the Netherlands, and on the fourth of April following arrived at Brussels to take the command.

## CHAP. IX.

IMMEDIATE CONSEQUENCES OF NAPOLEON'S RETURN TO FRANCE—HE PROCEEDS TO LYONS, AND THERE DISCLOSES HIS REAL OBJECTS—DEFECTION OF THE GARRISON OF GRENOBLE—TREACHERY OF MARSHAL NEY—ADVANCE OF NAPOLEON TO PARIS, FROM WHICH LOUIS XVIII. AND HIS COURT WITHDRAW—DECLARATION OF THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA—NAPOLEON'S CIRCULAR LETTER TO THE REIGNING SOVEREIGNS OF EUROPE WHO HAD ENTERED INTO A SOLEMN TREATY OF ALLIANCE ON THE TWENTY-FIFTH OF MARCH—CHAMP DE MAI—NAPOLEON SETS OUT TO JOIN THE ARMY—1815.

THE victories of Wellington now appeared to have been attended with every result which the most sanguine supporter of that great man's military policy could have anticipated. One of the ablest and most powerful conquerors and statesmen that ever wasted the surface of our globe in search of rewards adequate to his ambition, had been pulled down from his pre-eminence; and, as if in mockery of that imperial pomp, which like an actor on the stage he had assumed but for a moment, he passed from the throne of France to the lilliputian government of the isle of Elba. There is something derogatory to the renown of Napoleon in his assent to this buffoonery; there was a total forgetfulness of the dignity that such men should for ever preserve in their actions and conduct; and it will be seen, when he returned to France, that many hesitated to worship the idol from which the virtue of kingly bearing had gone out. Napoleon's abdication and acceptance of his new government, the immediate consequence of Lord Wellington's splendid achievements, were the restoration of the old royal family to the throne of France, the steps of which had not many years before been stained with the blood of a Bourbon. A new charter was granted to the nation, as a species of guarantee for the continuance of liberal institutions: the victorious troops that occupied the strong places in the kingdom were withdrawn; England, more particularly, hastened to resume the arts of peace, the

ports being re-opened throughout Europe for the admission of the products of her unwearied industry. All the disturbed elements that had been so long floating in the atmosphere were dissipated, and a tranquil calm that promised permanence, seemed settled on the face of all things. But this picture was as delusive as it was delightful, for, projects of the most extensive description for the total subversion of order, and renewal of a desolating war, were then in active progress. Elba, the isle of exile, was injudiciously chosen as a retreat for Napoleon; almost within view of those fair lands which his great military prowess had reduced under the domination of France, he was hourly reminded of what he had been, and visions presented themselves of glories that might be realized. It is pleaded in extenuation of an unwise act, that Napoleon retained power sufficient to have resisted the allies at the time of his abdication, and that in such case his sincerity was entitled to the utmost confidence. But this is rather an apology than a justification; for the conduct of the allied sovereigns and soldiers, the English only excepted, was so riotous, confident, and indecent, that they must undoubtedly have conceived that they alone had dethroned Napoleon, and that they had sufficiently convinced him of their ability to do so at any future period, should he be so rash as to hazard a renewal of the game of war.

Of this ill-judged feeling of security the exile took advantage, and, contrary to the natural and just expectations of those by whom he had been overthrown, resumed that government which he should not have abandoned under any circumstances, however adverse; but having once pledged a kingly faith, that word should assuredly have been religiously observed. How little did this plaything of fortune, this child of an especial doom, foresee the lot which had been drawn for him, the fate that was then suspended over him! Never would the gentle gales of the Tuscan sea have wafted his bark over the smooth waters of that classic world, could the exiled emperor have read, in the imaginary pages of his destiny, that the greatest battle recorded in the history of the olden world

was soon to be fought between France and England, in which the aggrandisement of the already immortal Wellington, and the more secure establishment of hated England's supremacy in the cause of universal freedom, were to be the chief arising consequences. At earlier periods Napoleon was unwilling to concede to the Duke of Wellington, or rather to General Wellesley, that unqualified praise for tact, talent, and integrity, which the constitutional portion of British society conceived that he possessed, and the legislature relied on for the restoration of peace to Europe. When the broad light of clear demonstration had convinced the people of France that Wellington was practically equivalent to the sum-total of their high-praised marshals, and that he had repeatedly frustrated their combined efforts in the course of a campaign; that he was superior to Massena, Soult, Ney, Marmont, and many of minor fame, in the selection of positions, in the disposition and handling of troops in the field, in quickness to take advantage of the least fault or accident in the enemy, in local knowledge, in endurance of hardship, in decision in the hour of danger, in humanity when that danger had passed over;—when these lustrous qualities had penetrated the mists which were intentionally hung around the public journals of Paris, then, and not before, Napoleon spoke of the Duke of Wellington as a warrior whose name would hereafter be associated with his own; and when pressed further than was agreeable on this point, he placed Wellington above all his marshals, but inferior to himself: “I never,” said the emperor, “had the good fortune to come across him: *Je vais me frotter contre Wellington*, and I shall send you a good account of him.” It was under this infatuated notion that he left Paris for the Netherlands, to conclude the agonies of Europe.

Having resolved upon the invasion of France, and resumption of the imperial diadem, on the twentieth of February, 1815, Napoleon commenced his previously concerted plan of escape, by laying an embargo on all vessels in the ports of Elba, under the pretence that they were concerned in a conspiracy to smuggle particular commodities out of his little



empire. During the embargo he drew together his troops, about one thousand in number, unbosomed himself to them in an unqualified way, and being answered by shouts of *Vive l'Empereur!* embarked, with four fast-sailing vessels, for the French coast, and anchored off Cannes on the first of March. One detachment of the invaders entered Cannes, and solicited the mayor to acknowledge his old master, who was then returned in the humbler dignity of general-in-chief; but their solicitations proved vain. A second party endeavoured to seduce the people of Antibes from their allegiance to the existing government; but the promptness and decision of Corsin, the commandant, who seized and imprisoned the intruders, soon extinguished all hopes of co-operation in that quarter. It is obvious from the failure of these emissaries, that no previous organization of any extent had existed amongst the French people in the south; and that the ex-emperor, partly relying on the support of the army, and partly on the lustre of his own renown, in which every man in France felt a species of participation, disembarked with a handful of adventurers, and left the remainder to his destiny.

Cannes was occupied by General Cambrone, who found there the Prince of Monaco, then journeying on to his principality. As soon as the emperor arrived, he desired the prince to be brought before him, and spoke kindly to him as to his future objects, at the same time that he expressed a wish that the prince would follow his standard. Declining, however, to accept the honour, he was permitted without further interruption to proceed on his journey. Napoleon now took his place at the head of his little army; and, accompanied by four field-pieces and a superb carriage, proceeded towards Grasse. The approach of the ex-emperor created the greatest agitation amongst the people of this place; and so great was the difficulty of ascertaining the wishes of the more influential portion, that it was deemed more prudent for the emperor to pass on to St. Vallier, and leave his few pieces of ordnance and his pompous carriage outside the walls of Grasse, until some modern Sinon should arise, and procure their admission.

When intelligence of Napoleon's disembarkation reached Paris, a feverish inquietude was excited : myriads of wild conjectures were abroad as to the object of his visit, amongst which, the idea that he had actually invaded the kingdom, found the fewest favourers. The majority, no matter what might have been their real wishes, believed that his appearance there would be but transient : through Piedmont, probably, he designed to open a passage into Italy, and visit the court of Joachim, his brother-in-law, at Naples. But conjectures were soon dissipated, doubts dispelled, every cloud of error blown away, by the unblushing declaration of the ex-emperor, setting forth, in language not to be misunderstood, "that the same humanity which had induced him to relinquish the imperial authority, when the allies were in possession of the capital of France, and to which abdication he was urged still more strongly by the hope that peace would be restored to their depopulated country, had now equally determined him upon resigning his tranquil home on the sea-girt isle, to awake their great nation to the shame of its sufferings, and in person to avenge their wrongs. He pledged himself that the charter of their liberties should be respected, the misinterpretation of the articles of the treaty with the reigning powers of Europe corrected, and the Rhine established for ever as the boundary of France."

Napoleon's professions of tenderness for that people, whose families he had actually decimated by his cruel conscription, found few implicit believers ; but the Buonapartists, whom power alone repressed, endeavoured to obtain acceptance for their leader's considerate and paternal expressions ; while the neutral, indifferent, or Bourbon supporters, felt assured that the hand which had pulled the ex-emperor from his throne when in the plenitude of power, would find less difficulty in effecting his ruin, now that his title had become doubtful, his adherents scattered, and his honour forfeited.

But Napoleon had not been an usurper of the throne of France ; and the man that was competent, by the mighty machinations of his mind, to waste the surface of half the world, and obtain in recompense his public election to an

imperial throne, could not assuredly be looked upon by Louis as a mere common disturber of the public peace, a ruthless brigand from the neighbouring fastnesses. Such could not, such in reality were not, the sentiments of the automaton who then presided over the French people : accordingly, an extraordinary assembly of the peers and deputies was called, for the despatch of urgent business. One of the first acts of the chambers was to declare Napoleon Buonaparte both a traitor and rebel, for having introduced himself into the department of Var by force of arms : and magistrates, military persons, and even private citizens, were enjoined to seize the criminal, drag him before a court-martial, identify his person, and put the law in force against him. This contemptible document was attended with no results, beneficial or otherwise ; upon which the good old king, then in his sixtieth year, declared that he would himself lead on his soldiers against the intruder, and die in defence of the peace of France. In practice, however, he was more prudent, for when he had delivered an address to the army, in which he repeated his determination to conquer or to die with them, he stepped into his carriage, and escaped with the utmost celerity to Lille.

Placing as little confidence in proclamations as the fugitive king, and being perfectly aware how indifferent the innocent population of the remote districts, through which he was advancing, were to the extension of the national boundary, to the confirmation of new charters of freedom, and to all other devices by which the cunning and the ambitious elevate themselves above the anarchy they have created, the Lieutenant-General of Napoleon the II. (the Duke of Reichstadt) moved onward with his five hundred men towards Lyons. At this great commercial city, the too credulous Parisians imagined that the disturber, and his little band, would be seized and shot, thus terminating in an instant his romantic expedition ; and such intelligence was expected in Paris by every courier from the south of France. In this vain expectation the Parisians were confirmed by the despatches of General Marchand, governor of Grenoble, a garrison town, a military dépôt, and

place of impregnable strength. This artful man sent assurances, frequent and ardent, of his fidelity to France; but the real import of his language had not been suspected—and when Napoleon approached the gates, he found the whole garrison drawn out, and standing to their arms in silence. Taking advantage of the critical moment, he advanced alone, threw open his bosom, and exclaimed, “Soldiers,” you have been told I am afraid of death; here is my bosom, fire into it if you wish!” This romantic act was answered by enthusiastic shouts of “Vive l’Empereur!” and his ranks were at the same instant strengthened by the accession of every soldier in that garrison. It is probable that the feelings of the garrison had been accurately ascertained, and reported to the emperor, previous to his arrival at Grenoble, by Colonel La Bedoyere, who, followed by the seventh regiment, had himself set an example of disloyalty to the Bourbons, by marching out of Grenoble to meet his old commander, and joining his standard on the route between that place and Vizille. For this act of tergiversation, the unfortunate colonel was brought to trial, and shot as a traitor, after the arms of England and the great genius of Wellington had restored the imbecile monarch, Louis XVIII. to the throne from which he had fled so precipitately.

While Napoleon received La Bedoyere with the most affectionate feeling, he also knew how to appreciate those high sentiments of honour which regulated the judgment of Marchand; and when that officer stated that the abdication of the emperor, whom he had faithfully served, having released him from his duty, he had sworn allegiance to the existing government, and presenting his sword, surrendered himself a prisoner, “General,” said Napoleon, “I acknowledge your services, have always looked on you as a true soldier: I see your position, and do not wish you to act contrary to your conscience. Take back your sword, proceed to Paris, and tell your king that I shall soon visit him in the capital, and will treat him with all the consideration due to his virtues and his rank.” This was true nobility—would, for the honour of human nature, that the example had been imitated by the enemies of Napoleon,

when success had again changed sides and placed his adherents in their power!

The defection of the garrison of Grenoble awoke the most painful apprehensions in the minds of the royal party; and Monsieur, the Duke of Orleans, Marshals Macdonald and St. Cyr set out for Lyons to put that place in a state of defence, and to frustrate any attempt to tamper with the loyalty of the inhabitants. The population of Lyons become occasionally involved in disturbances, but these are wholly of a commercial character, arising from depression of wages by the master-manufacturers, but they have seldom exhibited any desire to share in the glories of a battle-field. The arrival of the royal party was a gratifying incident, and they met a kind reception, but upon visiting the garrison, Monsieur was astounded by an application, respectfully but determinately made, from the officers, to be permitted to pass over to Buonaparte, accompanied by occasional shouts from the soldiers of *Vive l'Empereur!* The prince, who had been received both by soldiers and citizens with the most marked courtesy, perceived that all his efforts to drown the popularity of Napoleon were vain; and now, at length, comprehending the real nature of those means by which the throne of France was recovered, as well as of that power by which it was secured to his ancient race, turned his back upon Lyons, and took the road to Clermont. The Duke of Orleans hastened to Paris, to acquaint the king with the general defection of the army.

Having reached Lyons without meeting with the least resistance, or being under the necessity of firing a single shot, Napoleon threw off the mask, discarded his assumed title, and resumed that which his genius had acquired, and which the army and the people now a second time conferred upon him; *Vive l'Empereur!* now rang from end to end of this great kingdom, and men of less vanity could not have resisted the charm with which such an exalted salutation is accompanied. From this time and place he revived the imperial style and signature, and, under that well-known title, issued a decree, that was to revolutionize France by its bare publi-

cation : he annulled all changes that had taken place in the judicial body ; all emigrants who had accepted of rank under the late government were directed to return to their homes ; the tri-coloured flag and cockade were to be substituted for the white emblems, and the order of St. Louis ; all Bourbon estates and chattels to be sequestered ; nobility and feudal titles to be abolished ; and the legislative chambers dissolved.

In these new dispositions a spirit of freedom appears to breathe, and the will of the people is admitted as the supreme, the sovereign power. This policy was suggested to him by the multitude of publications, reviewing his conduct and opinions as a ruler of nations, which he had carefully perused and digested in his exile at Elba. Of these, some perhaps were the works of able men, and dictated by the purest motives ; others, charging him with enormities of every character and degree, merely pandered to the power that prevailed.

There was one difficulty in the renewal of his career that was insurmountable, namely, his having lost the reputation of invincibility ; that charm was dissolved, his rod was broken ; he returned to France—not Napoleon the unconquerable, not the offspring of the gods, but a mere erring mortal, subject to all the chances of humanity. He endeavoured to alleviate the pressure of this misfortune upon his cause, by attributing it to treason ; but the multitude seldom deal with causes, it is to effects alone they direct all their energies, and it would have been wiser to have passed, as skilful pleaders do, over the most fatal fact against him, as if it demanded no serious notice. Descending still further from the imperial throne, he manifested his attachment to the freest institutions, and desired that the electoral colleges of the departments of the empire should meet at Paris in the course of the approaching month of May, in *an extraordinary assembly of the field of May*, in order to take measures necessary to correct and modify the constitution, according to the interests and will of the nation, and to be present at the coronation of his empress and their son.

Consternation seized all Paris, when intelligence arrived

that the throne of Napoleon was erected at Lyons, and that he was then granting pardon, with chivalrous magnanimity, to those who had abandoned him, and denouncing the horrors of war against those kingdoms that had expelled him from a throne to which he had been elevated by the people's choice. Treachery was naturally suspected, from the defenceless state of Lyons, and the inactivity of the Toulon fleet ; but, under such an imbecile government, such circumstances should not be considered as extraordinary. Events that bore a more suspicious aspect, however, occurred in the north, when Mortier (Duke of Treviso) met ten thousand troops marching on Paris to save the city, as their officers informed him, from pillage, and to rescue the king from the hands of the populace. The marshal examined the orders, perceived that they had been forged for some sinister object, and sent back the soldiers to their former quarters. At La Fere, in Picardy, an attempt was made by Lefebvre Desnouettes to raise the cry of *Vive l'Empereur*, but D'Aboville, the governor of the place, responded with shouts of *Vive le Roi*. These instances were then deemed sufficient indications of a wide-spread conspiracy for the restoration of the exile, but will hereafter be viewed merely as voluntary indications, on the part of the military, of their devotion to the great warrior who had so often led them to glory.

Increasing the rapidity of his route by the impetus which success had given to his bold attempt, he passed through Macon, Tournus, and Autun, to Auxerre, which is but forty leagues from Paris.

A force, consisting of national guards, volunteers, and others, forming a total of not less than one hundred thousand men, was concentrated at Melun, to check the march of Napoleon on Paris. The best spirit seemed to animate them ; they appeared devoted to the existing government, and eager to meet and repel its enemies. A powerful artillery strengthened their position. Confident in numbers, they had left the rocks, the town, and forest of Fontainebleau unprotected : preferring the plain of Melun, where their combined strength could be employed to crush, by a single blow, the little army of the

intruder. Napoleon was accompanied by fifteen thousand veterans, exclusive of a multitude of irregular followers, and, preceding this body by a few minutes, he entered Fontainebleau without molestation. The main body of his troops immediately after occupied the place, and the reserve followed supporting his flanks on parallel lines of march.

In the unexampled position of the French government, it was a task of no ordinary difficulty to provide either men or measures equal to the occasion ; but the ministers of Louis failed most signally even in their best and most ingenious attempts. Amongst the measures in which the Parisians placed most confidence, as likely to conduce to a speedy termination of intestine wars, was the appointment of Ney, Prince of Moskwa, to the command of fifteen thousand effective men, with directions to fall upon the rear of the rebel force, while the army of Melun opposed him in front. By this arrangement it was hoped the ex-emperor's followers would be completely overpowered, surrounded, and made prisoners. Additional confidence in this expectation was inspired by the conduct of Ney, who repaired to the palace of the Tuileries, tendered his services to the king, and, having received an order on the treasury for a million of livres to pay the soldiers, took leave of his sovereign with an assurance "that he would bring Napoleon to Paris in an iron cage." This was certainly an unnecessary display of loyalty, and would have excited some suspicion in the breasts of more close, or more experienced, observers of human nature than the King of France : it was a most flagrant act of deception, and grievously did its author atone for it at a subsequent day. To secure the entire confidence of the court of the Tuileries, Marshal Ney had previously made a secret communication in that quarter, to the effect "that he had received a declaration, signed by the officers and privates of his corps, setting forth that they respected him too much to deceive him, and therefore informed him that they would not fight for Louis, but were ready to shed their blood for Napoleon the Great." The communication of this secret obtained for Ney the object of his treachery, and he soon found himself at the head of thirty thou-



sand men ; and, although it was known that numbers were false to the colours they carried, it was hoped that some part would be found faithful amongst the faithless. Garrison towns continued to send loyal addresses to the throne : a few were sincere in their professions, but the larger number sought to blind the Bourbons still longer ; the great hopes of the court party, however, were placed upon the strength and loyalty of the army of Melun. How vain were their hopes, how ill-made their calculations, how misplaced their military command ! Ney hastened with his troops to Lons le Saunier, only to give an example of perfidy unparalleled amongst military men, by the publication of this proclamation : " Officers and soldiers ! The cause of the Bourbons is for ever lost. The lawful dynasty, which the French nation has adopted, is about to ascend the throne. It is to the Emperor Napoleon alone, our sovereign, that belongs the right of reigning over our fine country. Soldiers, I have often led you to victory, I will now lead you to join that immortal phalanx, which the Emperor Napoleon is conducting to Paris, and which will be there in a few days ; and there our hopes and our happiness will be realized." Vive l'Empereur !—Signed, The Prince of Moskwa.

Such was the character of the allegiance which Ney observed towards the Bourbons ; that of the army was equally unsound. At daybreak on the morning of the twentieth of February, the opposing forces, on whom each party relied for the maintenance of its authority, were under arms in the vicinity of Melun ; the royalists drawn up *en etages* in three lines, the intervals and the flanks crowned with batteries. The centre occupied the road to Paris. The ground from Fontainebleau to Melun is a continual declivity ; so that on emerging from the forest a clear view of the open country is afforded, whilst those below can easily descry whatever appears on the eminence. An awful silence, broken only at intervals by peals of martial music, intended to confirm the loyalty of the troops, by repeating the royal airs of *Henri Quatre* and *La Belle Gabrielle*, or by the voice of the commander, and the march

of divisions to their appointed ground, pervaded the king's army. All was anxious expectation; the chiefs, conscious that a moment would decide the fate of the Bourbon dynasty; and the troops, perhaps, secretly awed at the thought of meeting in hostility the man whom they had been accustomed to obey. On the side of Fontainebleau, no sound, as of an army rushing to battle, was heard. If the enemy was advancing, his troops evidently moved in silence. Perhaps his heart had failed him, and he had retreated during the night. If so, France was saved, and Europe free. At length a light trampling of horses became audible. It approached; an open carriage, attended by a few hussars and dragoons, appeared on the skirts of the forest. It drove down the hill with the rapidity of lightning: it reached the advanced posts—"Long live the Emperor!" burst from the astonished soldiery. "Napoleon! Napoleon the Great!" spread from rank to rank; for, bareheaded, Bertrand seated at his right, and Drouet at his left, Napoleon continued his course, now waving his hand, now opening his arms to the soldiers; whom he called "his friends, his companions in arms; whose honour, whose glories, whose country he now came to restore." All discipline was forgotten; disobeyed and insulted, the commander-in-chief took to flight; thousands rushed on his passage; acclamations rent the sky. At that moment Napoleon's own guard descended the hill—the Imperial March was played—the eagles were once more exhibited,—and those whose deadly weapons were to have been aimed at each other's life, embraced as brothers, and joined in universal shouts. In the midst of these greetings did Napoleon pass through the whole of the royal army, pursuing his course to Paris, and arrived at eight o'clock in the evening at the Tuileries, on the twentieth of March, the birthday of the king of Rome; a coincidence which he had not neglected to observe to his followers.

Upon the arrival of information of Ney's perfidy, and the total defection of the army, the Bourbons retired altogether from Paris, and the capital was abandoned to its fate; while

*“Paigle imperial vola de clocher en clocher jusqu’aux tours de Notre-Dame.”* In one fortnight, Napoleon Buonaparte, at the head of a few devoted followers, penetrated through five hundred miles of France, carrying with him the sceptre of his rocky isle, which he exhibited as a relic of times gone by, and then exchanged it for the imperial staff of France; thus regaining a throne which it had cost all Europe so many years, and so much blood and treasure, to wrest from him. History presents nothing parallel to this enterprise; and even in the fictitious pages of romance, it might appear too improbable to be admitted.

The violet, the earliest flower of spring, had been adopted as the badge of the Buonapartist conspirators, as typical of the time when their leader, *Le Père de l’Iollette*, should re-appear amongst them; violet rings were worn by both sexes, and the gentler portion were decked with ribbons of the same delicate colour. The modest quality of the violet’s hue protected it from observation; and it was not until the day after Napoleon’s arrival, and at the grand review held on that day, that this party colour, this preconcerted badge, was identified with the conspiracy in favour of the emperor’s restoration; but now those who were participators in the secret raised the humble violet in triumph, those who had been unconscious of the treachery adopted it for their personal safety.

Now seated firmly, as an elected emperor, upon the throne of France, Napoleon called his troops together, detailed to them the extraordinary circumstances of his return, and pointed emphatically to the facility afforded him by the people of the provinces to reach Paris, as a convincing proof of their unshaken attachment to his person. “Soldiers!” exclaimed the emperor, “the throne of the Bourbons is illegitimate, since it has been erected by foreign hands, proscribed by the voice of the nation expressed in every national assembly, and offering no guarantee except to a small number of arrogant men, whose pretensions are hostile to its rights. Soldiers! the imperial throne alone can guarantee the rights of the people; and especially the first of interests, that of our glory.

We are going to march, to drive from our territory those princes, the auxiliaries of foreigners; the nation will not only aid us with its vows, but will follow the impulse we shall give it. The French people and myself rely on you. We will not interfere in the affairs of other nations, but woe to those that interfere with our own."

This manifestation was peculiarly adapted to the constitution of the assembly which he was addressing; and those veterans who understood how to employ the laws of war in the acquisition of wealth, received with enthusiasm the orders to march. But while Napoleon hoped for ultimate success, he could hardly have calculated upon it, with the same unerring certainty which attended his prophetic vaunts in his wars of Italy and northern Europe; he had lost the reputation of being an invincible hero; he had violated the conditions of a solemn compact, deliberately entered into with the allied sovereigns; he had forfeited the support of some of his wisest counsellors and ablest generals; and he was opposed, for the first occasion of his life, by public opinion. One, and one only, of his ministers had the courage and the honesty to express his doubts of Napoleon's ability to contend with the allies; and he concluded each fervid appeal to the chamber with the words, "*enfin vous êtes un homme perdu.*" But this sentiment was expressed too late, retraction was then impracticable; and, besides, it had been generally impressed upon the people's mind that Prussia alone would offer any serious resistance to the restoration of the emperor; the remaining powers being content to let him occupy the throne, as long as he refrained from invading the kingdoms of others. From this delusion they were awoke by the publication of the following document, by those allied powers on whose apathy the Buonapartists materially relied for being permitted to recover their position amongst the nations of Europe.

*Declaration.*—"The Powers who have signed the treaty of Paris, assembled at the congress of Vienna, being informed of the escape of Napoleon Buonaparte, and of his entrance into

France with an armed force, owe it to their own dignity, and the interest of social order, to make a solemn declaration of the sentiments which this event has excited in them. By thus breaking the convention which had established him in the island of Elba, *Buonaparte destroys the only legal title on which his existence depended*—by appearing again in France, with projects of confusion and disorder, he has deprived himself of the protection of the law, and has manifested to the universe, that there can be neither peace nor truce with him. The powers consequently declare, that Napoleon Buonaparte has placed himself without the pale of civil and social relations; and that as an enemy and disturber of the tranquillity of the world, he has rendered himself liable to public vengeance. They declare at the same time, that, firmly resolved to maintain entire the treaty of Paris of the thirtieth of May, 1814, and the dispositions sanctioned by that treaty, and those which they have resolved on, or shall hereafter resolve on, to complete and consolidate it, they will employ all their means, and will unite all their efforts, that the general peace, the object of the wishes of Europe, and the constant purpose of their labours, may not again be troubled, and to guarantee against every attempt which shall threaten to replunge the world into the disorders and miseries of revolution. And, although entirely persuaded that all France, rallying round its legitimate sovereign, will immediately annihilate this last attempt of a criminal and impotent delirium, all the sovereigns of Europe, animated by the same sentiments, and guided by the same principles, declare, that if, contrary to all calculations, there should result from this event any real danger, they will be ready to give to the king of France and to the French nation, or to any other government that shall be attacked, as soon as they shall be called upon, all the assistance requisite to restore public tranquillity, and to make a common cause against all those who should undertake to compromise it. The present Declaration, inserted in the register of the congress assembled at Vienna, on the thirtieth of March 1815, shall be made public.—Done and

attested by the plenipotentiaries of the high powers who signed the treaty of Paris—Vienna, 13th March, 1815.\*

Prepared with every artifice, the emperor took good care that no copy of this fatal instrument should gain admission into the journals of France; and, feeling the force of its authority, sustained as it was by the armies of the allies, he pressed on more eagerly to strengthen himself, by attaching to his government, the people as well as the military. To effect this, he left no argument unemployed, that was in the least degree calculated to impress on the nation that his first object was the establishment, on a sound and solid basis, of a constitution virtually free. If freedom of the press had been admitted amongst the rights now guaranteed to the French nation, the editors of the public journals must have been singularly, miraculously devoted to the restoration, for the declaration of the allies remained totally excluded from their columns. The English journalists acted, or rather erred, in the contrary way, by extolling the character of Napoleon, congratulating France upon his happy restoration, and deprecating all foreign interference between the French people and their emperor.

While these feelings were floating above the heads, and flitting through the thoughts of millions, Napoleon pursued his purpose in an unshaken manner. He summoned a legislative assembly, reminded them of the horrors of war, the pain of seeing the fair surface of their country overrun by the feet of the foreigner, and announced his intention of presenting the French people with a new charter of rights, at a solemn and grand assemblage in the “field of Mars,” and this

\* Here follow the Signatures, in the alphabetical order of the courts.

AUSTRIA.		RUSSIA.
Prince Metternich,	Clancarty,	Count Rasmousky.
Baron Wessenberg.	Cathcart,	Count Staukelberg.
	Stewart.	Count Nesselrode.
FRANCE.		PORTUGAL.
Prince Talleyrand,	Count Palmella,	
Duke of Dalberg,	Saldanha Lob.	SPAIN.
Latour du Pin,		P. Gomez Labrador.
Count Alexis and Noailles.		
GREAT BRITAIN.		PRUSSIA.
Wellington,	Prince Hardenberg.	SWEDEN.
	Baron Humboldt.	Laemmenhelm.

imposing spectacle he entitled a *Champ de Mai*. On the thirty-first this piece of charlatanism was put in practice, and it was then he declared "that in a few weeks, from that date, he would have half a million of men under arms; and should the allies bring six hundred thousand men, he would lead two millions against them."

This exaggerated statement of his means was put forth to alarm the allies, and induce them to reflect upon the probable issue of such a contest; during which interval he hoped to effect, by diplomacy, some mitigation of the declaration made by the congress: and as the people were profoundly ignorant of the proceedings of the army, and were not unaccustomed to hear of one hundred thousand men marching from their homes, to assist in the destruction of an hereditary right, and the elevation of some creature of their emperor, they saw but little reason to doubt the veracity of his declaration on this occasion.

He had addressed all the crowned heads in Europe on the subject of the approaching contest, the real object of which, he concluded, was not the punishment of a dishonourable individual, or restoration of true freedom to France, then more free than she had ever been, but to substitute an imbecile but *legitimate* king, for a popular sovereign, whose throne was then elective. All his overtures for peace, conciliation, or even treaty, were necessarily rejected by those countries that were parties to the Declaration, and to the previous treaty. Caulincourt succeeded in transmitting his master's letter to the prince-regent of England, by whom it was immediately submitted to parliament, accompanied by a royal message, which rendered debate or deliberation futile: it stated, that "in consequence of events which had recently taken place in France, in direct contravention of the treaty entered into at Paris, in the year 1814, for preserving the peace of Europe, the prince-regent had judged it necessary to enter into engagements with his allies, to adopt such steps as circumstances might require against the common enemy, and for preventing the revival of a system which had for its object to disturb the peace of Europe; a system which

experience had proved to be incompatible with the peace and independence of nations."

The success of Napoleon's romantic expedition, removed all doubt from the minds of his determined enemies as to their present, as well as their prospective measures. They were fully aware of the insignificance of the individual, whom they had placed like a puppet on the throne of France, and felt the strong necessity for activity and combination, to resist successfully the machinations of such a man as Napoleon. The great genius and singular fortune of the ex-emperor had created Buonapartists in every kingdom of Europe: and in England, a country which he seemed to have "had a vow on him" to subjugate, or perish in the attempt, even there, individuals of high name were found, whose better judgment was so dazzled by the splendour of his achievements, that they almost protested against our right to arm, and protect this country from invasion, by carrying war into France.

Amongst those of our countrymen who declared that an aggressive war would not be *legitimate*, for that the allies had no right to interfere with Napoleon's resumption of the imperial diadem, were Earl Grey and Mr. Whitbread. Upon the delivery of the prince-regent's message relative to the recent events in France, demanding an augmentation of our forces by sea and land, and the adoption of measures calculated to produce the most intimate concert with our allies; Earl Grey said, "that if the address to the message just read, went to approve simply of those measures, and no farther, he should not oppose it. If, however, contrary to his just expectations, and his ardent wishes, the address which was to be proposed, should commit their lordships to a declaration of hostilities, if the allies were found willing to consent to such a course, he should feel it his duty to dissent from it." His lordship subsequently ridiculed the conduct of ministers, their reasons for acceding to the treaty of Fontainebleau, and censured, in terms of extreme severity, their negligence of Buonaparte, when nominally emperor, but virtually a state-prisoner at Elba. "With regard to the escape of Buonaparte from Elba," said his lordship,



there was a great degree of culpability on the part of our government. The danger of such an escape required no extraordinary foresight to anticipate: and yet, because it was impossible so hermetically to seal that island as to preclude all possibility of escape—because they could not make assurance doubly sure, because in fact everything could not be done, ministers seemed to think they were released from the obligation of making any provision against such an event—considering the character of the person who had been placed in the isle of Elba, considering the means which he possessed, and considering the views which had been imputed to him, was it not to be expected that he would make a descent upon France or Italy? yet the British admiral had no distinct instructions to detain him, and prevent the execution of his purpose.

Through many nights of angry contest in the upper house, Earl Grey continued to arraign the conduct of the ministers, in consequence of the escape of Napoleon, and to deny the *legality*, wisdom, or expediency of an offensive war. The same noble individual had employed his talents in depressing the fame of General Wellesley, and in condemning his military measures, and his foreign policy, until the close of one of the most brilliant campaigns ever recorded in history, compelled him to render justice to the British hero. His lordship's views in that instance were contradicted by the subsequent course of events: and how limited his prospect of the future, was again most singularly shown, in the result of the campaign which was now about to be commenced, contrary to what he called "his ardent wishes."

Similar principles, and still more energetically expressed, belonged to Mr. Whitbread: even previous to the escape of Napoleon, he had evinced a warm partiality for that great man's future happiness, and every sentiment to which he gave utterance, in connection with our foreign relations, was tinged with a shade of Buonapartism. Alluding to the harmless sovereign, who had been lifted up by the prowess of our arms, under the Duke of Wellington, and seated on the throne of the French, Mr. Whitbread observed, "The conduct of Louis

XVIII. since he has been placed on the throne, has evinced much moderation, good sense, discrimination, and gentlemanly feeling, highly creditable to him. To the acts of his government, objections may be made; but, whatever has been done amiss, originated, I really believe, with his ministers, and not with himself, while any good that has been effected, was owing to his firmness and discrimination." He then proceeded to doubt the stability of his position, spoke openly of his expectation of civil war in France, and of the return of Napoleon, and concluded with a solemn hope "that if it were possible for adversity to make any impression on the human breast, that the reverses of Buonaparte would teach him moderation, and that such a peace might yet be established between *him* and this country, as would secure the rights and liberties of the people in their most extensive operations." This extraordinary apostrophe was pronounced while Louis was actually the undisputed occupant of the throne of France, and Napoleon emperor of the isle of Elba!

On the seventh of April, the prince-regent's message being taken into the consideration of the house of commons, an opportunity was afforded to Lord Castlereagh of delivering one of those mystic orations for which he was distinguished: and to Mr. Whitbread, of replying in language so eulogistic of England's bitterest enemy, that his speech would have been listened to in the Chamber of Paris with the utmost respect. He contended that it was against the interest of this country, on any of the grounds hypothetically stated by the minister, to begin a fresh crusade for the purpose of determining who should fill the throne of France, after the experience we had had of the late twenty years' crusade—*terminated only by accident*, and by the temporary madness of the man who then filled, and who continued to fill the throne of France. He maintained that better terms had been granted to the Bourbons than to Buonaparte—that Lord Castlereagh was veiling his real object, which was to pounce upon France at an unguarded moment—that faith had not been kept with Buonaparte, from whom the stipulated sum of money was withheld, with the mean object of weakening

all his resources—he denied that his return to France was an invasion, but rather by the invitation of the military and the will of the people—he put in broad contrast the evasion of Louis to the abolition of the slave-trade, and the magnanimity of the emperor, who gave freedom to half the world by a dash of his pen, and protested that our ambassadors, who attached their signature to the declaration of the congress, deserved impeachment, that wicked instrument having designated an individual for assassination. Mr. Whitbread conceived, that as Lords Cathcart, Clancarty, and Stewart had no redeeming virtues inherent in their characters, and merely represented their country in consequence of influence and family relationship with ministers, they could never escape universal desecration, and that “all the brilliancy of Lord Wellington’s achievements, all the splendour of his character, would not be sufficient to drag him out of the abyss of shame, into which he had plunged himself by setting his illustrious name to that infamous declaration.” Lest his defence of Buonaparte might still prove unequal to the object of rendering a French war unpopular, Mr. Whitbread had recourse to the unworthiness of the Bourbons. “Sheridan,” said Mr. Whitbread, “one of the wittiest men that ever sat in that house, had stated, that one half of our national debt had been contracted in endeavouring to suppress the power of the Bourbons, and the other half in endeavouring to restore them to power. The Bourbons had not always been the friends of this country, but on the contrary her most inveterate enemies. The public press was also appealed to by the senator, but his reasoning was less creditable to his honour, and most probably such as he would the next instant have withdrawn. He advised those engines of good and evil to cease their clamour for war, lest they might go too far for their own interests, which he asserted were often very different from those of their country. They should recollect that if Buonaparte was exterminated, it would be as flat for the press as if he was at Elba.’ This singular piece of declamation, singular for a British representative and a British parliament, was closed with an imploring appeal to the child of mystery, Lord Castleragh, to







*W. Meridan.*



secure to these realms the continuance of peace, and to avoid if possible, a rupture with the ruler of France.

These ill-considered opinions would have attracted but little attention from the country, had they been expressed by less distinguished members of the legislature; and if Earl Grey and Mr. Whitbread had not told the English nation that it was contrary to the law of nations, that they should anticipate Napoleon in his designs upon their freedom, by preparing for their defence, and by striking the first blow in a contest that was inevitable; few in this land of liberty would have doubted their right: but such an impression did the rash declamation of the opposition leaders, in both houses of parliament, produce upon the weaker-minded portion of the community, that the question of the *legitimacy* of such a war became at length argued by men of higher talent, and was thus treated by Lord Erskine in his preface to a new edition of Fox's speeches:—

“To this almost insane delusion, Europe owed the first dawnings of her deliverance. Sovereigns, not absolutely subjugated, could not possibly submit to it, and their ruined people would not long have endured their submission: their resistance inflamed the temper of a man till then, *except by Wellington in Spain*, not successfully resisted, and the grand and final catastrophe of Europe was decided upon:—but when France, now become lost to every idea of honour and freedom, had thus given herself up without a pang, and even with a delirious exultation, to the dominion of one man, who, not contented with her base and ignominious subjugation, endeavoured to bind all the kingdoms of the earth to his dominion, imposing upon their subjects greater privations than they had ever felt under the most defective of their own establishments; nothing was then wanting but some highly-favourable opportunity for overthrowing so intolerable and deeply-rooted a tyranny. Such an occasion, however, might never have presented itself, and, in my opinion, never would, but from the seemingly predestinated infatuation of persisting in his odious system of proscription, and of his total forgetful-



ness of times and seasons, in the execution of his gigantic projects: but when they failed at last, and the tide of war, impelled by the elements, pursued him in his retreat, it was the war of united, justified, indignant nations, and the avenging elements of heaven. Sovereigns were then no longer unprincipled invaders, at the head of reluctant armies, but patriot leaders of their insulted and injured people, repelling in their turn, like the French at the period of her revolution, an unprincipled invasion. The submission, therefore, of France to her conquerors, at the gates of Paris, instead of lessening Mr. Fox's authority, in my opinion establishes and confirms it. On the very same principle, that, *in his time*, France could not be successfully invaded by the nations of Europe, she could not *late*ly resist their invasion; and I entertain no doubt at all, that if he had been then living, his sagacity would have predicted the event.

“My reason for this last observation was only to vindicate the truth of his prediction, that France was invulnerable, from the charge often made, of its having turned out to be unfounded when she submitted to her invaders. For the truth, however, of my remark, nor for any reasonings of my own upon which it was founded, *he* is in no way responsible, — *his* memory must in no way be implicated by opinions which he never delivered, and which could be built only upon events that he did not live to see. As little can I presume to support by his authority, the view I entertain of our present situation; on which, however, I cannot, with safety, be altogether silent; lest, whilst, from the warmth of friendship, I have been illustrating Mr. Fox's principles, I might be supposed, hereafter, to have departed from my own.

“None of his opinions, then, regarding the French revolution, which I have referred to in my letter, in all of which I concurred with him in parliament, and still maintain inviolate, have, in my judgment, any bearing whatsoever upon our relations at this moment with France, nor can govern, or affect, the momentous question of peace or war. The policy of the one or the other, as most likely to promote in the end

the tranquillity of the world, it would be wholly beside my purpose to touch upon. How far the Emperor Napoleon, after having seen the ruinous consequences of his past misconduct, might not be as likely to preserve peace in Europe as any other government established by force of arms,—whether, supposing that expectation to be irrational, and the allies to be even at the gates of Paris, greater difficulties might not arise than ever occurred before, in dealing with a nation of such vast power, extent, and population;—or whether, supposing the comparative safety of war to be obvious and unquestionable, great obstacles may not present themselves, hereafter, to its successful prosecution, from the internal state of our country, are momentous considerations which the proper forums must decide:—but these difficulties ought not to be increased by any doubt regarding the principle of the contest; because, supposing the Emperor Napoleon to be at this moment the universal choice of the French people, *of which there is no sufficient evidence*, Great Britain and her allies would still have a justifiable cause of war.

“No man can hold more sacred than I do, the right of every people to the government of their own choice, nor is prepared more constantly, or more firmly, to resist all interference, by force, with the internal concerns of an *unoffending* nation; but no writer on public law has ever denied or doubted, that states are justified in combining to resist aggressions, and in taking security against their recurrence, by hostile invasion and conquest. This was precisely the late condition of the combined powers of Europe, with regard to France:—after repelling her from their invaded territories, they followed her into her own, and hostilities were closed by a treaty under the walls of her capital, when they might have dissolved her government by the sword.

“Whatever opinions divided us in other periods of the war, it is surely now too late to deny, that to this confederacy our country became a legitimate party; indeed, the whole pressure upon the states of Europe, which they combined to resist, was only that *we* might be wounded through *their*

sides. The Napoleon system, as it affected *their* commerce, was of no value to its author, but as it might involve the destruction of *ours*. On that clear, national interest, our accession to the confederacy was supported in parliament; the most alarming demands upon our finances were, upon no other principle, submitted to: and, when the great object of it was apparently accomplished, the victorious sovereigns, and the great men employed in their service, were received among us with an enthusiasm, which, if we had not been deeply interested in their achievements, would have been the height of folly, and, if not sanctioned by the justice of their cause, would have been a national degradation.

“They had not achieved (although it was in their power) a sanguinary conquest; but, to avert the destruction of property, and the shedding of innocent blood, had proposed, in the language of the Emperor Alexander, to acknowledge, and even to guarantee, any government which should be the choice of the French people, with the exception only of the author of so many evils and calamities, and all the members of his family: subject to that exception, they invited the constituted authorities, which had been appointed by himself, to form a provisional government, and to prepare a constitution the most advantageous for France.

“Under these circumstances, their right to stipulate such terms cannot possibly be denied: they were warranted upon every principle of public law, nor can their justice or moderation be disputed: but, what ends all question concerning them, they were accepted and acted on by all who could be considered the representatives of the nation. The municipal council of Paris, in answer to the Emperor Alexander's declaration, after the preface of a furious anathema against Napoleon, with a detailed catalogue of his enormities, and of the miseries he had brought upon their country, declared unanimously, that formally they renounced all obedience to him, and expressed their ardent wish that the French monarchy should be established in the person of Louis XVIII. and his lawful successors.

“The conservative senate followed immediately in the steps of the municipal council: and whoever refers to it, as well as to the former, will find the denunciation of a greater aggregate of crime, and of just forfeiture of all trust or confidence, than could be collected from the lives of all the tyrants ever existing upon earth: they then declared that he had forfeited the throne, and the hereditary right established in his family was abolished, and the French people and their armies relieved from the oaths of fidelity they had sworn to him.

“The provisional government soon afterwards adopted the same course, by the publication of an address to the French armies, concluding in these emphatical words: ‘You are no longer the soldiers of Napoleon, the senate and all France relieve you from your oath.’—To these solemn acts of exclusion, Napoleon soon afterwards became a party: and for himself and his heirs, formally renounced the thrones of France and Italy.

“These acts of all the French authorities, even now, with a few exceptions, representing the French nation, by Napoleon’s own consent, deserve the utmost consideration. If their public declarations just referred to, had been founded, like the emperor’s own act of abdication, upon the pressure of mere necessity; if, after expressing their affection for his person, their duty to his sovereignty, and their deep regret at the surrender of its advantages, (a preamble to which the allied powers, if they attained their objects, could have framed no reasonable objection); if, after such a preamble, they had then submitted to the exclusion for the great object of national safety, they might now have had some foundation for telling other nations, that they embraced him again, on his return, as the constant object of their choice, and that the principle of his exclusion was unjust: they might now, with some countenance, have denied the dangerous principles imputed to him by other governments, and have insisted on the still greater injustice of again combining to dethrone him, under the new circumstances which had taken place.

But whoever peruses the documents by which the French people proceeded to exclude Napoleon from the throne, will there find that France now proclaims her determination against her own national treaty, to be ruled by a man whose government, she herself, in the great public acts by which she destroyed it, had solemnly declared to be incompatible with her own liberties, and with the security of all other states.

“It is not therefore necessary to have recourse to the proclamation of the allies, for a justification of any renewed hostilities—it is to be found in these proceedings of France. She herself has proclaimed to the universe, in the most public acts of her government, that there was no trust or confidence to be reposed in her chief.

“This was the true principle of the original convention, which demanded his exclusion:—the evils which Europe had suffered from his dominion, were, in my opinion, its only justification—nations whose securities are not clearly and essentially affected by revolutions in other countries, have no right whatever to make them the foundation of war, or to overthrow them by conquest. The ministers of this country, who made war on France in 1793, professed no such principle: Lord Grenville would, I am persuaded, disavow it. They justified the contest upon their *assumption*, that our own safety, and that of all Europe, was at that period deeply affected by the French revolution—a proposition of fact which was denied by Mr. Fox.

“It is no answer to say, that all these acts of the French authorities, and the abdication of Napoleon, were acts of compulsion and necessity. Undoubtedly they were—but does not that view of it replace the allies in their original position also? When a ship strikes her colours, is it not equally an act of necessity and compulsion? but if she hoists them again, after faith given to her submission, by the laws of war she may be sunk. This is precisely, at this moment, the condition of the allied sovereigns who invaded France—the very soul of the convention was the exclusion of Napoleon and his family from the throne—with their swords in their hands, they would accept

of no other terms for their security; and the terms were agreed to. How then can it possibly be contended, that his return to Paris, because unresisted by those who were bound by their solemn engagements to resist him, entitles France to remain unquestioned under his dominion, in violation and contempt of a treaty, by which her conquest had been arrested? Such a doctrine would be obviously subversive of the law of nations: but on the other hand, this clear principle of the confederacy, though the most unbounded success should attend it, ought not to be overstepped; the securities demanded for Europe should not be ideal or arbitrary, but be supported by facts and experience: the independence of France must not be struck at, nor the opinions of her people disregarded, when compatible with the peace of the world."

Special pleading is here artfully employed to prove that the allies were precisely in the same position, as regarded Napoleon and the French people, after his escape from Elba, as when they were in possession of Paris: but the cases were substantially different: in the first invasion of France, the object of the war was the chastisement of that nation for the injuries she had inflicted upon Europe under the conduct of Napoleon; when they next invaded France, it was, certainly, for the purpose of restoring the Bourbons to the throne, and the hostilities which led to Napoleon's fall, were commenced by the allied sovereigns. It is also in the highest degree probable that the experiment would have been tried, as to whether Napoleon could set limits to his ambition, and rest contented with the crown of France, had not Providence then raised up amongst the British nation a soldier capable, by genius, fortune, and renown, to contest the dominion of Europe with him in the field of battle: and the military genius of Wellington constituted the chief, the actual, the only ground, on which the allied sovereigns rested their right of invading unoffending France, and restoring a royal race which that country had rejected. With respect to the principles, motives, or power of the allies, this is not the occasion to analyze them, but as the Duke of Wellington had made England a party to the instru-

ment, which pointed out to Europe the propriety of assassinating the ex-emperor, a strong feeling of indignation certainly did exist, and very generally, throughout this country, at the introduction of the words *vindicté publique* in the declaration. If the intent of this expression really was that Napoleon's life was forfeited, and might be taken with impunity by any monster who could find an opportunity to destroy him, then eternal disgrace rests upon the head of every member of the congress : if the phrase were doubtful, as it still endangered his personal safety, it should have been instantly altered or publicly explained. But no such precaution was taken; the sovereigns left the question undecided, from which it follows, that they desired to leave to some assassin a pretext and defence for slaying an individual, claimed from the ambiguity of their proclamation. But they had no human right to denounce Napoleon as a traitor to any of their countries or empires, and it must remain a subject of unqualified regret that the illustrious name of "Wellington" was ever attached to that disgraceful and unjust declaration. That his grace felt the force of the attack that was made upon its authors, by a large portion of the parliament, the people, and the press, is sufficiently evident from his having condescended to reply to the clamour by asserting, that *vindicté publique* did not mean public *vengeance*, but rather public *justice* : his grace unfortunately found few who assented to this explanation, but many who viewed it as a weak instance of special pleading.

The Duke of Wellington had frequently expressed a strong opinion, in his despatches, that Napoleon *should be got rid of*, but from the circumstances of the periods at which he wrote, he could not possibly have meant by assassination : he merely endeavoured to impress upon our government the fact, that the repose of Europe required the total exclusion of Napoleon from any throne, but more particularly from the throne of such an influential people as the French. His grace should therefore have pursued his wonted straightforward course, uninfluenced by kings, princes, or servile ministers, and declared his resolution to meet Napoleon, as Scipio did Hannibal, as Cæsar did

Pompey, and in one great, final battle, allow Providence to distribute the laurel and the cypress. Then and there only should they have determined to meet; and it was on such a stage, too, the fate of Europe did oppose these great men to each other, in one of the most sanguinary and decisive contests recorded in history. To militate against the machinations of the sovereigns, Napoleon subdued his feelings, concealed that longing for absolute power, which at length destroyed him, and made a display of moderation in all his measures. On the twenty-third of April he carried out this delusion further than was safe, by issuing his "additional act to the constitutions." In this document greater liberty was promised to the nation than had been given by the charter of Louis XVIII., and more than was consistent with the happiness of a people, so fickle, so uncertain, so politically romantic, as the French had shown themselves since the deposition and destruction of their king.

To occupy the attention of friends and enemies, to protract the inevitable day of trial with Lord Wellington upon some battle-field, and to acquire as much strength as possible for that final blow, Napoleon announced his *Assemblée du Champ de Mai*, a splendid mockery, to which all the electors of France were invited. In front of the royal military school, a temporary amphitheatre was erected in the Champ de Mars, at Paris, spacious enough to accommodate fifteen thousand electors and deputies. The people occupied the sloping banks that enclose the great area itself, in the centre of which were drawn up several fine regiments of cavalry. Within the enclosure of the amphitheatre a throne was raised, and opposite to this was an altar with its proper decorations. The registers, appointed for the purpose, continued to read aloud the returns from the provinces: and it is quite unnecessary to say that the majority of the nation was now represented as having voted for the restoration of the imperial form of government, and in the person of Napoleon. When the whole arena was filled to overflowing, the Emperor arrived, accompanied by his brothers, Joseph, Lucien, and Jerome. The throne was



occupied by Napoleon ; his brothers stood at its foot, wrapped in Roman tunics. The ceremony commenced with high mass, after which the deputy selected to address the emperor, delivered an oration while he stood on one of the steps of the throne. This scene was followed by the declaration of the arch-chancellor, that the "additional act" was accepted by an unanimity of votes. When these acknowledgments that Napoleon was the people's choice, had been thus publicly made, the emperor, who kept on his hat during the whole performance, came forward to the altar, placed his hand upon the volume of the holy gospels, and swore by their contents to observe, during his life, the new charter of liberty granted to the nation. He now addressed the multitude, in one of those orations peculiar to himself, more to be admired for eloquence than sincerity, yet unfailing in their electric effect upon that mercurial people.

While the assemblage was under the influence of the imperial oratory, casting off his manteau, and descending from his throne, he advanced into the centre of the Champ de Mars, and commenced distributing his eagles to the troops, who received them with loud shouts of *Nous jurons !* This was the conclusion of the pageantry with which the French people were amused, and their vanity delighted ; and although it had been promised to them in May, it was postponed, and from the wisest motives, until the month of June.

On the Sunday next following the ceremony of the Champ de Mai, the emperor, accompanied by the ladies of the court, proceeded in state, to install the legislature ; and he again took occasion in that assembly, to declare his firm determination of adhering to the charter which he had signed and sworn to, as well as his anxious wish that the liberty of the press might be extended in every country to the same degree as he was henceforth resolved to permit. This day was closed with a pyrotechnic display, representing a ship from Elba approaching the shores of France, and the landing of the ex-emperor upon the coast of Provence, to resume the government of the French people.

Enough had now been given to amusement, recreation, and vanity; the eventful crisis that had arrived demanded a transition to seriousness; and the last shouts of *Vive l'Empereur!* that closed the festivities, were succeeded by the *rappel* of the drums calling the French people to arms, for the defence of their country, and security of the imperial throne.

The delay that attended the framing of a suitable reply to the emperor's speech from the throne, was Napoleon's only cause of detention at Paris, and, unaccustomed to control, as well as aware of the paramount value of celerity, he would have set out instantly for the army, had he not been unwilling to dispense with the formality of receiving the answer of the chamber in person. The chamber of representatives, understanding the charter of their rights in its spirit rather than its letter, elected, as president, a man of acknowledged ability and independence of character, but who had never dissembled his dislike of the emperor. When fortune placed the crown of France upon Napoleon's brow, Lanjuinais, the new president, thus boldly rebuked his colleagues in the senate:—"What! will you submit to give your country to a master, taken from a race, of origin so ignominious, that the Romans disdained to employ them as slaves?" A man who could strain his eloquence, and distort sound argument with so much violence, would certainly appear unfitted for the direction of a large assembly, and of too intemperate a disposition to be employed in a public capacity at such a juncture in the affairs of his country. But in this instance, the emperor gave an example of moderation to the senate, by at once confirming their election of a president; but to prevent further violations of that respect that was due to their ruler and his institutions, by venturing to meddle with the charter, the emperor laid down this principle for their guidance: "You may meditate on the constitution I have given you; you may prepare organic regulations; but beware, touch not the ark itself: you know the danger that awaits such profanation. My ministers will tell you the rest."

Carnot now reported the strength of the imperial army to

be nearly two millions of men—an exaggerated statement, equally injurious to the personal honour of his master, and the prudent conduct of the people. Napoleon had never stated that such a number was actually under arms; he only asserted, that he would embody that force, if his enemies advanced with only half the numerical amount. But the minister, more enthusiastic than wise, concealed the defection of the peasant, who had been forced into the service by the cruel rules of a conscription, and abandoned truth in every other item in his official details: this want of policy, and lack of modesty, were glaringly exhibited by the introduction into his report of a comparison between his master, the Emperor, and the exiled King of France: a comparison as contemptible as it was unnecessary, for the lofty genius of the one was acknowledged by the whole universe; the only conspicuous feature in the history of the Bourbon, was his hereditary claim to the throne of France. But Carnot had the misfortune, the bad taste, to touch discordant notes alone. “Europe,” said the minister, “is acquainted with the courage, *sang froid*, fidelity of the imperial guard, an unassailable rampart during war, and the ornament of the capital in the time of peace: this noble corps were treated by the Bourbons with hatred and contempt.” Of all subjects connected with the imperial dynasty, this was one of the most delicate: the fidelity of this guard to Napoleon, and their attachment to his person, necessarily rendered them less useful to Louis, who must have admired, even while he distrusted their allegiance; and, from the favour lavished on them by their master, and their extravagant pay, they were an object of jealousy both to the Parisians and the army generally. Louis had been advised to treat them with consideration, but without reposing in them any confidence.

Paris had submitted to the imperial sway, and its example was imitated in other parts of the kingdom: the Duke d'Angoulême was obliged to capitulate with Grouchy, and his duchess was fortunate enough to effect her escape from France. In Italy the cause of Napoleon was supported by

king Joachim, who, trembling for the stability of his own usurped throne, augmented his military establishment, and declared war against the allied powers of Europe. The crown of Naples had been guaranteed to Murat by the Austrian court, but this agreement had never been acceded to by the Bourbons: the want of confirmation alarmed Murat for the validity of his title, and the artful manœuvring of M. de Talleyrand, in the congress of Vienna, awoke him more painfully to the danger of his position. That wily minister, who had the address to retain, not only his life, but his rank and power, during a series of revolutions, secretly urged the members of the congress to support the claim of Ferdinand in preference to Murat's title. Undeterred, however, by any circumstances of impending peril, Joachim openly espoused the Emperor's cause, and it was the deliberate opinion of the Duke of Wellington, that had he succeeded in the campaign undertaken for that object, the allies would have negociated with the Emperor Napoleon for a general peace, and the Bourbons would have been obliged to return for ever to a private life. But the fall of Murat, and the restoration of Ferdinand, deprived the imperial throne of one of its main supports, the removal of which was soon followed by the fall of the edifice itself.

## CHAP. X.

THE ALLIES PREPARE FOR WAR—THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON ACCEPTS THE COMMAND OF THE ARMY OF THE NETHERLANDS—THE FRENCH FORCES ARE PUT IN MOTION TOWARDS THE NORTHERN FRONTIERS—NAPOLEON LEAVES PARIS, JOINS THE ARMY, AND PUBLISHES HIS FAMOUS DECLARATION AT AVENNES—THE BATTLE OF LIGNY, AND RETREAT OF THE PRUSSIANS—ACTION AT LES QUATRES BRAS—WELLINGTON TAKES UP A POSITION AT WATERLOO—THE BATTLE—FALL OF SIR THOMAS PICTON AND SIR W. PONSOMBY—FLIGHT OF NAPOLEON—1815.

THE gigantic efforts of Napoleon to augment his levies, recover that confidence which the French nation once reposed in his genius and fortune, and secure the sincere support of the leading members of the senate, were met by the exertions and activity of the allied sovereigns. Their preparations were on a scale not only proportionate to the greatness of their resources and extent of dominion, but commensurate also with the magnitude of the occasion. The continent, in a moment, became a scene of the most animated description, thousands of armed men being put in motion simultaneously, in different places, with orders to move on the Rhine, on the bank of which river the whole strength of the allies was to be concentrated. The first movement of this force, which it was expected would exceed eight hundred thousand men, was to have been towards the French frontier; thus commencing that war of aggression, which the emperor anxiously endeavoured to avoid—that great chastisement from which he sought to save his people—that ruin which Napoleon wrought to his own fortune and happiness. But the allied sovereigns were inexorable: the extinction of the Napoleon dynasty, and the restoration of the hereditary race to the throne of France, alone could satiate or subdue their vindictive appetite. With an unparadonable degree of confidence, they, at first, placed their respective armies under the command of leaders of their own, men not wanting in bravery, but deficient in every other

requisite in the character of great military commanders, and in whom their followers reposed no confidence. While this species of royal presumption was conducting their armies once more into the fangs of their enemies, the thinking part of Europe, a large portion of whom totally disapproved of an aggressive war on France, fixed their attention, and rested their hopes on the Duke of Wellington, as the only individual then known to the world whose reputation inspired confidence in a conflict with Napoleon.

The congress of Vienna now discontinued its meetings; and wisely concluding that the field of battle would prove a greater, more important, and brighter sphere for the employment of Wellington's genius than the precincts of their council-chamber, permitted his grace to hasten from Vienna, and repair to the Netherlands, where he undertook the command of a brave, well-appointed little army, consisting of British, Hanoverian, and Belgian troops. Marshal Blücher having been placed at the head of a numerous body of troops, moved with them on the Netherlands, courageously but presumptuously; and received, as a necessary consequence, that serious injury from which the caution of Wellington would most probably have saved him, had he placed himself *ab initio* under that great officer's directions. Blücher, however, was a fine old soldier, a splendid example of rude courage and ardent devotion to his country, and his misfortunes in the Netherlands are here alluded to more with sorrow than censure. While the different sovereigns confided the conduct of their armies to the best officers in their service, and, with pardonable partiality, each expected that the honour of the triumph, upon which such an alliance might reasonably have calculated, would be the lot of his own soldiers, the general plan of the campaign was entrusted to the Duke of Wellington by the unanimous consent of the powers of Europe; the other generals being directed to co-operate with his grace.

It was on the twenty-eighth of March that the Duke of Wellington was appointed to the chief command against the Emperor of the French, and, with his accustomed activity,

arrived at Brussels on the night of the fourth of April, "having overtaken, at Cologne, the messenger despatched from Vienna on the day of his appointment." During the brief reign of peace on the continent, the troops of the Netherlands were commanded by the Prince of Orange, who, on the duke's arrival, presented him with his commission of commander of the forces on the continent of Europe, at the same time resigning into his hands his own staff of office.

There was much difficulty in ascertaining the intentions of Napoleon—more in persuading the allies to place full confidence in the very wisest measures, unless they had originated with themselves; but, the greatest evil, and most unconquerable, was the jealousy of the continental generals at the pre-eminence conceded by the world to the British hero. The illustrious individual himself was not moved by the obvious existence of such inconveniences; he had not leisure to deplore or correct them; and, therefore, looking far beyond their sphere of action, his great plans for the safety of all escaped the interruption of his coadjutors. Inapprehensive for the security of his position, aware that the French frontier-towns were occupied by loyalists, and being at the head of twenty-three thousand effective men, he caused the allies to place garrisons in Mons, Tournay, Ypres, Nieuport, and Anvers, to the amount of thirteen thousand men and upwards: besides this force, and independent of these precautions, he relied with certainty upon a reinforcement of ten thousand fresh troops, within a few days' time, while the Prussian army, it was known, would be nearly doubled, during the same period, by fresh arrivals.

Prospects brightened in one quarter, while they were dim, and often dark, in some other. The duke, however, on the twelfth of April, uninfluenced by the least tincture of that jealousy and distrust which obstructed his best efforts to procure sincerity of co-operation on the part of our Peninsular allies, drew up and distributed the following memorandum for the operations of the allied army, then preparing to take the field.

"Memorandum.—The object of the operations proposed in my letter to the Earl of Clancarty, of the 10th of April, to be

undertaken by the corps of the allies which will probably be assembled in Flanders, and on the Rhine, in the end of the month of April, is, that by their rapidity they might be beforehand with the plans and invasion of Buonaparte. His power now rests on no foundation but the army; and if we can introduce into the country such a force as is capable either to defeat the army in the field, or to keep it in check, so that the various parties interested in the defeat of Buonaparte's views may have the power of acting, our object will be accomplished. The allies have no views of conquest; there is no territory which requires in particular to be covered by the course of their operations; their object is to defeat the army, and to destroy the power of one individual: and the only military points to be considered are:—1. to throw into France, at the earliest possible period, the largest body of men that can be assembled: 2. To perform this operation in such a manner that it can be supported by the forces of the allies, which are known to be following immediately: 3. That the troops which shall enter France, shall be secure of a retreat upon the supporting armies in case of misfortune.

“The troops to be employed in this operation should be the allied British, Hanoverian, and Dutch troops, under the command of the Duke of Wellington; the Prussian troops, as reinforced, under Count Gneisenau; the allied Austrian, Bavarian, Wurtemberg, and Baden troops, to be assembled on the Upper Rhine, under Prince Schwarzenberg. The two former should enter France between the Sambre and the Meuse: the Duke of Wellington endeavouring to get possession of Maubeuge, or, at all events, of Avesnes: and General Gneisenau directing his march upon Rocroy and Chimay. The Duke of Wellington, besides the garrisons in the places in Flanders and Brabant, should leave a corps of troops in observation on the frontier. Prince Schwarzenberg should collect his corps in the province of Luxemburg: and while his left should observe the French fortresses of Longvy, Thionville, and Metz, he should possess himself of the forts of Sedan, Stenay, and Dun, and cross the Meuse. The first object would then be accomplished, and



we should have in France a larger body of troops than it is probable the enemy can assemble.

“It is expected the British and Dutch army would be followed in the course of a fortnight by about 40,000 men; and the Prussian army, in the same period, by 90,000 men; and that the allied Austrian and Bavarian army would be followed by a Russian army of 180,000. Supposing then, that the enemy should have the facility of attacking the line of communication of the English, Hanoverian, and Dutch army, by Maubeuge, and that of the allied Austrian army from their fortresses on the Upper Moselle and Upper Meuse, they could not prevent the junction of those troops. It must, besides, be observed, that the enemy could not venture to leave their fortresses entirely without garrisons of troops of the line, on account of the disgust which the usurpation of Buonaparte has occasioned universally: and the operations upon our communications will therefore necessarily be carried on by a diminished body of troops. However inconvenient, then, they may be to those troops which will have advanced, they can neither prevent the junction of the armies which will be following the first that will enter France, nor can they prevent the retreat of those which are moving to their support.

“According to this scheme, then, we should have in the centre of France a body of above 200,000 men, to be followed by nearly 300,000 more, and their operations would be directed upon Paris, betwixt the Meuse and the Oise.”—Wellington.

This inimitable plan for the successful reduction of the imperial power, was received with the respect to which it was entitled, by those amongst our allies who were competent to appreciate its ability. Prince Metternich intended to compliment Lord Wellington, when he assured Lord Stewart that the Duke's ideas were his, and undertook to say that Prince Schwarzenberg was, or rather would be, of precisely similar sentiments. Courtiers less refined and subtle did not even make this confession, but passed on to adopt the wisdom of the advice without regarding the adviser. His grace, on the ninth of May, addressed a despatch to Prince Schwarzenberg,





EDWARD DUFF OF KELLY - "TRAVELLER TO KILPATRICK" - 1841

*Hent and Henthorn*





abounding in details of such operations as were indispensably necessary for the simultaneous movements of these great allied armies. The co-operation of the British cabinet, in the measures of the Duke, was not as sanguine as his zeal and activity deserved, or the occasion seemed to demand; but these much abused ministers at length yielded to his grace's frequent importunities to throw the whole strength of the British empire into the contest, which he perceived must be final to one party in the dreadful game. We have before felt it due to his diplomatic character and business-like habits to call attention to the amazing extent and variety of his grace's correspondence: on one occasion alone, no less than six and twenty despatches and letters, each requiring caution in the composition, issued from his grace's head-quarters, while the enemy's line was drawn out before him, and a contest hourly expected: from head-quarters at Brussels a similar issue of despatches took place, addressed to the reigning sovereigns of Europe, their chief ministers, their ablest officers—to his own generals, and the members of the British government at home. Some involved the interests of the great nations to whose rulers they were addressed; others entered into the minute details of conduct which their generals should pursue: while a third class of despatches, one in which it was hardly considerate to engage his grace, resulted from applications for promotion, and the aid of his great influence in obtaining pardon for the idle and disorderly. Amongst other requests there was one from the late Duke of Kent, recommending certain officers to his grace's notice. The reply and refusal are in every way worthy of his character, embodying the most conclusive reasons for not acceding to his royal highness's request, accompanied by such expressions of respect, regard, and loyalty, as must have proved highly gratifying to that amiable prince. Thus in every kingdom of Europe the wise counsels of Wellington constituted a species of political text, which was annotated by each prime minister; and, of that great body which was extended over the continent, and just rising refreshed to commence the struggle, the Duke of Wellington appeared to be the soul. The Prussians,

wavering in their policy, but steady in their hatred of France, eagerly pressed forward, and at once resolved to place the army, which Kleist commanded, under the direct control of the Duke of Wellington, but their wrath increasing hourly as the prospect, of once more insulting the French in their capital, opened, they retracted that resolution, augmented their forces considerably, and placed Marshal Blucher over the whole, with instructions to co-operate with the Anglo-allied army. Had their first intention been adhered to, perhaps the conflict at Ligny had never taken place, or, if it had, in all probability with a very different issue.

Belgium was now in a state of defence; every judicious precaution for its security had been taken, both by the Prince of Orange and the Duke of Wellington, so that the emperor could not possibly have mastered it by a coup-de-main. The army of the Netherlands had its head-quarters at Ath and Nivelles; Kleist, then at Aix-la-Chapelle, was invited by Sir Hudson Lowe to support the Anglo-allied army, in the event of an invasion of Belgium by the French; and Gisenau considered Belgium to be such a bastion as was sufficient to repel any invasion of Germany by the French, while it was a tête de pont to England. This was the condition of Belgium, these its hopes of safety from French aggression, when Wellington arrived from Vienna to direct the application of the power which had been accumulated. The force placed at the unrestricted disposal of the duke consisted of heterogeneous materials, affording his grace less opportunity for the employment of his transcendent military talents than was beneficial to the cause. The British portion of his army was composed mostly of second battalions, a strong body of the guards, and two regiments of German hussars, that had been placed under the conduct of General Graham (Lord Lynedoch) at the close of the year 1813, with a view to a better organization of the army of Holland. This body had been reinforced by five thousand men from the German legion, and afforded sufficient protection to Belgium until the re-appearance of hostilities, but was unequal to the altered circumstances of

Europe; and his grace, immediately after his arrival at Brussels, thus pressed the English minister for reinforcements:—"I cannot help thinking, from all accounts, that our troops are not what they ought to be, to enable us to maintain our military character in Europe. It appears to me, that you have not taken in England a clear view of your situation; that you do not think war certain; and that a great effort must be made, if it is hoped that it shall be short. You have not called out the militia, or announced such an intention in your message to parliament, by which measure your troops of the line in Ireland or elsewhere might become disposable; and how we are to make out 150,000 men, or even the 60,000 of the defensive part of the treaty of Chaumont, appears not to have been considered. If you could let me have forty thousand good British infantry, besides those you insist upon having in garrisons, the proportion settled by treaty, that you are to furnish of cavalry, that is to say, the eighth of 150,000 men, including in both the old German legion, and one hundred and fifty pieces of British field artillery fully horsed, I should be satisfied, and take my chance for the rest, and engage that we should play our part in the game; but as it is, we are in a bad way."

England was unable to furnish the quota of men from her own subjects, which she had pledged the national honour to supply in the event of renewed hostilities, and it was his grace's suggestion that the deficiency should be made up by drafts from the old Spanish infantry, and from the Portuguese regiments which Beresford had instructed in the art of war. But the former had not returned from America, whither they had been uselessly despatched at the close of the late war in Europe, and the Portuguese government refused to accede to the proposal, although strongly urged by his grace, who spoke of the powers entrusted to the Portuguese minister at the congress, urged the expediency of such a military measure, and finally called on the people of Portugal to assist their old companions, and once more serve under their old commander. Equally deaf to the voice of justice, and hardened against the appeals of



gratitude, the existing government of Portugal abandoned their old allies to the chances of that fate, from which they themselves had been so recently rescued by our great commander.

The extracts already given from his grace's despatches, dated immediately subsequent to his arrival at Brussels, indicate his desire that the armies of the allied sovereigns should advance with celerity towards the French frontier; and, to encourage them in activity, himself undertook to lead the way in those initial operations, and invade the imperial dominions. But Napoleon was "no common intruder," and it is far from being an ascertained fact, that by the sword alone his right to the throne was maintained: intelligence arrived daily that he was acquiring enormous strength, that all the army, and one portion of the people, were devoted to his government, and that the apprehension of his being unable to resist the combined armies of Europe, rather than disinclination to his person or conduct, actuated a large proportion of those that appeared neutral, or were undecided. These considerations, added to authentic intelligence, led to the conviction that no shadowy force followed the emperor to the field of battle, and that prejudice had too far influenced the judgment of his adversaries. Altering his plans somewhat from his first intention, his grace now preferred delay to rapidity, by which the Russians would be allowed time to come up—the Prussians, under Blücher, act as a corps of reserve, while the British, ever foremost in glory as in generosity, should cross the frontier, and beard Napoleon in the heart of his dominions. His grace advised Blücher to take up a well-chosen position, covering the communication with his own frontier, while the British army took care to protect Brussels, as preserving the communication with the sea at Ostend. The departures from his original plan of operations, together with his reasons for this change of opinion, are thus given in one of the ablest of his military despatches, which he addressed to Lieutenant-General Lord Charles Stewart, on the eighth of May, from Brussels.

"I have received your letters of the twenty-eighth of April, for which I am very much obliged to you; and I have perused,

with the greatest attention, the memorandum which you enclosed. I saw Clarke yesterday, and he told me, that a person holding a situation in the war-office, upon whom he could depend, had informed him, that the thirtieth of April, the enemy's regular army amounted to one hundred and thirty thousand men; and the guard to twenty-five thousand; the *gens-d'armes* and national guards raised, and expected to be raised, would make it two hundred and eighty thousand; this was the utmost expected.

“Bournonville, who ought to know, told me this day, that we ought to reckon that the enemy had an effective force of two hundred thousand men. . He says, the king had one hundred and fifty-five thousand when he quitted Paris, and that he had granted above one hundred thousand *congés*, which had been called in; but that not above half could be reckoned upon as likely to join. I understand, likewise, that there were above one hundred thousand deserters wandering about France. In reference to these different statements, I beg you to observe, that Clarke speaks from positive information; Bournonville from conjecture. According to Clarke's account, the army gained strength only three thousand men in the last fifteen days; but then it must be observed, that the *guards* have gained above nineteen thousand, being the difference between six thousand, which they were, and twenty-five thousand, which they are now.

“In respect to periods of commencing operations, you will have seen that I had adopted the opinion that it was necessary to wait for more troops, as far back as the thirteenth of April. After, however, that we shall have waited a sufficient time to collect a force, and to satisfy military men that their force is what it ought to be, to enable them to accomplish the object in view, the period of attack becomes a political question, upon which there can be no difference of opinion. Every day's experience convinces me that we ought not to lose a moment which could be spared. I say nothing about our defensive operations, because I am inclined to believe that Blücher and I are so well united, and so strong, that the enemy cannot do

us much mischief. I am at the advanced post of the whole; the greatest part of the enemy's force is in my front; and if I am satisfied, others need be under no apprehension. In regard to offensive operations, my opinion is, that however strong we shall be in reference to the enemy, we should not extend ourselves further than is absolutely necessary in order to facilitate the subsistence of the troops. I do not approve of an extension from the Channel to the Alps; and I am convinced that it will be found not only fatal, but that the troops, at such a distance on the left of our line, will be entirely out of the line of the operations. We are now, or shall be shortly placed, on the French frontier in the form of an *échelon*, of which the right, placed here, is the most advanced *échelon*, and the left, upon the Upper Rhine, is the most retired.

“Paris is our object, and the greatest force and greatest military difficulties are opposed to the movements of the right, which is the most advanced part of our general line. Indeed, such force and difficulties are opposed to us in this part, that I should think that Blücher and I cannot move till the movements of others of the allied corps shall have relieved us from part of the enemy's force opposed to us. Then, it must be observed, we cannot be relieved by movements through Luxemburg. In my opinion, then, the movement of the allies should begin with the left, which should cross the Rhine between Basle and Strasburg. The centre, collected upon the Sarre, should cross the Meuse on the day the left should be expected to be at Langres. If these movements should not relieve the right, they should be continued; that is to say, the left should continue its movement on both banks of the Marne, while the centre should cross the Aisne; and the distance between the two bodies, and between each and Paris, should be shortened daily. But this last hypothesis is not probable; the enemy would certainly move from this front upon the earliest alarm of the movements on the Upper Rhine; and the moment he did move, or that the operation should be practicable, Blücher's corps and mine should move forward, and the former make the siege of Givet, the latter of Maubeuge; and the former

likewise to aid the movement of the centre across the Meuse. If the enemy should fall upon the centre, it should either retire upon Luxemburg, or fight, according to the relative strength; and in either case Blucher should act upon the enemy's communication upon the Aisne. But the most probable result of their first movements would be the concentration of the enemy's forces upon the Aisne; and accordingly we hear of the fortifications of Soissons and Laon, of an intrenched camp at Beauvais, &c. &c. We must, in this case, after the first operation, throw our whole left across the Marne, and strengthen, if it is necessary, from the centre, and let it march upon Paris between the Seine and the Marne, while the right and the centre should either attack the enemy's position upon the Aisne, or endeavour to turn its left; or the whole should co-operate in one general attack upon the enemy's position.

"I come now to consider the strength required for these operations. The greatest strength the enemy is supposed to have is 200,000 effective men, besides national guards for his garrisons. Of this number it can hardly be believed that he can bring 150,000 to bear upon any one point. Upon this statement let our proceedings be founded. Let us have 150,000 men upon the left, and 150,000 upon the right; and all the rest, whatever may be in the centre, or after a sufficient centre is formed, let the remainder be in reserve for the right, left, or centre, as may be most convenient for their march and subsistence, and I will engage for the result, as they may be thrown where we please. Let us begin when we shall have 450,000 men. Before the Austrians upon the left shall be at Langres, the Russians will have passed the Rhine, and the whole Prussian army will be in line.

"These are my general ideas, which I do not think differ much from Knesebeck's. Mind, when I think of the siege of Givet and Maubeuge, I do not mean, by the whole of the two armies of the right, but to be carried on by detachments from them. The centre should seize Sedan, which is not strong or garrisoned, and observe Longvy, Thionville, and Metz. The

left will have to observe Huningue and the fortresses in Alsace.

“In regard to the force in Piedmont, I confess that I wish that the whole Austrian army was actively employed against Murat, with the exception of the garrisons. Murat must be destroyed early, or he will hang heavily upon us. If any force should be employed from Piedmont, its operations should be separate from those of the great confederacy. They cannot be connected without disconnecting those, of what I have hitherto considered the left, from the remainder of our great line; however, they may be calculated to aid that left, particularly by being directed upon Chambery, or by keeping that post in check. Their basis is, however, different, and cannot easily be made otherwise.

“These opinions are for yourself; God knows whether they can be acted upon, or whether the allies will allow their forces to be divided as I suppose; and particularly whether the Prussians will act in two corps, one under Blücher, and another from Luxemburg with the centre; or whether the other allies will like to commence till the whole Russian army is *en mesure*. But I am convinced that what I have proposed is so clearly the plan of operations, that I do not doubt it will be adopted, with but little variation.—Wellington.”

During these great exertions of Wellington to direct the immense power of so many armies, in the most effective manner, for the conquest of France, the activity of his rival was equally conspicuous. His forces were concentrated on the frontier, occupying extensive cantonnements *par échelon* in the departments of the North and of the Aisne; the imperial head-quarters were fixed at Laon, while Valenciennes and Maubeuge were also occupied. The right of the army of the north communicated with the armies of Ardennes and the Moselle, its left being covered by Lisle. Composed of veterans who had served in many a hard-fought campaign under the emperor, their enthusiasm was unconfined; and, having recently resided amongst the peasantry of these departments, they had seduced them into the belief that the approaching

war was of a national character solely; that it was necessary to the preservation of life and property, to combine in repelling invasion, and protesting before the world against the aggression. Convinced by this reasoning, the people of Aisne sedulously set themselves to work, in fortifying the frontier towns, constructing *têtes de ponts*, and multiplying those obstacles that are calculated to arrest the progress of an army. The national guards appeared everywhere under arms, and the inhabitants displayed their determination of rising *en masse* on the approach of an invading army. Similar sentiments pervaded all those departments through which the allied armies passed in 1814, with the exception of that of the North, which did not conceal their dissatisfaction at the presence of this re-organized force. In this department no military resources could be obtained, and its national guards peremptorily refused to march. Confidence, however, between the army and the people was reciprocal; the former calculated on the effective co-operation of the inhabitants generally; while they, in turn, relied securely on the fidelity of the soldiers, and were satisfied that it was treason alone that had bared the bosom of France to her enemies on the last invasion, and suffered the foe to disfigure it. Under these false feelings of security, the legions of Napoleon waited, but not patiently, for the advance of the allies, whose movements appeared to them more cautious than courageous. This was the attitude of France for defence, when the conclusion of the Champ de Mai released the generals from their attendance in Paris, and permitted the guards to set out for Laon, which they reached in a few days by forced marches. The emperor remained in Paris after the departure of the guards, in order to receive the address of the chamber; but such was his activity, that he overtook the army at Vervins, and there placed himself at its head. This last act was all that was necessary to fix the affections of the people: such was the spell that wrapped him, that from the moment of his appearance amongst the people of the provinces, their sense of danger disappeared, the calamities of war were forgotten, the

glory of France, identified with that of Napoleon, was their sole engrossing thought. It was the interest of our public chronicles of that day to represent Napoleon as a cruel despot, whose government was forced upon the nation by a sort of Cromwellian influence, deriving its right from the army alone; but this is wholly untrue: the reception of Napoleon on his route from Paris to the Netherlands, was of the most enthusiastic description; he was welcomed, almost worshipped, as he passed; and so great a degree of confidence did this conduct produce in him, that he everywhere presented himself to his admirers, and was everywhere encouraged by their prayers for his success, and their blessings on the cause he was embarked in. It was not the general opinion of the nation, that an aggressive war was the emperor's intention; the defence of their frontier seemed to be his first, his only object; but their error was dissipated by the energy which he displayed, and the rapidity of the movements of his immense army.

At Beaumont the armies of the north and of Ardennes formed a junction, under the command of Vandamme, who established his head-quarters at Fumay. The army of the Moselle, moving up from Metz, and debouching through Philipville, by forced marches placed itself in line simultaneously with the other corps; General Gerard was at the head of this body. In this way the grand army of the north was composed of five infantry corps, under the commands of Generals D'Erlon, Reille, Vandamme, Gerard, and Count Lobau. Grouchy directed the cavalry, which was distributed into four divisions, under Generals Pajol, Excelmanns, Milhaud, and Kellerman. The imperial guard, the nucleus of this vast martial array, consisted of twenty thousand men, the flower of the French army, and was strengthened by a powerful pare of artillery, supplied with military stores of every description, and attended by a pontoon train. Independent of the batteries that accompanied each division, a pare of reserve was added to every corps; and the imperial guard was followed by a splendid train of artillery, consisting entirely

of newly-cast pieces of ordnance. The whole force may be estimated at 150,000 effective men, 20,000 of whom were mounted; and the parc of artillery included upwards of three hundred pieces.

It must always create the deepest regret that war cannot be conducted on the principles which its authors humanely lay down; even this cruel practice has laws by which its conduct should be regulated, derived from the usages of contending armies from the earliest ages of the world; and in the most sanguinary wars these military maxims have been respected. But in the desperate conflict for supremacy between Napoleon and the powers of Europe, the singularity of his position, the perilous nature of his imperial tenure, the host of monarchs arrayed against him, seeking vengeance for the injuries he had inflicted upon their people;—all combined to alter the character of the wars that were to be waged, and to permit greater license to the soldiers who served Napoleon, than any more settled government would have allowed. To attach the soldiers to his person, he had often given up whole districts to plunder, but these had belonged to their enemies; here, however, a much more nefarious instance of the violence of his legions occurred, and even yet more discreditable to the name of soldier—this was, the sacking of their own towns, the plundering of their own countrymen. The unsuspecting peasant who gave one moiety of his stores to maintain the army, was immediately pillaged of the other, his house broken into, and his feelings outraged by the insolence of the soldiery. No granary escaped the ferocious veterans, no treasures remained hidden from their search. These infamous excesses were tolerated by the officers, who were either unable to restrain the men, or unwilling to displease them at such a juncture, and only replied to the importunities of the cottager for protection, by stating, “It is war, we are necessary in such a season—the soldiery must live, and you have neglected to form a magazine for their support.”

This cruel, barbarous, and unnatural conduct, might have been permitted by the emperor in a foreign country, to con-



ciliate the devotion of his followers, and to stimulate their courage, but upon no principle of policy can it be explained or palliated in this instance. The provinces visited by the army were fair and fertile, clothed with crops, and giving hopes of an abundant harvest, but the line of their march was a road of ruin, the vicinity of their camps a scene of desolation. As if by a determinate motive of studied destruction, they sought the richest fields, and, in a moment of time, the sickle and the sword prostrated the many crops for forage for the cattle, or thatch for the canteens. It is asserted that these distressing scenes of injustice and wickedness were not the only obstacle to the smooth progress of the yet unresisted arms of Napoleon, but that jealousies existed, not only between the different corps, but also between the cavalry and the infantry, and the different companies of the same denomination. That such anarchy existed in the interior administration of the French army may be reasonably doubted, when it is remembered that the advance of Napoleon resembled a flight rather than a forced march, and that so great was the facility which he found of bringing up this vast armament, that he calculated upon being able to burst into Belgium, surprise the separated commanders, and, having annihilated Blücher, been free to direct all his strength against the only enemy he ever respected, the English. His plans were locked up in the secrecy of his bosom, until he reached Avesnes with his army, on the fourteenth of June, when they were communicated to the troops in the following proclamation, which was read at the head of every division.

“Soldiers! This day is the anniversary of Marengo and of Friedland, which twice decided the fate of Europe. Then, as after the battles of Austerlitz and Wagram, we were too generous. We trusted to the oaths and protestations of princes, who were left upon their thrones. Now, however, coalesced among themselves, they conspire against our independence, and the most sacred rights of France. They have begun the most unjust of aggressions:—are not they and we the same men still? Soldiers! at Jena, against the same Prussians, now so arrogant, you were as one to three, and at

Montmirail, one to six ! Let those among you, that have been prisoners in England, describe their *kulks*, and the frightful miseries which they endured on board them ! The Saxons, Belgians, Hanoverians, soldiers of the Rhine, all groan at being compelled to lend their arms to princes, enemies of justice and the rights of nations. They know that this coalition is insatiable. After having devoured twelve millions of Poles, twelve millions of Italians, one million of Saxons, six millions of Belgians, it must devour the states of the second rank of Germany. The madmen ! a moment of prosperity blinds them. The oppression and humiliation of the French people are beyond their power. If they enter France, they will there find their tomb.

“Soldiers ! we have forced marches to make, battles to fight, dangers to encounter ; but, with steadiness, victory will be ours—the rights, the honour, the happiness of the country will be re-conquered ! To every Frenchman who has a heart, the moment is arrived to conquer or perish.” “Napoleon.”

This pompous proclamation was received with transports of joy, by those who translated it into a new *fiat* for pillage and licentiousness in foreign lands. On the following day the army broke up for the Belgic territory, and the second division advancing rapidly, came up with the Prussian outposts ; these they attacked and drove in, pursuing the fugitives to Marchienne-au-Pont. The French cavalry, in this affair, had to charge several squares of infantry, which they uniformly broke, making also one hundred prisoners. These misfortunes produced a panic amongst the Prussians, who retreated with precipitation towards the Sambre ; the French light cavalry of the centre followed the second division along the road to Charleroi, and, with the most resolute bravery, attacking several detached parties, succeeded, ultimately, in driving the whole Prussian advanced guard across the river :—the approach to the bridge was now covered by a party of riflemen, under whose protection the Prussians proceeded to block up the passage so securely, that the march of the French must necessarily be retarded, and time gained for their corps to evacuate the place.

But in the council and the field, the Prussians had always proved themselves inferior to the French; and failing in their efforts to barricade or break down the bridge, they turned to flight, and gave to their enemies the quiet possession of Charleroi. Meanwhile the second corps accomplishing the passage of the river at Marchienne, advanced to Gosselies, a town of some importance on the road to Brussels, with a view of intercepting Ziethen's corps that had fled from Charleroi. The suddenness of this last attack astonished and alarmed the Prussians, who retired rapidly before the French light troops to Fleurus, where their main body was then concentrated. The ardour and impetuosity of the French was supposed to have been much increased by the presence of the emperor; and their rooted aversion to the Prussian name, must have steeled their swords. Those squadrons that were doing duty under the immediate orders of the emperor could not be restrained, and, finding that their generals continued the pursuit, but gave no orders to fire, they rushed furiously on the enemy with the bayonet, and committed dreadful havoc amongst their ranks. Thus the Prussians were driven from every position, and with the most serious losses, while no officer of rank was slain on the opposite side, with the exception of General Letort. Night spread her veil over the sanguinary scene, and terminated further pursuit, upon which Napoleon, leaving the third corps on the road to Namur, and the second at Gosselies, returned to his head-quarters at Charleroi.

The fruits of these successes were valuable to the emperor, and prized by him accordingly: a thousand prisoners were taken, paraded before the army, and then passed to the rear—the passage of the Sambre was effected without loss, and confidence inspired in the troops by these easy and early victories.

The army had been told that the Belgians, ripe for the reception of liberty, would prove themselves worthy of it by passing over to the eagles of France; but this was undoubtedly an intentional deception, a political fraud, for, with the exception of a few discontented men, such as exist in every country, and some few, whom terror influenced to raise the cry of *Fire*

*l'Empereur*, the Belgic accession to the French force was inconsiderable.

At three o'clock on the morning of the sixteenth, the imperial army moved forward in columns; the left wing, consisting of the two first infantry corps, with four divisions of cavalry, was placed under the command of Marshal Ney, with orders to march on Brussels by Gosselies and Frasnes, and establish itself, in the first instance, at Les Quatres Bras, so as to sever Blucher from Wellington. The centre, which comprehended the third, fourth, and sixth divisions, the reserve, and a large cavalry force, and formed the mass of the army, directed its march upon Fleurus. While Grouchy, at the head of the Pajol cavalry, and a few infantry battalions, manœuvred towards the village of Sombref on the Namur road.

Ney, in conformity with his instructions, advanced against Prince Bernard of Saxe Weimar, and, as his force was much superior to that of his opponent, and his military skill and experience not exceeded by those of any marshal in the imperial service, the issue of a contest could hardly be doubted. The report of cannon, however, in the direction of Fleurus, at this moment, reaching the marshal, he detached a division to support the army in that quarter, by which step his force was so much weakened, that he dared not pursue the prince beyond Frasnes, whence he had been driven. Nor was this the whole of the loss which he sustained, in mistaking Ziethen's action for an affair of much greater moment: for Prince Bernard falling back upon Quatre Bras, maintained himself there, in front of Ney's division, until the Prince of Orange came to his assistance; when he actually recovered his former position, and kept open the communication with the army under Marshal Blucher.

These advantages were obtained over the Prussians, entirely without the cognizance of the Duke of Wellington, the amazing rapidity of the emperor's movements, and the deep secrecy in which his designs were wrapped, having secured them from any danger of interruption. But, on the evening of the fifteenth, and while his grace sat at table with Sir Thomas Picton,

and other general officers, the Prince of Orange arrived, and brought with him the first intelligence of the commencement of hostilities, the repulse of the Prussians, and Ziethen's defeat. This information was confirmed by the arrival of a despatch from Blucher, borne by Baron Muffling, stating, that an affair had occurred between the outposts of both armies, which he considered unimportant, and not likely to be attended with any serious results. A communication as incautious as the conduct of the marshal himself in advancing towards the frontier, and calculated to place the Duke in the utmost perplexity. From this meagre production he was left to conclude that the movements of the enemy were to be still further developed, before he could possibly think of putting his army in motion : besides, might it not have been a ruse of Napoleon to draw the allies towards Ligny, that he might take advantage of their absence, and occupy Brussels. This view of the circumstances led him to continue in his position, until the enemy's plans were more decidedly ascertained, but he did not hesitate a moment in ordering all his generals to hold themselves in readiness, and have their troops prepared for action, as soon as the object of the enemy should be known.

Having adopted this the wisest possible precaution, the most prudent conduct which the mind of man could conceive, and preferred the protection of the capital, which was known to be a principal object of the emperor's operations, to the wild measure of marching out of Brussels in search of an enemy, whose position, Blucher, who was so much nearer, had not been able to ascertain, he must assuredly be acquitted of the empty charge of having been taken by surprise—a charge forged by one party from a hatred of the conqueror of Napoleon, and spread abroad by another from political partisanship at home. This accusation, as malicious as vain, was supported by the story of his grace's having received the *first* intelligence of Napoleon's proximity, and his aggressive operations, while attending a ball at the house of the Duchess of Richmond in Brussels. It has been just stated where, when, and from whom, his grace derived his first and second accounts of the

enemy's movements. It was in the salon of his noble countrywoman that Marshal Blucher's second despatch (which was the third communication received from the allies that day) was delivered to the Duke. The place where it was received was extraordinary; the hour, midnight, not less so; and the manner of the hero, upon reading a statement so much at variance with what Blucher's first despatch had led him to expect, excited the most anxious attention. For some minutes his eyes were fixed upon the paper which he held—rapidly rising thoughts seemed to change the very fashion of his countenance in their transit—he stood alone, in a state of abstraction from every surrounding object, and was heard to mutter Blucher's name in a manner that did not indicate satisfaction: suddenly shaking off the coil of thought in which he was entangled, escaping from the workings of those feelings which must have arisen at such a moment, he turned to one of his staff, gave some apparently unimportant directions, and resumed his place in the happy circle, from which he had withdrawn a few moments before, without betraying any unusual concern or new anxiety. This manly conduct, so considerate for the feelings of those by whom he was encircled, so becoming the dignity of his elevated position and character, was the prelude to the most splendid series of tactical conceptions which were ever put in operation against an enemy. Although no external signs of the struggle of the great man's soul were visible, he must have felt the magnitude of the contest which was now inevitable; he had overthrown the best legions, frustrated the ablest marshals of France; yet all, all was nothing compared with the glory of conquering Napoleon. That he had won a wonderful renown already, was precisely the occasion of that greater thirst for glory, and it must naturally have been his secret conclusion, that all his previous victories were to find their confirmation, to secure their well-deserved places in the page of history, by the issue of the battle in which Napoleon and Wellington were opposed.

Having suffered a few anxious hours to pass over, from the receipt of Blucher's second despatch, orders were issued for summoning to arms, and the rappel was heard in the streets,

the trumpet-call in the distance, their alarming notes sounding more clearly from the silence of night. As the military were quartered in every house, the city was necessarily disturbed by their preparations for marching, and a scene of confusion and alarm, of an indescribable character, was presented. The Place Royale was the rendezvous, and the soldiers, artillery, baggage waggons, and military equipage of every sort, in moving towards this point, became mingled with market carts, private vehicles and carriages, so as to present an extraordinary and irregular appearance. But it was only what is understood by regular confusion, almost a few moments reduced the military portion of the dense crowd to perfect order and regularity, the accustomed movements of the other portion, in the ardent pursuit of commercial success, ranged them also in the manner best calculated for the attainment of their objects,—As the regiments formed in the Place, they were ordered to march forward on Quatre Bras; of these brave fellows none excited more interest, or produced a more lasting impression on the spectators, than the forty-second and ninety-second Highlanders, as they kept time to the notes of their national music, while the slanting beams of the rising sun shone upon their glittering arms.—“Before that sun had set in night, how many of that gallant band was laid low!” The spirit of the men was admirable, they had never known defeat, and mutual confidence was established between Wellington and his army. “What could not a British soldier do under such a general? and what could not such a general do with such soldiers?”

The compliment which Wellington once paid to his army, dictated as it was by the most exemplary modesty, should be known to every true soldier in the universe: “When other generals,” said the hero, “commit an error, their army is lost by it; when I get into a scrape, my army get me out of it.” The presence of Wellington at Brussels inspired the military with increased energies; and before eight o’clock in the morning, silence reigned in some places, in others sorrow. The market-carts, that were yet to be

employed in conveying the wounded to the hospitals, were tilted in the streets, the heavy baggage-waggons were ranged in retired but convenient places. The troops having left, and the city being entrusted to the care of a small guard, Lord Wellington rode out from Brussels in high spirits, observing, "that as Blucher had most probably settled the business himself by that time, he should perhaps be back to dinner." There followed his grace an ancient Briton, the characteristics of whose countrymen have always been a becoming pride, and an undaunted bravery: his reconnotring-glass slung across his shoulder, he rode chivalrously onward in search of adventures, like those that had shed a lustre upon the ancient stock from which he was sprung, and as Picton passed out of Brussels to the fields of Quatre Bras and Waterloo, from which he was never to return, he had the gratification to observe the finger of curiosity pointed towards him, and to hear uttered in terms of the warmest admiration, "There goes the commander of 'the fighting division.'" Had Napoleon known the conspicuous individual merit, the unshaken loyalty and courage, the refined sentiments of honour that characterized the marshals whom Wellington educated in the dreadful profession of arms, he would have refrained from the assurance which he gave his staff, at the very moment here described, "that to-morrow night he would sleep at Lacken."\*

It was on the sixteenth that the duke, proceeding leisurely from Brussels towards his advanced posts, took an accurate survey of the immortalized field of Waterloo; thence passing onward, he found the Prince of Orange strongly posted at Les Quatres Bras, with the determination to preserve the communication between the forces of the Duke and those of Marshal Blucher at Ligny. The secure dispositions of his troops for the reception of the enemy, enabled his grace to

\* Napoleon had once before lodged in this beautiful palace, rendered more so by the costly decorations which Louis Bonaparte had introduced in the principal apartments. It is delightfully situated about three miles from Brussels, and was a favourite residence of the King of the Netherlands until he was deprived of it by the Belgian revolt.



give some hours to the consideration of those difficulties that were rapidly gathering, like darkening clouds, around the fortunes of Blucher; and, riding as far as the windmill of Bry, he there held a lengthened conference with the Prussian general. Having assured him of the fullest co-operation and support, the duke took his leave, and hastened back to Quatres Bras, where it was now evident that the French meant to impinge upon the line of the allies, at the same instant that an assault was ordered upon the position of the Prussians. Napoleon's general plan of operations was to fall on the Prussians with his main body, while Marshal Ney should attack Quatres Bras, and, driving the allies from that point, occupy a position at Bry. His instructions also were, that as the Prussians would be attacked at Ligny at two o'clock precisely, Ney should force the enemy's line in front, send forward a detachment by the Namur road, "and envelop the Prussian right wing." The battle of Ligny did not commence for an hour and a half later than Napoleon stated, previous to which time Ney had attacked the Netherlands posted between Quatres Bras and Frasnes, under the command of General Perponcher; and having overpowered that force, advanced to the position of Quatres Bras, where he was encountered by Sir Thomas Picton, with a resolution and bravery that defied all the skill of this subtle soldier, and all the gallantry of his veteran legions.

Napoleon had not thrown the principal weight of the campaign upon any of his faithful generals; himself had undertaken to encounter the different armies of the allied sovereigns successively, and Blucher was the first whom he had marked out for signal vengeance. There was some deep-rooted feeling of enmity towards the devoted followers of Blucher, which led the emperor to select them as the first victims of his indignation; and the war between these two armies assumed, from the very commencement, a most ferocious aspect. Before the opening of the campaign, the French soldiers had hoisted the *black flag*, and avowed publicly their determination of giving no quarter to the Prussians.

As the French debouched from Fleurus they observed the Prussian army, eighty-five thousand strong, advantageously posted on an eminence, protected in front by a deep ravine, that extended the whole length of the line; the right of which rested on St. Amand, the left stretched towards Sombref, and the centre occupied a position at Ligny.

Having reconnoitred the Prussian position, Napoleon, placing the first corps behind the village of Frasnes, at a short distance from the road to Brussels, as a reserve, directed the third to move in columns of attack upon St. Amand; the fourth, supported by the guards, by the second corps, and a strong cavalry force, were ordered to move on Ligny; while Grouchy, with the divisions of the right, was to advance towards Sombref. This plan of attack was formed at the instant, upon view of the position of the enemy; and it was owing to this deviation from previous orders, that the commencement of the attack was delayed from two to half-past three o'clock.

While the action, which shall be presently described, was pending at les Quatres-Bras, a fight both fierce and fearful took place at Ligny; Napoleon having formed the bold design of attacking two such commanders as Wellington and Blucher at the same moment. No one but Napoleon would have conceived such a project, and he alone possessed any chance of success. The first onset of this violent struggle was made at St. Amand, by a strong body of infantry under General Vandamme, while Girard's division endeavoured to turn the village by a simultaneous flank movement. The French obtained partial success; but such was the fury of their enemies, that they were quickly dislodged from the position they had gained in the village, a position won with the utmost courage, and at the point of the bayonet. The fourth corps threw itself upon Ligny; and there the gallantry of Gerard, who led the attack, was conspicuous. The cannonade kept up by both armies at this moment was tremendous and fatal, more particularly to the Prussians, who were posted on the slope of the hill, up which the balls bounded

*en ricochet*, and passed on as far as the heights of Bry. The wings of the French armies were fully engaged, at Frasnes and at Sombref; and the conflict that began at St. Amand soon spread, became general, and was carried on with a degree of ferocity that marked less the character of national strife, than the animosity and vindictiveness of party feuds or private enmity. The great objects of contending armies appeared here to merge in the unmitigated hatred with which each individual seemed to assail his antagonist. Every man in both armies courted death, as the only medium through which his vengeance could obtain the least alleviation of its bitterness. With such rancorous feelings, the carnage that attended the oft-repeated capture and recapture of St. Amand, may be conceived to have been horrible; and so dearly did a party of Prussians, who had engarrisoned themselves in the church, sell their lives, that Napoleon trembled for the issue of the contest, and was obliged to bring up his first corps to that point, with a degree of haste that was calculated to spread alarm through his ranks. This was a perilous movement, made without the cognizance of Marshal Ney, ruinous to that general's plan of operations against the Anglo-allies at Quatre Bras, and attended with no beneficial consequence to Napoleon at Ligny. The first corps did not arrive in time to assist in the attack upon the church of St. Amand, which Vandamme had succeeded in taking, after a resistance of so much obstinacy that few of the brave defenders survived the surrender of their sacred citadel. Having driven the Prussians from the church and village, the enemy now established themselves on the Prussian side of the river, while Girard advanced against the troops that were formed on the sloping ground with the utmost intrepidity. It was a bold idea to attack so large a body, so strongly posted, and so well supported by reserves; but the impetuosity of the French in this battle was without control, and their courage, or rather cruelty, was increased by the savage desire of extermination. Blucher perceived the object of his enemy, and equally resolute, and little less vindictive, himself headed two brigades of

cavalry, and charged the advancing columns. The Prussians having much the advantage in position, drove back the French with desperate slaughter, although Vandamme had come up to their assistance; and General Girard, the projector of the movement, having sacrificed the greater part of his division, fell amongst them mortally wounded.

Ligny was the strongest point in the Prussian line, having numerous well-built houses, that afforded shelter to sharpshooters, and increased the peril to an attacking party. The struggle at this place was maintained with the ferocity which characterized this contest, the French and Prussians becoming alternately occupiers of the place during the day. The heavy artillery of both armies continued to roar during the whole period of the battle, with awful consequences to the Prussians, who were in an exposed position, but less fatally to their enemies, who derived shelter from the irregularities of the ground where they were posted.

The day was now declining, yet victory refused to declare for either party; the Prussians had sustained a fearful loss, yet maintained their position behind the ravine with apparent determination. It was now therefore necessary to carry Ligny finally, decisively, and for this object Napoleon collected all his strength in a proper position. Bringing up the imperial guards, and the whole of his reserve, he assailed the village with the most extraordinary rapidity and irresistible impetuosity: the defence was brave but brief, for, overpowered by immensely superior numbers, the Prussians were obliged to retire from a position which they had defended with a degree of gallantry that reflected honour upon their country.—While Napoleon directed the attack on Ligny in front, Generals Gerard and Milhaut, with a massive column, had turned it by the right, compelling the brave defenders at this point to give way before the splendid tactics of their enemy. Napoleon had committed a fault in abstracting part of Ney's corps, but that error was here of little consequence, his force being superior in numbers to the Prussians, and his military skill so immeasurably beyond that of his opponent. But the brave

old soldier endeavoured to compensate for this deficiency in military skill, compared with the most remarkable character in European history, by a splendid example of bravery in the moment of danger, and quickly perceiving that all was set upon a desperate chance, Blücher placed himself at the head of his brave troops, and eagerly rushed into the thickest part of the conflict. There, sword in hand, this noble veteran sought an honourable grave, in the midst of the detested enemies of his country; but his horse being killed, the cuirassiers, in the ardour of their career, actually galloped over the marshal, as he lay beside his fallen charger, surrounded by the dead and the dying; and when night put a stop to the pursuit and the carnage, he effected his escape from the field of blood. Defeated and driven from every position, the Prussians retired from that field, on which, like the chivalrous king of France, they had lost all save their honour, for never was greater bravery evinced by an army on the day of battle, than by the beaten Prussians at the battle of Ligny. Full fifteen thousand of these brave fellows were there put *hors de combat*, and twenty pieces of artillery were taken from them, before they abandoned their position to the emperor of the French.

The services of the first corps had been rendered abortive by the precipitancy of the emperor in calling them to his assistance, and, when he found that the position could be carried without their aid, in sending them back again to their former post. It was on their first approach, in conformity with orders, that Napoleon is said to have experienced the most extraordinary degree of alarm, and to have exhibited so much apprehension, attributable entirely to inadvertence. Few of his officers being aware that the first corps had been sent for, when that body appeared debouching from the woods, about three miles to the left of the French, they mistook them for the enemy, and immediately communicated that intelligence to the emperor. Evidently forgetting the orders he had issued, he was astounded at the news, and altered his dispositions in order to receive so large and bold a force. In a short time, however, yet before he had recovered from the delusion into which he had fallen,

an aide-de-camp announced that the approaching force was the first French corps. The marching and counter-marching of this fine corps of twenty thousand men, was a decided blunder, arising from the Emperor's eagerness to carry the Prussian position, and from their want of proper orders after they were informed that their assistance was not necessary.

Napoleon is supposed to have acted with haste, and to have exhibited an impetuosity of temper, totally ruinous to the commander of a great army, in the presence of a brave and powerful enemy. He did not permit the interference of his marshals in his plan of operations, and he was the first to depart from preconceived movements, without advising his officers of such intention. It does not appear to have been judicious to delay the concentration of his forces at Fleurus until one o'clock, P.M. as he did do; nor to have ordered Marshal Ney to refrain from attacking the enemy until two o'clock on the same day. It was inconsistent to have laid down a plan, the soul of which was celerity, and then to have pompously dictated formal delay to his officers; it was petulant to have charged Ney with inactivity while he restricted his movements, desiring him to be governed by the revolutions of time rather than of events: it is absurd to suppose that Drouet quitted his position without orders,—absolute folly to imagine that Ney, from some instinctive feeling that the emperor required the aid of the first corps, detached that body from his force, while he was actually advancing against the enemy: from all which considerations it follows, that the emperor must himself have sent for this corps; the anecdote, therefore, of its advance on Ligny being unexpected, either is not deserving of credit, or Napoleon, absorbed in other considerations, had forgotten the orders which he had himself so shortly before delivered.\*

Military critics have accused Ney of indiscretion and supineness, in not pressing on Perponcher's division at an early moment, and before the arrival of reinforcements; but it has been shown, that, had he done so, he would have violated the

\* General Gourgaud alone is responsible for the anecdote.

orders of his imperial master, and, besides, that master had confounded his operations by secretly withdrawing D'Erlon's corps. The impression which Marshal Ney had made upon the advanced guard of the allies was viewed seriously by the Duke of Wellington; his forces were not yet concentrated, and it was of vital consequence to the success of his plans, that Ney should be kept at bay until something like an equality of numbers could be collected. Already the French had possessed themselves of Germeoncourt, distant about cannon-shot from Quatre Bras, occupied the south border of the Bois de Bossu, and were concentrating their efforts against the right wing of the allies at the village. It was at this crisis, half-past two in the day, that the field of Quatre Bras seemed suddenly to bristle with bayonets; Sir Thomas Picton arriving at the scene of action with the fifth division, followed by the Duke of Brunswick's troops, and the contingent of Nassau, accompanied also by a battery of British artillery, commanded by Major Rogers, together with eight heavy guns belonging to the Brunswickers. This force, amounting to twelve thousand men, was formed with the utmost expedition, the right along the road to Namur, and in the rye-fields bordering on the Bois de Bossu; a second large body took a position to the left; while the ninety-second were formed along the course of a dyke that confined the road to Nivelles. The Duke of Wellington halted in front of the ninety-second regiment; and the enemy, apparently aware of the fact, directed their hottest fire against the place where he stood. It was now that his quality of fortune served him, for while he was engaged in delivering orders, directing every movement of his own army, and observing those of the enemy, a tempest of bullets drove past him, cannon balls fell around him, and his aides-de-camp, and officers of his staff, were killed at his side. It is unnecessary to say that he remained unmoved by the scenes of slaughter that were enacting there; when the dreadful career of the British hero, from the battle of Assaye to the victory at Toulouse, are called to mind, none can doubt the cool, calm temperament which he must still have preserved, while the

arrows of death flew so swiftly and so closely by him. The enemy now endeavoured to penetrate the centre of the allied line, and moved forward, with this object, two divisions of infantry supported by cavalry, and covered by a brisk play of artillery upon our lines. The Brunswick cavalry were brought up against the enemy, but could not be induced to stand their ground, while fresh bodies of the enemy's horse were coming on at a charging pace. The British grenadiers, having gained a few minutes by the interposition of the Brunswickers, employed them in wheeling back upon the road by the dyke, and, taking the enemy obliquely, after which they poured such rapid volleys upon the main body, as actually severed the van from the rear, while the cuirassiers were at the full speed of their chargers. A panic struck the rear ranks, but the foremost pushed forward in the most gallant style, galloped through the village, sabreing the stragglers as they passed, and nearly succeeded in making the great Duke their prisoner. Had they unfortunately succeeded in acquiring such glory, their enjoyment would have been but short-lived, for, in attempting to retire and recover their own lines, they were all either slain or made prisoners. The devoted ninety-second now rushed to the contest, clearing the ditch, and charging with bayonets the retreating column, but at this moment, a volley was fired by a body of heavy cavalry, whose motions were unperceived, from the height of the standing rye in which they were concealed, which laid numbers of this fine regiment prostrate; the survivors, undaunted by the catastrophe, pursued the enemy to the skirts of the wood, but at such a sacrifice, that but fifty men returned to their line. This little band of heroes, in effecting their retreat, found themselves completely cut off from their position, and were preparing to sell their lives at an awful price, when the advance of a regiment of the guards obliged the enemy to fall back, and permit the remnant of the brave ninety-second to pass to the rear of the village, and form in line once more.

The destruction of the ninety-second highlanders took place about four o'clock; and almost immediately after this misfortune, the third division of the allied army, under count Alten,



consisting of British and Hanoverians, supported by Cleeve's brigade of German artillery, entered the field, followed, at a little distance, by Major Lloyd's battery of artillery. At the instant of their arrival, they were called on to sustain a furious attack from the enemy, who endeavoured to possess themselves of the Bois de Bossu, and of some outbuildings in front of Quatre Bras. This bold effort brought on a general action, in which the British battalions, from their forward position, were principally engaged, and became of course the heaviest sufferers. The cuirassiers, encased in armour, rode at our ranks with the most extraordinary intrepidity, deterring their opponents by the panoply from which themselves derived their boldness. In one of their assaults, the second battalion of the sixty-ninth British regiment was completely destroyed, and one of its colours captured. This last misfortune has been ascribed to a mistake of the Prince of Orange, in commanding the battalion to form in line, unconscious that it had only that moment formed square.\* In addition to this failure, part of the thirty-third regiment was compelled to retreat into the Bois de Bossu, whither it was pursued by a large body of the enemy's infantry. Such successes encouraged the French to advance rapidly in the open ground, and these simultaneous movements, if successfully followed up, must inevitably have

\* The circumstances under which this solitary instance of the loss of a British colour occurred, are explained as follows, by a contemporary military writer. "The battalion formed part of General Halkett's brigade of the third, but had been detached to support General Pack's brigade of the fifth division. Perceiving that the cuirassiers were about to charge, Pack ordered the sixty-ninth to form square; but the manœuvre was scarcely completed when the Prince of Orange rode up, and directed the battalion to re-form line: before this could be effected, the cuirassiers were amongst its moving divisions, and in a few minutes cut down two hundred men; the rest of the regiment found refuge in the squares of the forty-second and ninety-second Highlanders. The intrepidity shown on this occasion by a volunteer named Clark, merits notice: this young soldier, although bleeding from many wounds, was seen contending successfully against several of the French troopers after the rout of his battalion. His heroic conduct was rewarded with a commission in the forty-second regiment. One of his wounds—of which he had *twenty-three*, as was certified by Dr. James Bartlet, who dressed them—cost him the use of an arm."—*Scott and Jackson's Military Memoir*.

put them in possession of the great road to Nivelles. Such was the doubtful character of this sanguinary battle, such the gloomy aspect of the allies' cause, to those who were ignorant of the able plan of operations prepared by their great leader, or to those who wanted confidence in his wonderful powers for command; when at half-past six o'clock the first British division arrived on the ground. This division broke up from its cantonments at Enghien at three o'clock in the morning, and performed a fatiguing march of fifteen hours, without tasting food, or having any other refreshment than a drink of water from the rivulets they had passed. The guards were under the immediate command of General Cook, and the accompanying brigades of artillery directed by Major Kuhlmann and Captain Sandham. The time, the perilous position of affairs, the exact equilibrium of the balance of fate, afforded the reinforcement an opportunity of throwing the sword into the scale. As they had arrived by the Nivelles chaussée, they not only perceived the critical situation of the allies, but were in the best possible position for affording them relief, and, without a moment's hesitation General Maitland formed line, his brave followers dashed into the wood with deafening cheers, and soon cleared it of the enemy. This duty being so gallantly performed, the impetuosity of the men became uncontrollable, and, pursuing their advantage, they debouched at the opposite side of the wood, in the broken and straggling form into which they had been thrown by the interruption of the copse. To their surprise, but not dismay, the enemy were found drawn up in line, and ready to receive them, on the skirts of the wood. Maitland, perfectly understanding the crisis, did not stop to re-form his men, or damp their ardour by new orders, but, issuing from his cover as they were, rushed in amongst the well-formed ranks of the French, breaking, scattering, and pursuing them in all directions. The chivalrous exploits of the guards were not unobserved by the enemy, who, perceiving that these British heroes were unsupported in their valorous conduct, despatched a fresh regiment of cuirassiers against them. In this attempt they were

happily frustrated, for Maitland, whose impetuosity was always accompanied with judgment, perceived their design, was fully conscious of the disorder of his ranks, and, employing the same alacrity with which he had before charged the foe and driven them from the wood, he now returned thither, and secured a shelter for his men. Before the cuirassiers could come up, the guards had reached the wood, lined its skirts effectually, and, being ready to receive them with certain aim and sure destruction, the enemy deemed further effort imprudent, and fell back. To strengthen and secure the right of the allied position more effectually, the Duke of Wellington ordered up a column of Brunswickers from Quatre Bras, to take a position to the left of Maitland, which completely removed all fears in that quarter.

Confidence, even hope, was now shaken, as Ney's last resource, his reserve, had been drawn off by the emperor, and the cuirassiers were unable to produce the impression which he had anticipated upon the squares of infantry. The result of this desperate action affords another satisfactory confirmation of the superiority of Lord Wellington's tactics over those of the marshals of France, for, in numbers, cavalry, and artillery the allies were inferior to the enemy up to this crisis in the battle. When the contest of Quatre Bras commenced, the allies were only 19,000 strong, and of this number 4500 were British infantry; but, by the accession of Alten's division, and arrival of Maitland with the guards, his grace had 25,000 troops in the field, and a pare of thirty-eight guns in position. Although his force had become equal to that of the enemy by reinforcements arriving to the allies, while D'Erlon's corps had been drawn off from their adversaries, still the contest had been one of the most difficult, doubtful, and desperate in which he had ever been engaged, and demanded the best energies of this great master in the art of war, to conduct to a fortunate issue. His only cavalry force, the Belgian and Brunswick horse, were quite unequal to the noble squadrons of cuirassiers to which they were opposed, so that the Duke had but his infantry, and a few well-served pieces of ordnance, to oppose to

the veteran legions of France, led on by the best and bravest of her generals. But Wellington never had the good fortune to have had the command of a large and well-disciplined army, with numbers he had been long familiar, but, with the exception of the little English phalanx which followed him like a Spartan band, and decoyed our allies into the field, where their own liberty was to be contested for — with this exception, his armies were composed of discordant materials, a heterogeneous mass, so that the difficulties that presented themselves to his grace, after his Spanish experience, were grappled with, and subdued, with more facility than might have been naturally imagined. His success at Quatre Bras, although decisive, was only after a hard-fought contest, disastrous to the allies in many respects, but infinitely more so to their enemies.

The resistance of the allies had been so fatal to the French, that dismay began to spread amongst the enemy's lines, and the murderous repulses of the cuirassiers, in addition to the great number of wounded that were momentarily carried to the rear, created a panic amongst the camp-followers. These, accompanied by fugitives from the lines, now choked up the road to Charleroi, in a contest, not of courage, but activity, each endeavouring to outstrip the other in getting without the sphere of danger. The main body of Ney's corps began to give way under the constant pressure of the allied infantry, and would have suffered yet more severely, had not Roussel, with a compact body of cuirassiers, covered their retreat, checked the rapid pursuit of the British infantry, and enabled the enemy's main body to fall back upon the heights of Frasnes, where they took up their original position, and maintained it gallantly until the combat declined with the setting sun. Wellington remained undisputed master of the field of Quatre Bras, and there his army bivouacked for the night. Reports were rapidly spread through both armies that several distinguished officers had fallen, and some of them were unhappily founded in truth. Colonel Cameron, so often mentioned in Lord Wellington's despatches from the Peninsula, while leading the ninety-second to charge a strong body of cavalry supported

by infantry, was killed; and the gallant Duke of Brunswick, who, in degenerate times, remained an unshaken model of ancient German valour and constancy, received a mortal wound while riding at the head of his hussars. The precise manner of his fall is probably not ascertained: it is supposed that his highness having entered a farm-yard enclosed by buildings, he was fired upon by the enemy who were stationed within, and a musket-ball passing through his bridle-hand entered his heart; while a second account states that he was struck by a case-shot, and lived about a quarter of an hour after he had been wounded. The decision of this point is of no moment, it was sufficient that the Brunswickers had lost their prince, to kindle a wrath that would endure while life continued, and would not be appeased before hundreds had been immolated to the shade of their prince and general. The black Brunswickers from this moment hoisted the flag of death, and vowed neither to give nor take quarter in the approaching contest, until the duke's death should be avenged. There was a melancholy interest given to the fate of this hereditary soldier, from the fact that his brave father had received his death-wound at the battle of Jena, in defending his rights against the encroachment of Napoleon's ambition; the son had fallen in endeavouring to avenge his father's death, and by the hands of the same intruder, for it was by the fire of Jerome Buonaparte's light troops that the duke was killed. This lamentable coincidence in the fates of these brave princes, French superstition translated into a propitious omen to the Buonaparte family, anticipating, that fate had again called Jerome to succeed the legitimate race of Brunswick.\* The day of *Quatre Bras* was then a day

\* Ferdinand Duke of Brunswick, father of Queen Caroline, the unhappy wife of George the IVth of England, was mortally wounded at the battle of Jena, in 1806, and died immediately after at Altona. He commanded the Prussians in 1792, and promulgated the indiscreet manifesto of that year. Napoleon would not suffer his remains to be deposited in the silent tomb of his ancestors. What a commentary upon the cruelty and vanity of mankind does this ungenerous act suggest! The power, by which the victorious emperor was enabled to deny the rights of an honourable sepulture, to so brave and eminent a prince, had been wrested from his grasp by the sovereigns of Europe, and the

of mourning, but it should be remembered that it was also a day of triumph; the hero who directed the movements of the victorious party has left but this brief account of the dangers they had undergone: "We maintained our position, and completely defeated and repulsed all the enemy's attempts to get possession of it. The enemy repeatedly attacked us with a large body of infantry, supported by a numerous and powerful artillery. He made several charges with the cavalry upon our infantry, but all were repulsed in the steadiest manner." The enemy's loss must have exceeded that of the allies, which may be estimated at three thousand men put *hors de combat*, of whom the greater proportion was British. The occupation of the position of Quatre Bras was of vital consequence to both armies. Wellington was perfectly conscious of its importance, for, had he been obliged to abandon it, the Prussian right would have been turned, and the communication between Blücher and the allies, by the Namur chaussée, interrupted; but, in this celebrated campaign, the line of operations laid down by Lord Wellington was early occupied by the different commanders, and maintained throughout with a constancy that has never been surpassed; so that the instruction of Napoleon, delivered so pompously to Marshal Ney, "to envelop the right of the Prussian army," was completely frustrated, and the very plan recoiled in ruin upon its author.

The night that closed over the field of les Quatres Bras was cold, dark, and stormy; but rest under any circumstances was received as a blessing by men foot-sore with forced marches, exhausted with hunger, worn out with exertions unsurpassed in military exploits, and numbers lying helpless, perhaps hopeless, from bleeding wounds. But it was not to be their portion to enjoy a night of rest, for, about three

noble son, in the spirit of chivalry's days, offered up a solemn vow that the sword of Brunswick should not again be sheathed, until the death of his brave sire had been avenged. He clad his followers in sable green and black, with dark plumes nodding from their helmets, and the solemn appearance of this devoted band, decked in costume emblematic of their deadly object, gave something sacred to their cause, and carried memory back to the reign of feudalism.

o'clock of dawn, firing was heard at the outskirts of their bivouac ; and, starting to arms again in expectation of a renewal of the struggle, the indomitable spirit of Englishmen displayed itself in a well-formed line of brave fellows eager for the fight, who appeared, like the fabled forces of Cadmus, to have sprung up armed from the earth. The affair, however, proved to be of no moment, the silence of night returned, and the soldiers revisited their bivouac, and courted the refreshment of sleep. The late interruption of their pertinacious opponents was soon, however, succeeded by a duty which humanity demanded, that of looking after the wounded ; and, as soon as the morning appeared, parties were despatched to collect and bring in all those who had been unavoidably neglected during the darkness and inclemency of the previous night.

It was now light enough to renew operations, and the hour had arrived when the decision of the commander-in-chief must be taken, if it had not been previously made ; his grace, therefore, when his troops were formed in line, directed some changes from the plan of the preceding day, wheeled them round the Bois de Bossu, manœuvring so as to conceal part of his force, and leave it to the conjectures of the enemy to ascertain the unseen amount. In such cases fancy generally exaggerates, and, it is known, that in this instance the enemy were much deceived, having concluded that considerable reinforcements must have arrived in the allies' camp during the night.

Whatever were the intentions of Lord Wellington at break of day on the seventeenth—and from his movements it was supposed, by his generals, that he purposed pursuing the advantage gained at Quatres Bras, and making an attack on Ney's position at Frasnes—they were not communicated to his army. He had promised his support to the Prussian generals ; and in this, as well as in the Peninsular campaign, had evinced the most anxious desire to conciliate our allies, and secure reciprocal confidence and sincere co-operation. But his precautionary advice seemed rather to inflame the jealousy of the foreign leader, and contribute to precipitate Blücher into a contest with Napoleon, as unequal as the

abyss to elevation, or weakness to strength. In addition to his own personal services, which he freely tendered, as military counsel to his allies, his grace had permitted Sir Henry Hardinge, an officer who had acquired not merely his friendship but affection during the Peninsular war, to attach himself to the Prussian head-quarters; and, while the question of pursuing Ney, and forming a junction with Blücher, might, perchance, have engaged the duke's reflection, Lieutenant Hardinge, of the royal artillery, arrived at Genappe, the duke's head-quarters, on the night of the sixteenth, with despatches from Sir Henry Hardinge, acquainting him with the total overthrow of the Prussians at Ligny. Upon this intelligence, Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Alexander Gordon, with a strong escort of the tenth hussars, was despatched, to ascertain the relative position of the French and Prussians, with the probable direction of Blücher's retreat, and returned about seven o'clock in the morning of the seventeenth, with a confirmation of the disagreeable news; reporting at the same time, that the enemy were not in occupation of Sombref, and that their videttes retired as the escort advanced. As the fourth Prussian corps, under Bülow, had not come up from Liège, and the loss in the battle of Ligny amounted to fifteen thousand men, Blücher thought it prudent to evacuate Sombref in the night, and retreat upon the Dyle, intending to concentrate his army upon Wavre. The battle having only ceased at night-fall, the retreat of the Prussians was not perceived by Napoleon, and, owing to the confusion in his camp, from the circumstances of the previous day, it was not his intention to renew the contest until noon of the seventeenth; but when that hour had arrived, his astonishment was inconceivable, his disappointment extreme, at learning that even a fragment of the shattered force of his most detested enemy had escaped the hand of death. Marshal Grouchy was immediately ordered to pursue the Prussians with a body of thirty-two thousand men; but, not being able to march before three o'clock in the afternoon, he made no further progress than to Gemblouse that night. Arriving before Wavre at noon of the eighteenth,



Grouchy, with the third and fourth corps, and a body of cavalry, vigorously attacked the position of Marshal Blucher on the heights, and a battle was fought along the river Dyle, in which the French were again victorious. The loss on the eighteenth, however, was not so severe as to prevent the main body of the Prussians, under Bulow, from proceeding to support the English, while General Thielman contrived to employ, and detain Grouchy, during part even of the nineteenth, on which day he retired to a position five miles distant; the victory of Waterloo, intelligence of which had reached his camp, having rendered further contest unnecessary: in this engagement, the Prussians sustained a further loss of four thousand men, making a grand total of nearly twenty thousand, destroyed by the French in the space of the four days' fighting. Misfortune tracked the progress of the Prussians in this short campaign; they were defeated with frightful slaughter in every contest; their manœuvres were always frustrated by the enemy; their self-confidence severely punished; and when, at the eleventh hour, Blucher desired to claim the promised assistance of the British hero, his aide-de-camp, whom he despatched with the request, after the unfortunate battle of Ligny, was killed upon the way.

Against the insincerity, jealousy, or folly of his allies, Wellington had always been provided, and being in possession of that most important communication of which the ill-fortune of the Prussians had deprived him, by his own prudent precautions he concluded, as the fact was, that Blucher had fallen back to Wavre, where we have already seen him become a victim to his want of fortune. His grace resolved, therefore, to make a corresponding retrograde movement, and take such a position as might maintain his lateral communication with the Prussian right wing. Had he remained in advance, the option would have been presented to Napoleon either of interposing between the English and Prussians, or of turning his concentrated force against the duke's army, which was much inferior in numbers to his own. Having issued the following instructions for the move-

ment of the army on the seventeenth, his grace commenced his parallel retrograde movement by Genappe upon Mont St. Jean, in front of Waterloo, about ten o'clock in the forenoon. "To General Lord Hill, G.C.B. The second division of British infantry to march from Nivelles on Waterloo, at ten o'clock. The brigades of the fourth division, now at Nivelles, to march from that place on Waterloo, at ten o'clock. Those brigades of the fourth division at Braine le Comte, and the road from thence to Nivelles, to collect and halt at Braine le Comte this day. All the baggage on the road from Braine le Comte to Nivelles, to return immediately to the former place, and proceed from thence to Hal and Brussels. The spare musket ammunition to be immediately packed behind Genappe. The corps under the command of Prince Frederick of Orange will move from Enghein this evening, and take up a position in front of Hal, occupying Braine le Château with two battalions. Colonel Erstorff will fall back with his brigade on Hal, and place himself under the orders of Prince Frederick."—Wellington.

The allies retired at leisure, for Napoleon rested satisfied that he should come up with them at Quatre Bras in time sufficient to turn their left by the Namur road, and this erroneous view proved favourable to his enemies. Leaving a rear-guard of cavalry and horse-artillery under the command of the Earl of Uxbridge, who had been instrumental in saving the army of Sir J. Moore under precisely similar circumstances, and when Napoleon also was the pursuer, to cover his retreat, Wellington drew off through the narrow streets of Genappe; and so admirably was the movement masked, that the French had no suspicion of the fact. As the Earl of Uxbridge with his covering party withdrew from the position, the French cavalry followed, and, diminishing the interval of the parties, gradually closed upon the earl's rear-guard, after passing through the village of Genappe. The seventh hussars now made a charge upon a corps of the French imperial lancers, but the ground being peculiarly favourable to the weapons of the enemy, they were received with such firmness, that they were flung back upon their companions. In vain our brave fellows endeavoured

to penetrate the spear-bristling front of their adversaries, and with equal fortune attacked their flanks, which were protected by the ground. But the life-guards and Oxford blues being now led to the charge, under the immediate command of the Earl of Uxbridge, handled their adversaries so rudely, overthrowing them also by their superior weight, that no further interruption was given to his lordship during his retreat upon Mont St. Jean.

While Wellington was falling back upon Waterloo, Napoleon, unsuspecting of his real objects, was advancing by a lateral march on Quatre Bras, to support Ney and surprise the Anglo-allies; but his surprise was excited by a different cause, namely, intelligence that the English had withdrawn leisurely, and in firm and compact order, to a position selected by their commander-in-chief, and that the force then in front of Frasnes, was only the British cavalry, left there to cover their retreat, under his old and chivalrous adversary, the Earl of Uxbridge. His hopes therefore of exterminating the English army, while Grouchy occupied the Prussians at Wavre, being for ever dissipated, he cast some bitter reproaches upon Ney, whom he chiefly blamed for this "day of false manœuvres," and then continued his march with the main body of his infantry towards Brussels, his cavalry being still kept in advance. Conduct disgraceful to the character of a civilized nation actuated the French army on this occasion: a few stragglers that fell into their hands, and occasional prisoners whom they made in their attacks upon the rear-guard of the allies, were with shameless wickedness instantly butchered. This infamous violence becoming known to the English troopers, retaliation naturally followed, and, from the personal strength of the latter, the retributive punishment cannot be dwelt on without sentiments of horror.

But Napoleon had familiarized Europe with desolation and death, and the combatants in this campaign were no novices in the practice of war; when, therefore, the French were crossing the field of Quatre Bras in pursuit of the allies, the appearance of our brave highlanders, as they lay dead upon

the ground, and in their national costume, excited their savage mirth, and gave employment to their taste for raillery; the French soldiers applying to their fallen foe, the sobriquet of "*sans culottes*." Continuing his march, Napoleon vainly imagined that he was led by his destiny, once more, to drive the leopard into the sea, and viewed the resistance which he met occasionally, as an effort of the brave English to gain time to reach the shore, embark in their ships, and retire to their peculiar element. The repulse he encountered at the entrance of the forest of Soignies was a serious presentment of the future: the difficulty was too great to be overcome at a first assault, and having cannonaded his opponents heavily, and as long as the light of day continued, he fixed his head-quarters at the farm of Caillon, near to Planchencis, his army encamping at Genappe and its vicinity.

The Anglo-allies were concentrated in their position of Mont St. Jean, in front of Waterloo, about five o'clock in the afternoon of the seventeenth, covering the approach to Brussels by the road from Nivelles to Charleroi. Two hours after the arrival of the allies, the advanced guard of the enemy debouched on an eminence near La belle Alliance, and, from the paucity of their numbers, it was obvious that little immediate danger was to be apprehended, and that the vigour of the pursuit had abated. A few heavy guns were discharged by the enemy after dusk, which were sullenly answered by the English, giving their enemies assurance that they did not intend to conceal their presence or abandon their position. The night that preceded the ever-memorable battle of Waterloo, was distinguished by its singular severity for the season of the year. A violent gale bore along with it perfect torrents of rain, and, sweeping over the tall rye-heads that clothed the fields, drenched the brave fellows who sought brief rest and shelter in these comfortless bivouacs. Loud peals of thunder rolling over their heads, mocked the echoes of their murderous guns, and brilliant flashes of lightning occasionally disclosed the presence of each army to the other. How suitable the severe character of the contending elements to the awful occasion

that was then approaching ! Upon the earth saturated with rain, and amidst the dripping corn, the soldiers lay under arms, impatiently looking for the disappearance of an angry night and the bright approach of day. Light returned, unaccompanied by the broad beams of the sun, heavy clouds continued drifting with the wind, and ushering in a day big with the fate of empires. Had Napoleon called superstition to his aid, having no sun like that of Austerlitz to name, he must have concluded that since "the sun had not braved the east an hour before, it must needs prove a black day to somebody." While Wellington deriving courage from the justice of his cause, confidence from the courage of his troops, and resolution from the firmness of his own heart, felt "that the self-same heaven that frowned on him, looked sadly on his rival."

In determining to make a stand at Waterloo, the Duke of Wellington displayed a courage that seems invincible—a degree of boldness and heroism that could only be the result of a well-founded confidence in his great experience in the art of war, the most entire reliance upon the quality of his troops, and a knowledge of their conviction of his great ability and continued fortune, for his army was inferior in number to that of his adversary, commanded by the most popular and successful conqueror that ever lived, and urged to desperation by the peculiar and romantic character of the position which he held amongst the kingdoms of Europe. Lord Wellington had not taken up the ground with the confident belief that he could there, singly, decide the fate of the civilized world : his determination, however, was to check the advance of Napoleon upon Brussels, and keep him occupied until the arrival of Blücher, or Bülow, when he should feel no apprehension in encountering the veteran legions of France, led by their imperial idol. As Wavre was but twelve miles distant from Waterloo, he was justified in calculating upon the support of the Prussians, and, as they had suffered such deplorable chastisement from the hands of the French, the sincerity of their co-operation in line of battle might be confidently relied on. The position his grace had taken up was one of choice,

not chance; and although part of his force consisted of raw levies, he had still thirty-three thousand veteran soldiers, whose example would inspire the inexperienced or timid in the hour of peril.

The Duke of Wellington's position at Mont St. Jean, about a mile and a half in front of Waterloo and the Forest of Soignies, crossed the high road from Charleroi and Nivelles, and had its right thrown back to a ravine near Merke Braine, which hamlet was occupied, and its left extended to a height above Ter la Haye, which was also occupied. In front of the right centre, and near the Nivelles road, the allies occupied the house and gardens of Hougomont, which covered the return of that flank; and in front of the left centre, they occupied the farm of La Haye Sainte. By his left, the duke communicated with Marshal Prince Blücher at Wavre, through Ohain; and the marshal had promised his grace, that in case he should be attacked, he would support him with one or more corps, as might be necessary. Such is the brief description which the Duke of Wellington has given in his despatch, of the position which he took up on this memorable occasion; which, however modest and meritorious in the individual, requires further explanation, to render the chief events of the day intelligible and instructive.

A range of undulations, called the heights of Mont St. Jean, extended about a mile and a half in length across the road that passes through Waterloo to Brussels, in a direction east and west, and here the Anglo-allied forces were drawn out in two principal lines. A number of public roads intersected the positions of both armies, tending to Brussels as a common centre, with the exception of one which communicated with Wavre by Ohain. The first line of the allies occupied the crest of the heights, protected on its left by the hedge, ditch, and farm-buildings of La Haye Sainte and Ter la Haye. The broken, rugged, character of the ground at the latter place increased the value of that point as a terminus of the British left. From Ter la Haye, also, constant communication was kept up with the Prussians through the medium of patrols;

a distance of thirteen miles, over broken, wooded, and difficult ground. The allied centre occupied the precincts of the village of Mont St. Jean, where the Genappe and Nivelles chaussées unite, and form the grand road to Brussels through the forest of Soignies: here the British guards, commanded by General Cooke, were stationed, and the third division, under Count Alten. A few hundred yards in front of the right centre stood the farm-house of Gonnont, or Hougomont, \*surrounded by out-buildings and different rude enclosures. The first guards took possession of this post, as a *point d'appui* to the right wing, in which they had the advantage of a wood in front, concealing a battalion of sharpshooters belonging to the Nassau contingent. The divisions of Cooke and Alten completely occupied the interval of the two high roads, and the left of the latter, which rested on the road to Genappe, was covered by the farm-house and buildings of La Haye Sainte, which stood a little forward on the declivity of the ground, and was occupied by a strong body of Hanoverian marksmen. In front of the line ran a broad valley, of considerable depth, which, sweeping round as it passed the allies' right, necessarily impressed its form upon that part of their line; and there the troops were thrown back *en potence*, nearly at right angles with the centre, and resting their extreme right upon the hamlet of Merk Braine. A deep ravine protected the terminus of the position, and intervened between it and Braine la Leud.† Here Lord Hill was placed with the second corps, which included Sir Henry Clinton's division, a brigade of Hanoverians, and a division of Dutch troops under Chassé, the defender of Antwerp in 1831, which latter was directed to occupy the advanced position of Braine la

\* The Château of Hougomont had been a gentleman's seat of the old Flemish architecture, with a turret and battlement: on one side was a large farm-yard, on the other a garden, arranged in the Dutch fashion, enclosed by a brick wall, outside of which were a hedge and ditch. The whole was encircled by a grove of tall trees, without any underwood, covering an area of four acres.—*Paul's Letters*.

† i. e. Braine the *free*, as distinguished from Braine le Comte, Braine the property of the Count.

Leud, the ground in front of Lord Hill's right not affording any position, and from this place was a by-road through the forest to Brussels. Sir Thomas Picton was put in command of the left wing, where the fifth division was in position, besides a Belgian brigade and General Lambert's brigade of the sixth division. In front of Picton's position, but lower down the slope, Prince Bernhard of Saxe-Weimar occupied the little hamlet of Smohain, and the farm of Papillotte, with part of the Nassau contingent. A corps of observation was placed at Hal, under Sir Charles Colville; and a second, consisting of Dutch troops, commanded by the Prince Frederick of Orange, posted near Braine le Château, was detached from the main body; but a communication was maintained with both by means of Chaussé's division at Braine la Leud. The necessity for occupying these advanced positions in strength, and the foresight of Lord Wellington in doing so, were very fully shown by the discovery of the enemy's designs late on the day of the seventeenth. His grace had, from the first, suspected that the emperor would strain every point, encounter every risk, to obtain possession of Brussels, for, marching on the capital of a kingdom, had always been his favourite theory; and, to obviate all possibility of his surprising the little metropolis of the Belgians, his grace posted his main force across the broad and public way that penetrated the forest of Soignies. On his left he had no apprehension, for the enemy would not place himself between two powerful armies, the allies and Prussians, by attempting to pass near St. Lambert's; and to secure his right, and frustrate any secret advances in that direction, he caused Hal, Clubbeck, and Braine le Château, to be occupied, until the fate of the field of Waterloo should be decided. The disposition of Wellington's first line, here described, is applicable to the infantry only, and to the *élite* of that body more especially: the allied cavalry were placed in the second line, as it was not intended that they should act very early in the battle; and the whole of that force was commanded by the Earl of Uxbridge, the most distinguished cavalry officer in the British army. This less



regular line consisted of such troops as were meant to form a reserve—of those regiments that had sustained the most grievous losses in the recent actions and hardships—and of those foreign subsidies on whom his grace felt no disposition to rely with confidence.

It was desirable to shelter one part of this line, and equally an object to conceal the remainder from view of the enemy, and this object was successfully attained by the undulating nature of the ground: a few shells fell behind the eminence that screened the troops of the second line, and occasioned some injury, yet little loss was sustained by them, even during the most furious moments of the cannonade. Such was the position of the allies, or rather of the English, in this ever-memorable conflict, which our enemies have entitled the battle of Mont St. Jean, while Waterloo is a name immortalized by the same event in the history of England. This little hamlet, agreeably placed on the skirts of the forest of Soignies, obtained the celebrity which will ever belong to it, from the circumstance of Lord Wellington having slept there on the night before the battle, thereby conferring upon it the honour of being the headquarters of the allied army; and here also, during the carnage of the day, numbers of the wounded men were borne from the field, either to breathe their last sigh, or receive the assistance of the medical staff. Waterloo is situated about a mile in the rear of the allies' position, on the high road to Brussels, and cannot be seen from the ground on which the battle was fought.

The French advanced with so much deliberation, halting, on the night of the seventeenth, amongst the villages to the rear of La Belle Alliance, that the British found leisure to rest, refresh themselves, and look to their arms, before the strong cavalry force of the enemy appeared on the summit of the opposite ridge. As no other description of troops were in sight, an engagement between the cavalry of both armies was for a moment expected, but the idea was dissipated almost as soon as it arose, by the arrival of a deserter from the opposite ranks. He had served king Louis, and although holding a commission of equal rank in the imperial army, he only awaited a favour-

able opportunity of abandoning a service which he had been compelled to enter, and of returning to that where his allegiance was due. From this officer the duke learned what were the real intentions of the enemy, namely, a combined attack of cavalry and infantry upon the right of the allies, which was, in fact, the key of their position.

The truth of the deserter's statement was becoming more obvious as the mists cleared off, and the rain and wind abated: then the intentions of the enemy, and the position he decided upon taking up, remained no longer doubtful. Between Mont St. Jean and La Belle Alliance, the surface sinks considerably; and this depression, not unlike the deserted valley of a rivulet, continues for some miles to separate these heights, the interval between them seldom exceeding three-quarters of a mile. In the centre, which was of the same unequal character, rich crops of corn were seen to wave with the wind, or droop their heads with the weight of the moisture. The enemy now rapidly deployed upon the heights: the right of their first line, comprising Comte D'Erlon's corps, was in advance of Planchenoit, having its left on the road at the farm of La Belle Alliance: from hence their line extended towards Frichermont, forming a position, the general direction of which was parallel to the left wing of the Anglo-allied army. Reille's corps was posted between La Belle Alliance and the height above Hougomont, Comte Lobau in reserve to the rear of the right, and the cavalry were also in the second line; behind this formidable array there was a second reserve, "the old guard."

The arena where this great tragedy was enacted, was such as the ablest generals, possessing all that courage and confidence which result from familiarity with conquest, would have selected. We have already shown that the object of Lord Wellington, the protection of Brussels, was perfectly secured by the admirable precautions he had taken; every approach to that city was closed, or, if open, there was danger in the path, and no alternative remained to Napoleon, but that of forcing a passage for his army through the lines of the British and their

allies. The ground on which the battle was fought, did not present any of those difficulties that demand the powers of the tactician, or give opportunity for the art of skilful manœuvre; it was open, commanded in every part, and practicable for troops of every description: the heavy rain, and the thick-growing crops of corn, might have impeded the free transit of artillery, but from the contracted limits of the solemn enclosure where the armies met, the extreme distance between the rear ranks of the combatants not exceeding two miles, no artillery evolutions were necessary, the surface presenting numerous eminences, on which each side established their batteries. Napoleon had little or no necessity to deliberate upon the selection of ground, Wellington having left him a position sufficiently good to induce him to offer battle—confidence in the spirit and devotion of his soldiers supplied the rest. But to Wellington the choice of a position was of paramount importance, and that which he adopted appears to have possessed every advantage which the most penetrating judgment could have looked for. Backed by a thick and deep forest, and posted on the ridge of a gentle hill, he had disposed his army with the utmost caution to receive the attack of the enemy: he had a sufficient knowledge of their strength to enable him to judge of the resistance he could offer, and calculate upon the chances of his being able to maintain his ground until the Prussians should arrive. It is attributable to the fortune of war that the Prussians did not arrive sooner, but that same fortune which disappointed and deceived the great commander in this instance, granted him the power of resisting his enemy unaided, so that when the auxiliary force did arrive, Napoleon's ruin was complete. Let us suppose that the Prussians had not come up, and that the English had been repulsed, they could still have fallen back upon a second position before their retreat into the forest, whither the enemy dared not pursue them; and through which they could have retired without being exposed to further annoyance: so that provision had been made by Wellington for the security of his army, under the most unpropitious circumstances, even had they proved totally

unequal to a contest with the French force brought against them by the emperor. Each spot in this vicinity has now acquired a classic interest: the field of Waterloo will for ever be visited like those of Marathon and Pharsalia, and for ages yet to come the precise positions of the conquerors and the conquered at Mont St. Jean, be shown to the inquisitive traveller.

Awaking from the dream of victory in which he had indulged, Napoleon perceived that the British fled not towards the sea, and coming forth from his chamber at Chaillon, where he slept on the night of the seventeenth, and being informed that Wellington was still in the same position, in apparent ecstacy he rubbed his hands together, and exclaimed, "Ah, I have them, then,—these English!"

From Chaillon Napoleon proceeded to a position whence he could distinctly view the field of battle, and, with most convenience, issue and receive communications. His first station was a lofty wooden observatory, constructed by order of the king of the Netherlands, for the use of a corps engaged in a trigonometrical survey; from this he descended as the battle declined, removing to an eminence in front of La Belle Alliance, and finally to the sloping ground beside the road to Brussels. Having marked the last place where Napoleon stood, upon the last day of his kingly power, the less ostentatious position of his great rival must not pass unnoticed. As steady in posture, as fixed in purpose, the hero of Waterloo took his first and final station under shelter of a conspicuous and picturesque old tree, that stood behind the centre of his line. There he felt his presence was most requisite to watch the weak points, and provide for any sudden failure, with the promptness which alone can save on such occasions. The thousand bullets that were lodged in the trunk of that old tree, register the fortune of the hero whom it sheltered; and the unanimous consent of many nations, seems to have accorded to this abiding evidence, the name of the "Wellington tree."

It is a matter of uncertainty what precise number of men followed Napoleon in this his last contest for worldly suprem-

acy ; the most impartial writers of France have either laboured under ignorance of that fact, or unwillingness to confess that the amount exceeded considerably that of the allies. But, taking a mean between the returns of opposite parties, the force of Napoleon may be rated at ninety thousand, and that of the allies at sixty-nine thousand, exclusive of the corps of observation : the French had fifteen thousand, their enemies only twelve thousand cavalry ; and the former brought two hundred and fifty pieces of ordnance into the field, the allies only one hundred and fifty, and all much lighter metal than those of their adversaries.

It was about ten o'clock on the morning of Sunday,\* the eighteenth of June, 1815, when Napoleon issued orders for commencing the memorable battle of Waterloo, which was destined to establish the lasting renown of his rival, and to close his own wondrous career in defeat and flight. To the penetrating eye of Napoleon, Hougomont at once presented itself as a position of inestimable value to the enemy, and from which they ought to be dislodged at any sacrifice ; orders to such effect were given to Marshal Ney, and upon which this able tactician proceeded to manœuvre his masses of infantry with a degree of precision that riveted the attention of his enemies. Thirty thousand men, formed into three columns, were devoted to the attack upon the position of Hougomont, and Jerome Buonaparte, in person, headed the foremost. As they advanced, effectually screened for some time by the varied nature of the ground, their progress and object were unperceived by the allies, until the dropping fire of the skirmishers, which was injudiciously begun, increasing into a continued roll of musketry, drew upon the advancing divisions the fire of a battery of English artillery, which played so successfully upon them,

\* " Our greatest battles were fought on Sundays, which I have heard accounted for in this way :—The French, who were for the most part the assailants, and hence, selecting time and place, made choice of the holiest day, from motives peculiar to themselves ; not because ' the better day the better deed,' but from the circumstance of being under the auspices and more immediate guidance of some favourite or patron saint. Vimiera, Vittoria, the Pyrenees, Toulouse, and Waterloo, were all fought on Sundays."—*Patterson's Camp and Quarters*.





throwing shells in amongst their close masses, as to oblige one of the columns to fall back into the hollow, under *La Belle Alliance*, which they had traversed only just before. Under cover of these guns, so admirably served, the Nassau sharpshooters caused much confusion amongst the French tirailleurs, and the first attack of the enemy partly failed.

At this moment, and before the divisions were effectually shaken, the enemy brought forward a battery to a position whence it covered the attack on our position, and the opening of the battle presented a grand military spectacle of nearly sixty thousand men furiously engaged, the one party filling the bosom of a rich vale with their numbers, and obscuring the heavens by the volumes of smoke that arose from their unceasing fire; the other strongly posted in an ancient hall, which had been loopholed, and strengthened as much as the occasion permitted, ready to receive the furious assault of their assailants and defend themselves to the last. Upon the defence of *Hougoumont* much of the fate of that great day depended. The repulse of *Jerome* seemed to kindle the rage of the assailants, who now, headed by General *Foy*, returned to the assault with tenfold fury, so that the Nassau troops were driven from the wood back upon the *Château*. Thither they were pursued by a brave officer of *Foy's* division with a few of his company, but, rushing too daringly into the court-yard of the *Château*, the whole party were pierced by a thousand bayonets. In the struggle that attended this attack upon the court-yard, Colonel *Macdonnell*, of the ancient Scotch family of the Lords of the Isles, was indebted to his physical powers for the glory he acquired, having by his extraordinary personal strength succeeded in shutting the gates against the enemy. Lord *Saltoun* charged the party that penetrated the orchard, and expelled them from the precincts of the little fortress with frightful slaughter, but no argument or example could persuade the Nassau men to encounter death a second time by resuming their position. It must not be imagined that these timid soldiers had been unsupported, they were not only secure of a safe retreat upon the *Château*, and derived protec-



tion from their secret position, but were ably, gallantly, nobly aided by the fire of the light company of the guards stationed in the Château and garden, and of the second brigade of the same force under Major-General Byng, posted on an eminence in the rear. It was in vain that Don Miguel Alava attempted to arrest their flight, and induce their disorganized masses to rally and re-form, but they fled away from the scene with a precipitation that proved how worthless they would have been, had the gallant Spaniard been successful. Having routed the sharp-shooters, the enemy attempted to seize the wood in the rear of the Château; but here the guards displayed their invincible courage, and the steady discharges of musketry that were poured amongst them, so dispirited the very bravest, that the column abandoned further attempt and fell back after severe loss, the guards remaining in possession of the greater part of the wood, which the sharp-shooters had abandoned. It was one o'clock before the wood was regained, although Lord Wellington continued to reinforce the guards incessantly; at that time Colonel Hepburn relieved Lord Saltoun in the command of the companies in the wood, while Colonels Macdonnell and Woodford directed the resolute defence of the Château and out-buildings.

As the attack on Hougomont was meant as auxiliary to a more serious and simultaneous attempt on the centre of the allies, during the vicissitudes of fortune at that strong post, the batteries of the enemy were unmasked along the whole front of their lines, and a tremendous cannonade maintained for some time, chiefly from twelve-pounders, while the English could only reply with nine-pounders, the heaviest ordnance in their entire parc. It is well ascertained, however, that the fire of the latter was more destructive; an effect attributable partly to the advantage of their position, but principally to the manner in which our artillery was served. The columns that poured in upon Hougomont, gave fatal testimony to this fact, from the incredible numbers that fell as they advanced to make the attack. The enemy at the same time assaulted the posts of Souhain and Ter la Haye, and, meeting but feeble resist-

ance, succeeded easily to the possession:—these places were near to Papilotte, the extreme left of the allies. While the cannon of the enemy continued to play, but not unanswered, upon the right and centre of the allies, a movement was observed amongst the enemy, indicating an attack upon the allies' left with a large cavalry force; but it soon appeared that this was only a demonstration.

Two divisions of the allies were ordered to form battalion squares, to receive the enemy's attack; but as soon as the Duke perceived that they had again wheeled off, he removed his squares to the reverse slope of the hill, to save them from the heavy guns of the enemy, which proved so fatal to troops drawn up in close masses. The commander and his veteran battalions had before experienced the advantage of such a manœuvre, and in this particular instance an old embankment, that enclosed the road intersecting his position, afforded valuable shelter to the men. Although this change in the position of the infantry was not attended by any corresponding movement in the artillery, the guns of which continued to thin the close ranks of the enemy, Napoleon determined to consider it as an incipient retreat; it was retrograde—it would animate his troops to spread such an interpretation; and, as his cavalry passed off to the sides, a dense dark mass of infantry was perceived advancing by the Genappe chaussée, and evidently directed against the left centre of the allies. Their advance was covered by the constant play of eighty pieces of heavy artillery, and, to divert the duke's attention more completely from the real object of attack, the assault on Hougomont was renewed with as much fury as before. D'Erlon's corps formed the main body of the great mass of infantry that was directed to assail the post of honour in the British position, and never was a finer or more martial spectacle witnessed than this disciplined, veteran phalanx, as they moved, with firm step, to the scene of carnage. But the threatened point was the position of a man whose name is revered by every British soldier, and the nature of the contest may be anticipated from the heroic character of him who held it. In front of Pieton was a Belgian brigade,

in whom the distinction of being so placed ought to have fanned the least spark of courage into a flame of gallantry, but the brave ancient Briton placed but little confidence in their steadiness. The manner in which he spoke of them encouraged Captain Tyler, who was at his side as D'Erlon's corps advanced, to observe, "that he feared the Belgians would run:" to which Picton replied, "It is no matter, Tyler, never mind; they shall have a taste of it, at all events."\*

The Belgians behaved with that pusillanimity which Picton anticipated, and, notwithstanding the support they received from a party of English riflemen, fled in confusion from their post. The "superb division," relieved from the inconvenience and interruption of a set of cowards, advanced to the broken hedge, behind which they had been partially sheltered; and when Kempt's brigade, being ordered to advance, bounded over, they found themselves not four hundred yards from the front ranks of the enemy, who received them with a murderous volley. The English not only returned the fire, but rushed in with the rage of that fierce animal, the emblem of their country, and without waiting to reload, bayoneted the whole first rank of the enemy. While this furious but very unequal contest, the French being altogether superior in numbers, was continued, Picton called on Pack to charge, and, placing himself at the head, led his brave fellows to Kempt's assistance. The brave general just looked along his line, then waved his sword as a signal to advance, and uttered his well-known order "charge," when he was struck by a ball in the temple, and falling back upon his horse instantly expired. His friend Tyler ran to his assistance, but the chivalrous spirit of one of the bravest men that ever lived had departed, and, placing the body of him he loved in life under the branches of a tree, where it might be found again, when the work of death should be finished on that

\* A brigade of Dutch formed the centre of Picton's division; Sir James Kempt, with the seventy-ninth, twenty-eighth, and thirty-second, on their right; and Sir Denis Pack, with the Scotch brigade, consisting of the ninety-second, forty-second, forty-fourth, and first, on their left; and on their extreme left was the Hanoverian brigade under Brigadier-Colonel Vinche.





GEN. GENERAL SIR THOMAS PICTON GCB

*W. Pitt.*





dreadful field, he rode forward to acquaint Sir James Kempt the second in command, with the loss Great Britain had sustained. "In Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Picton," observed the Duke of Wellington, "his majesty has sustained the loss of an officer who has frequently distinguished himself in the service: and he fell gloriously leading his division to a charge with bayonets, by which one of the most serious attacks made by the enemy was repulsed."† General Kempt succeeded to the command of the division, and maintained the sanguinary conflict, so inauspiciously begun by Picton, with such success, that the enemy lost their enthusiasm for an instant, became panic-struck, and, wheeling round, fled precipitately down the slope. The cuirassiers under Milhant had at first formed part of the attacking body, but the Duke of Wellington had watched, with marked attention, the result of

† When the sanguinary struggle had ceased, Captain Tyler sought and recovered the body of his friend. "Upon examining his dress on the evening of the eighteenth, it was found that his coat was torn on one side. This led to a further examination, when the following fact was ascertained: on the sixteenth he had been wounded at Quatre Bras; a musket-ball had struck him, and broken two of his ribs, besides producing some further bodily, and it was supposed internal, injuries; but, expecting that a severe battle would be fought within a short time, he kept this wound secret, lest he should be solicited to absent himself on the occasion. Regardless of every selfish consideration, he only divulged this secret to an old servant, with whose assistance he bound up the wound; and then, with a command over his feelings almost incredible, he continued to perform his arduous duties. The night of the sixteenth, and the whole of the day following, he was in constant activity. By the morning of the eighteenth, the wound had assumed a serious aspect; but the assurance that the French were about to attack the British position, roused every energy of his almost exhausted frame; he subdued his bodily anguish; and when the moment came which called for his great example, the hand of death, which it is supposed was even then upon him from the wound alluded to, could not, while sufficient life yet remained, check for a moment his zeal and courage."—*Vide Robinson's Life of Picton, and General Gascoyne's Address to the House of Commons on the twenty-ninth of June, 1815.* Captain Tyler received the Duke of Wellington's instructions to have the remains of General Picton conveyed to England, where they were deposited in the cemetery of St. George's, Hanover Square, London; and his sorrowing country soon afterwards caused a monument to be erected to his memory in the Cathedral Church of St. Paul's.



Picton's resistance, and perceiving that the intrepidity of the English, and the fatal effects of their steady fire, had appalled the enemy, and thrown them into the most ruinous confusion, he took advantage of the opportunity, and directed the Earl of Uxbridge to bring up a brigade of cavalry, and fall upon their disorganized masses of infantry. The gallant Earl led up the royal dragoons, Scotch Greys, and Inniskilleners under Sir William Ponsonby, along with the eleventh and sixteenth light dragoons commanded by General Vandeleur, and, passing rapidly along La Haye Sainte, this great cavalry force fell with tremendous effect upon the left flank of the enemy. All order had been destroyed amongst the enemy's ranks, when the duke commanded this fatal charge; and the distraction and helplessness of the enemy, as the British cavalry hewed them in pieces, or trampled them to death, presented one of the most deplorable spectacles that was ever presented. In this awful *melée* a considerable number were slain by the sabre, and two thousand made prisoners, after they had been horribly mangled in the conflict, while those who effected a retreat to their position, returned dishonoured by the loss of two imperial eagles. This was a grand achievement, suggested by the quick perception of the great commander in a crisis of the greatest danger, and accomplished by such troops as never have been exceeded in spirit or steadiness. Had their impetuosity been restricted by their officers, when the movement was performed and the advantage obtained, which the commander-in-chief had pointed out, many brave fellows would have been spared to their country; but intrepidity, impetuosity, and a too daring spirit, had, before this awful occasion, subjected the British cavalry to imminent peril, and, in more instances than one, his grace the Duke of Wellington had reprimanded the officers of those regiments that had exceeded orders, and transgressed the limits prescribed by him to their charge of the enemy. But these wholesome lessons had been forgotten, and having completed the rout of the infantry, the cavalry now rushed up the ascent on which the enemy's line was formed, attacked

the advanced battery that covered Erlon's corps, cut down the artillery-men, and were proceeding, with the most extravagant recklessness of life, to dismount the guns, when their impetuosity and rashness were clearly perceived by Napoleon; quickly seizing this opportune occasion for retaliation, he ordered a battalion of infantry to advance, and fire steadily upon the English cavalry, while a column of cuirassiers, who had not hitherto been engaged, was directed to fall on one flank, and a squadron of lancers to charge the other. This attack was ably directed, and by its fatal results confirmed the wisdom of that lesson which Wellington had so often, but vainly, sought to impress upon the high-spirited young Englishmen who officered his cavalry. Totally unsupported, and exhausted by the most extraordinary exertions, they offered, nevertheless, a gallant and stubborn resistance to the column of fresh troops that charged them, supported by artillery and musketry, but were literally pushed back by the weight of their opponents into their original position. The loss of the British in this desperate *mêlée* was necessarily great, increased in painfulness of character by the melancholy death of General Sir William Ponsonby. This gallant soldier, perceiving a regiment of Polish lancers about to take the British infantry in flank, immediately rode against them, checked their progress and made two thousand prisoners. But, in the spirit and ardour of the charge, the general and his aide-de-camp had pushed forward in advance of his men, and entering a newly ploughed field, his horse stuck fast in the stiff soil, and became incapable of further exertion. At this luckless moment he was perceived by a detached party of lancers, who rode at full speed to the spot, and put both to instant death. As the lancers drew near, the brave fellow, perceiving his inevitable fate, drew forth a miniature and a watch, and, handing them to his aide-de-camp, desired that he would save himself by flight, and bear these remembrances to his wife and family; but the lancers reached them, and in a moment they were pierced with many wounds. The twelfth light dragoons, under Colonel Ponsonby, were also engaged with the enemy; and,

supported by a Belgian regiment, that officer made a successful charge upon a column of infantry, under the direction of General Durette; but no part of the field, no turn or crisis in the action, escaped the keen glance of the emperor, and, watching the moment when Ponsonby would be necessitated to check and re-form his dragoons, he pushed forward two regiments of lancers to attack him. This judicious operation proved amazingly destructive to the British, who fell back in some confusion, losing some of their men, and being likewise deprived of the example of their brave colonel, who was severely wounded.\*

The left, for some time, was the chief object of the enemy's attacks; and, in order to divert the attention of Lord Wellington, and induce him to preserve the original strength of his centre, attempts were renewed upon Hougoumont by Jerome Buonaparte, and by the troops that had been so often and so effectually repulsed before that post. But the total failure of the enemy to produce any serious impression on the allies' left, notwithstanding that their best disciplined and most devoted veterans had been led against it, induced the emperor to turn his principal attention to the reduction of Hougoumont. The courage with which this post had been defended is unexampled: Lord Wellington expressed his admiration, sometimes his astonishment, at the heroism of its garrison; and when an aide-de-camp brought a message of encouragement from his grace to Colonel Home, accompanied by a hope that he might be able to hold out, the brave fellow desired that his grace might be assured "they had no intention of giving up, unless they had something much worse to

\*In this unfortunate encounter, unfortunate from the loss of the gallant General Ponsonby, some honour was also acquired, the eagles of the forty-fifth and of the hundred and fifth regiments falling into the hands of the British. That of the forty-fifth, "the invincibles," was inscribed with the names of Jena, Austerlitz, Wagram, Eylau, and Friedland, where this veteran regiment had bravely assisted in establishing the universal dominion of France; that of the hundred and fifth had been presented to the regiment by the empress of the French. Serjeant Ewart, of the Scotch greys, had the honour of taking one of these trophies, and Corporal Stiles, of the first royal dragoons, the other.

encounter than any attack that had previously been made upon them." It is said that Napoleon frequently allowed a compliment to the English character to escape his lips, and that at one moment of the battle, he observed to Soult, "These English fight well, but they must soon give way;" the marshal, however, who had had experience of the sterling valour of that people, and penetration to estimate it rightly, replied, "he did not think they would ever give way; he believed they would sooner be cut to pieces."

In his change of purpose, Napoleon had been anticipated by the duke, who had sent forward to Hougomont a reinforcement of four thousand men, including the second brigade of guards under General Byng, and battalions of the Brunswickers, Nassau contingent, and German legion. There is a marked and remarkable trait in the conduct of Wellington, as contrasted with that of Napoleon, in what is called handling masses of men in the field of action. When the latter meditated a movement, it was executed with precision and celerity, but without the least regard to the willing instruments of his ambition; Wellington, on the contrary, has been reproached with an excess of caution in critical moments, because the shelter, protection, and preservation of his men always entered into his calculations in such cases. This fact is observable in all his great actions in the Peninsula, and particularly conspicuous in this last great action with the French at Waterloo. The splendid body of troops which were brought up to Hougomont at this period, were directed to take every advantage of the inequality of the ground, to conceal and shelter themselves from the enemy's fire; others were posted in the wood, itself a valuable screen; while only a requisite number were stationed on a plateau that flanked the house, yard, and enclosures.—Not for one instant during the battle was the attack upon Hougomont suspended, for this was considered the key of Wellington's position; and so deep was the resolve of Napoleon to carry this post, that the gaps opened by the fire of the defenders were immediately filled; and, although some thousands of the attacking parties had

fallen around the château, after four hours' fighting their numbers appeared undiminished, nor was any advantage gained. At three o'clock, however, an event occurred, deplorable in its nature, and one that considerably added to the miseries of the scene: near to the château stood several ricks of straw or corn, upon these the shells from the howitzers fell, and the whole taking fire simultaneously, sent forth a vast volume of flame. The wind fanned the flame, and carried the ignited particles into the château, setting the interior on fire; and in the conflagration that ensued, many of the wounded men that had been carried into the apartments, perished by a miserable and painful death. Scarcely had the thick clouds of smoke passed away, when the merciless enemy rushed in upon the enclosure, and forced the gate of the farm-yard; but even this gallant effort was unavailing, for every man that entered was put to death, the gate was closed again, and the enemy fell back into the orchard. The recent reinforcements to the garrison of Hougomont nobly performed their duty in this onset; and the Coldstream guards, led by Colonel (afterwards Lieutenant-General) Woodford, who had taken the command of Hougomont, committed tremendous havoc in the close contest with the assailants in the immediate precincts of the château, while General Cooke's division behaved with equal gallantry, suffering more from their more exposed position. They had not only to assist in the repulse of the enemy from Hougomont, but to endure a portion of that continued play of artillery upon the allied centre, which the enemy maintained with a determination to break that part of the line if possible. This conflict, which lasted, probably, not longer than an hour, must have satisfied the commanders of the opposing armies, of the valour and value of their respective troops, and shown them the desperate necessity that still awaited them; for, within the limit of a few acres of ground that surrounded the Château of Hougomont, upwards of fifteen hundred men lay dead or dying.

All prospect of forcing the allies' centre, or carrying Hougomont

mont, being dissipated for the present, the rapid mind of Napoleon turned towards the farm-house of La Haye Sainte, which was immediately below the centre of the duke's line. It should be remembered, that up to this moment, notwithstanding the increasing thunder of artillery, the repeated attacks upon Hougomont, and the fierce attempts to turn the left of the allies, no point had been carried, not an inch of ground gained, so that the object of Lord Wellington, namely, the interruption of the enemy's march on Brussels until the Prussians could come up, was completely accomplished, had Bulow arrived even four hours after the commencement of the battle. And this consideration of the resistance of the allies, leads to one more important to the renown of the Duke of Wellington, which is, that he succeeded in frustrating the movements of Napoleon at every step of his campaign. The emperor endeavoured to beat his enemies in detail,—he routed the Prussians, but failed signally in defeating or repulsing the English: again, he employed all the address he was possessed of, to prevent the junction of the Prussians and the English, but here he was also equally unsuccessful, Wellington having preserved his communication\* with that infatuated army, and held the emperor in check, until he delivered him up, in

\* The following anecdote appeared in *The Times* newspaper, 30th Sept. 1839. "At a dinner a short time since, the Duke was asked whether he had seen a pamphlet published in America by General Grouchy, in answer to General Foy's attack on him, relative to the manœuvres on the day preceding the battle of Waterloo? 'I have,' replied his grace, 'and Grouchy has the best of it. He could not move without orders, and orders he certainly did not receive: as to his manœuvres, I know all about them, I was a witness to them.' 'You?' exclaimed one of the party. 'Every one thought your grace was at Brussels. I know they did, but they were wrong, for on the evening in question, I and Gordon (who was killed at Waterloo) left Brussels, took a squadron of horse as an escort, no one knowing us, and joined the Prussian head-quarters. I passed the whole of that night in conference with Blücher, Bulow, D'Yorck, and Kleist. In the morning, I observed to Bulow: If I had an English army in the position which you now are, I should expect to be most confoundedly thrashed. The attack of Grouchy soon after commenced, and the Prussians were defeated. I waited long enough to see that event, and then thought it time to be off, and on the 17th Buonaparte made that monstrous movement on my flank, which was the commencement of the battle of Waterloo.'"

a fallen, defenceless condition, to the pursuit of Marshal Blücher.—Such is the general view of the tactics of the Duke of Wellington, in the Waterloo campaign.

Impatience now marked the rapid orders of the emperor; accustomed to conquer, the check he experienced at Mont St. Jean became insupportable to him; the plain blunt language of Soult, as unpalatable, most probably, as the warning voice of Solon to the king of Lydia, became now an obvious truth, and the emperor found, too late, that he dared too much, in encountering the English—too little, in not annihilating the Prussians on the two preceding days. The left centre of the allies remained entire, and against that point his best forces were instantly directed, his own best energies employed in planning and directing the assault.

A direct attack, while La Haye Sainte was occupied by the allies, might possibly be as unfortunate as previous assaults, it was determined therefore that the farm-house was first to be carried, and occupied by a strong force, before the grand assault upon the new point of attack. A party of light troops advanced up the slope, supported by part of D'Erlon's infantry, and, passing in between the farm-house and the front of the allies' line, cut off all communication between them. This was a skilful movement, and executed in a masterly style, as it deprived the little garrison of all further chance of reinforcement, as well as of supplies of ammunition. The enemy now proceeded to storm the farm-house, in which they experienced a similar degree of resolution and obstinacy, although the defenders were not English, but Hanoverian sharpshooters. The place was maintained with undaunted courage while a round of cartridge remained, and even, after that, at the bayonet's point. But Napoleon was resolved to carry this post, were it to cost him his entire army; and the soldiers, from the commencement of the attack, behaved like men who felt failure to be inexcusable; at one time they attempted to seize the muzzles of the guns pointed at them through the loopholes, at others, grasping the naked bayonets with their hands, they struggled to wrest them from their opponents; finally, scaling the

walls they effected an entrance, when they put every survivor to instant death. It was a subject of sorrow, that on the failure of ammunition the commanding officer had not opened a breach in the rear wall, by which a supply might be introduced, and it is even asserted that Lord Wellington expressed regret, that himself had not thought of causing such an opening to be made before the commencement of the battle; but this precaution would have been unavailing, as the determination of Napoleon to carry the point would have rendered all efforts to retain it abortive, save the general engagement of both armies; so that the gallant Major Baring, commanding this force, may be allowed to have passed into immortality with the reputation of being a good and loyal soldier.

The occupation of La Haye Sainte, and of a little mound opposite the gate of the farm, was immediately followed by the concentration of a large body of cuirassiers below the position, where they were somewhat sheltered from the British batteries. From this moment the velocity of evolutions, the thunder of the French artillery, the rapid and repeated attacks of cavalry and infantry combined, illustrated the emperor's impatience to grasp the victory, which he could never be induced to believe was doubtful. About four o'clock the battle raged with the most appalling fury; upwards of two hundred pieces of ordnance, all twelve-pounders, poured destruction amongst the squares of the allies, and gave another opportunity for the exercise of Wellington's humane precaution in the preservation of his soldiers; directing the infantry to retire behind the crest of the hill and lie upon the ground, the fire of the batteries passed over them, or inflicted less injury, while the cavalry had been brought round to the rear, after each charge, by Lord Uxbridge, and secured most materially from the fire of the artillery. At intervals the enemy advanced, and fell furiously upon the allies' centre; to receive these impetuous onsets, the infantry rose up, formed square four deep, and received the attacks of the steel-clad cavalry with a steadiness that evinced the most perfect discipline, and the calmest bravery.



The British guns remained still in advance, and the enemy, therefore, passed by them to attack the squares; but the gunners had betaken themselves for protection within the squares, taking their horses and everything necessary for the discharge of ordnance along with them. The cuirassiers, confiding in their personal prowess and ball-proof armour, rode with more than the accustomed impetuosity of French soldiers upon the squares; but the English, less impetuous, though not less brave, reserved their fire until the assailants were close to the muzzles of their muskets, when the steady volleys which they poured in amongst them cut down the flower of Gallic chivalry. The enemy next threw out skirmishers, and squadrons of light troops, to tempt the English to open their phalanxes; but the same obedience to discipline, the increased confidence of the men in the great wisdom of their commander's manœuvres, and their natural steadiness of character, preserved them from falling into any snare of the foe. At one time "the French cavalry remained on the plateau between the two high roads for nearly three-quarters of an hour, riding about amongst the squares of British infantry, all firing having ceased on both sides. The duke then moved forward his squares to the guns, while the Earl of Uxbridge brought back the cavalry to the centre, and drove off the enemy's horse.\* Attacks of cavalry and infantry combined were repeated during the remainder of the day, along the front of the centre of the duke's position, "how many," his grace declares, "he could not tell;" but all similar in the ferocity with which they were commenced, and the failure in which they concluded. The scene of slaughter, confusion, tumult, that continued from this period of the battle to its close, has not been paralleled by any conflict of modern times. While these onsets were continued, the enemy's cavalry, on which Napoleon had too much relied, advanced under cover of a range of batteries, which discharged a perfect tempest of balls amongst the squares of the allies; the squares appeared advancing, forming, receiving the cavalry charge with a volley

\* Despatches, Vol. xii., p. 610.

that emptied numbers of saddles at each discharge: the cuirassiers then wheeling round, retreated at full gallop, often overthrowing their own infantry in their precipitation, while the squares partially opened, and allowed the artillerymen to run forward to their guns and fire upon the fugitives, at a distance so brief as to render havoc of the most frightful description inevitable. Such was the scene of intermingled combat that raged for three successive hours, presenting a spectacle which the oldest and most experienced in the sanguinary epoch of Napoleon's career had never before looked upon. In the centre of the hollow that divided the armies lay horses, men, gun-carriages, in undistinguishable heaps, from which the shrill groans of dying men, and shrieks of wounded animals, were heard to issue, and by their harshness penetrate the ears of their agonized companions; while horses without riders, but retaining their ephippia, galloped about infuriated, or, following the guidance of habit, fell in with a body of cavalry at full charge, and shared their fate.

Fixing his *head-quarters* at the Wellington tree, the duke continued, during this dreadful day, to direct personally every movement, to issue every order *virâ voce*, to receive all communications, and afford every kind of assistance to his generals. It has been remarked that he exposed himself unhesitatingly to the hottest fire of the enemy: while he stood under the Wellington tree, the constant passing to and fro of aides-de-camp, led the enemy to conclude that to be the commander-in-chief's position, and against the assemblage of officers in that quarter their fire was directed. The tree was pierced by numerous balls, and repeatedly his grace was requested by his friends to be more careful of that life upon which the issue of the battle, and the salvation of his country, perhaps of all Europe, depended. Deaf to advice or even entreaty, he flew to the scenes of greatest danger, visited personally every square of infantry, restraining the impetuosity of one regiment, encouraging the spirits of others, whose ranks had been deplorably thinned by a desperate struggle of six hours' length, and animated the whole line by this species of ubiquity. To the shattered ranks of some of his brave regi-

ments, whose officers, as he passed, spoke of the exhausted state of their men, who had fought hard for so many hours, without sleep or food, he answered, "Everything depends on the firm countenance and unrelaxed steadiness of the British, *they* must not move." When the enemy were advancing with extraordinary rapidity to attack the corps in his front, he rode up to the line, and said in his loudest tone, "Stand fast, ninety-fifth—we must not be beat—what will they say in England?" The effect of this allusion to their free homes was most happy and judicious, it produced that renovation of feeling for the cause of liberty, which formed their best support in the great trial they were about to undergo. Passing along the line to the very thickest of the fight, he observed, in a half serious manner, "Hard pounding this, gentlemen; let's see who will pound longest." Every sentence that escaped the great man's lips produced a rapid effect upon the minds of his hearers; to him his soldiers had long looked for that encouragement which animates the brave and loyal, and gives him confidence in every movement in which he is engaged during the battle;—in all cases of doubt, of difficulty, of imminent peril, to him they turned, and in his countenance endeavoured to read their fate; but if ever the majesty of valour was displayed in the human face, it might be that day witnessed in the undaunted composure of Wellington's at Waterloo. As the balls whizzed past, and penetrated the stem of the Wellington tree, his grace playfully remarked, "That's good shooting—I think they fire better than in Spain." This observation having reference to himself, was made less seriously than those that respected the lives of his gallant companions, which he watched with parental solicitude, and spoke of uniformly with a parent's feeling. There was no leisure, nor any cause to chide; but, another instance of the burning ardour of British soldiers in the pursuit of glory was now about to be afforded, at most probably a fearful hazard. With the eyes of an eagle, the duke observed the projected rashness, and hastening to the spot, in language kind, conciliating, yet admonitory, called out, "Not yet, my brave fellows, not yet—be firm a little longer: you shall have at them presently!"

That Providence, in whose keeping are the issues of life and death, in the dispensations of this awful day, extended her shield of mercy over the British hero : reckless of all personal results, the great warrior was seen, like the heroes of the Roman republic, now leading a column to the attack, now bringing up reinforcements to a position that was violently assaulted ; again resuming the dignity of commander-in-chief, and directing the attention of his officers to the general and preconcerted plan of the engagement. At two critical periods of the battle the troops seemed shaken, while the issue of the day depended upon the firmness of a particular force, and in a precise position ; on both those fearful occasions, while the fate of Europe was suspended by a hair, the form of the chief was seen fleeing by, and his well-known voice was distinctly heard above the pealing of artillery—"Forward, gentlemen." It was enough, to many it was the last step they ever trod on earth ; but were it to have been the same to all, none would have hesitated to take it.

In war, victorious commanders are popular with the army, although many of those eminent men have failed to retain their popularity in the peace which their valour had obtained for their respective countries : and in this respect, perhaps, Wellington exceeded any British hero that we know of, in the large share of the men's affections which he enjoyed, in the high admiration of his brother officers, and in the entire confidence which both felt in his skill, experience, fortitude, judgment, fortune, and every other quality that has ever been supposed to be essential to the formation of a hero. When it is remembered that a British commander-in-chief, however illustrious, does not possess the absolute power of distributing rewards to his bravest and most faithful followers, it excites a higher degree of admiration for the character of his grace individually, to have thus enthroned himself in his soldiers' hearts. The brave Sir W. De Lancey, struck by a spent ball, was mortally wounded, and fell from his horse, within a few yards of the duke ; turning to his attendants, who hung sorrowfully over him, he said, "Leave me to die—mind your commander-in-chief." Sir

Alexander Gordon was another victim to personal affection for the illustrious duke : alarmed at the incautious manner in which his grace exposed his person, this distinguished officer ventured to remonstrate with him upon the inadvisability of his conduct, but, whilst in the very act of expostulation, he received a mortal wound. Another of his aides-de-camp, Colonel Canning, was killed by his side, and every officer of his staff, besides many whose duty required frequent personal communication with him, sustained some injury. The devotion of these gallant men to the general cause, their attachment to the great hero of the age, their fidelity to the trust their country had reposed in them, found a noble recompense in these sorrowing sentences of the great man after their fall. "Nothing, except a battle lost, can be half so melancholy as a battle won. The bravery of my troops has hitherto saved me from that greater evil; but to win even such a battle as this of Waterloo, at the expense of the lives of so many gallant friends, could only be termed a heavy misfortune, were it not for its important results to the public benefit."

The havoc of the English by the imperial cuirassiers continued unabated; the Prussians had not come up, and such a stern necessity as that of still holding the position they had first taken up, appeared to many of Wellington's generals capable of relaxation: they, therefore, spoke respectfully of some deviation, some change, or falling back on a new position: "Will the troops stand?" said the duke, "Till they perish," was the reply.—"Then I will stand with them," said he, "till the last man." There is not a word in all these well-remembered, oft-recorded sentences, that was not of incalculable value to the issue of the memorable battle of Waterloo; there is not a sentiment conveyed by them, that does not reflect a brilliant lustre upon the character of the hero, and enable posterity to form a more just and accurate estimate of his head and heart. To many who addressed him on the subject of the non-appearance of the Prussians, he only replied by looking at his watch—a silent compliment to Prussian honour, as it proved his implicit reliance on their virtuous support—but in every second

which he so anxiously counted, while his allies were expected, how many of his brave comrades passed from all time into eternity!

It is not the intention here, either to doubt the moral force of the Prussian character, or insinuate that Wellington had relied with too much certainty upon their support; but it is fully ascertained that a combination of circumstances did arise, that had very nearly rendered all such calculations vain. It was four o'clock before any appearance of Prussian co-operation was certain; nor could Bulow, had he been in the fullest possession of every fact relative to the battle, had he been encouraged by representations of certain success attending the British arms, have brought a larger force at an earlier moment into the field of Waterloo. The duke was perfectly acquainted with the position of the Prussian forces, and by means of General Müffling, a Prussian, who was attached to the Anglo-allies' head-quarters, a communication between the two great armies was preserved during the day of the eighteenth. Had his grace relied implicitly on the timely arrival of his allies, the issue of the battle might have been very different, for, although Müffling assured him that he might depend upon the arrival of thirty thousand of his countrymen by two o'clock, hour was added to hour, after the promised one, and no such succours appeared. Either doubting or distrusting, his grace despatched Major Staveland, one of his personal staff, to ascertain how far the report of the Prussian general was to be relied on; and that officer returned with intelligence that Marshal Blücher was certainly advancing, but that when he left him at St. Lambert's, with part of Bulow's corps, it was then after four o'clock. As to the small mixed force of light troops and cavalry which had reached the field at an earlier period, and menaced the right flank of the enemy, the emperor, with a single motion of his magician's rod, brought forward a reserve under Lobau, hitherto unperceived, and opposed them successfully to Bulow, who was intimidated by this operation, and seemed resolved to remain inactive until the arrival of the prince-marshal. The heavy roads, almost impracticable

by artillery, the danger of becoming placed between two hostile armies, and the uncertainty he laboured under as to the real hopes and prospects of the British, who were then engaged, may well be supposed to have created hesitation in the conduct of a general, who had so recently escaped annihilation by the same enemy he was again about to encounter.

Napoleon had committed the pursuit of the Prussians to Grouchy and Vandamme, with a view of precipitating their retreat, rather than from any expectation of their coming to an engagement; but the obstinacy of the Prussians rendered his speculation abortive, for they withstood the enemy, frequently and determinately, both at Wavre and Bielge. When Bulow's corps first entered the field of Waterloo, the emperor understood every movement that had been made by the Prussians and his pursuers, and accordingly issued further orders to Marshal Grouchy for a serious attack upon the enemy then in his front. Grouchy obeyed, and for two days, the eighteenth and nineteenth, continued his assaults upon the Prussian general Tarenzein. The latter, evidently a man of ability, found ample occupation for the corps of the French general, although his own force was but the rear-guard of Blucher's army, and by this able conduct covered the withdrawal of Bulow and Blucher towards the allies, until the discovery of the error could not avail the imperial cause. The abilities of Grouchy, and the strength of his corps, were lavished uselessly in pursuing the Prussians; and the marshal, it is said, hourly expected orders from his imperial master, to march to the support and assistance of the great army. General Foy has asserted that orders to that effect were issued, and reached Grouchy, but were neglected by that general, who was impressed with the belief, that he was rendering greater service by continuing to harass the Prussians. Grouchy has since denied that he ever received such orders, and it is supposed to be the opinion of the Duke of Wellington, that such orders never were given by Napoleon. \*

\* This assertion also includes those acting under his authority, and is therefore meant to negative the representation of Marshal Soult having written to Grouchy, urging him to join without delay.

As the day declined, without any abatement in the loud roaring of the artillery, Blücher, who was coming steadily on, acquired additional confidence, and became convinced that the British still stood their ground. When the head of the Prussian column debouched upon the field, the emperor at first startled, but quickly recovering, directed Labeledoyere to diffuse rapidly, through the army, the information that Grouchy was close in the rear of the Prussians, and was advancing to the support of the main army, *pari passu*, with the Prussians to the attack. It was scarcely possible for the emperor to have adopted any other conclusion; he left Grouchy in pursuit of the Prussians, and where they were the other should have been also:—the interruption at Wavre and Bierge had not been allowed for, and Grouchy evidently had been deceived by his enemy. Napoleon, therefore, must necessarily have concluded that Grouchy's corps would be up almost as soon as Blücher's, and his subsequent operations confirm this opinion.

Had Napoleon been conscious that Labeledoyere was then circulating a falsehood amongst the soldiers, he could not yet have been so insane as to act upon it as if it were true; it is an absurdity therefore to suppose that he mistook the Prussians for his own troops under Grouchy. It is plain that he understood the truth, with the exception of his marshal's then position; and it was in the full confidence of being soon reinforced by the only corps of whose position he was really ignorant, that he now appealed, for the last time, to his destiny, and resolved to make a final blow to pluck the flower of British glory, and, having trampled the blossoms under his feet, annihilate their bloom for ever. Behind the ridge of La Belle Alliance, the imperial guard, bearing the impress of many victories on their haughty brow, were placed in reserve: they numbered fifteen thousand, and hitherto, that is, up to seven o'clock, had taken no share in the battle. Having lost nearly twenty thousand men, having failed in every operation against the British, with the exception of the capture of La Haye Sainte, and the Prussians coming up in front, and with expedition, to the assistance of Wellington, he resolved to set his life upon a



cast, and, heading the guards in person, to burst through the centre of the enemy's line, and accomplish his prophecy of sleeping that night at Lacken. It was about this period of the battle that Napoleon is represented as having first exhibited those symptoms of uncasiness, which ended in his total loss of judgment; that impatience under adversity which accords so badly with the history of his early life; that sense of self-preservation which has reduced his subsequent history to the level of common life; at every instant some messenger arrived, harbinger of bad news, to assure his majesty that the troops were shaken in particular points; to which he replied, still pacing the ground he had taken for his second stand during the day, "*en avant ! en avant !*" An officer informed him, that the position his company occupied was so exposed to the guns of a British battery, that it was impossible to elude their murderous fire, and begged to know what movement he should make to obtain relief, "Carry the battery," said the emperor. An English officer, Captain Erskine, who had been wounded and taken prisoner, was next brought before him, to whom he put several questions, which, although uttered in a rapid and petulant manner, showed that he was perfectly familiar with the titles, rank, and character of our officers, and possessed of accurate information of every intended operation of the allies, as far as orders had then been issued by their generals. In the system of espionage, the French had all through the war the advantage of every other nation. He first inquired the strength of the allies, to which the captive answered, "Very considerable, and in momentary expectation of a reinforcement of sixty thousand men." "So much the better," said the emperor, "the more there are, the longer we shall fight." When he was told that Lord Uxbridge commanded the cavalry, he replied, "No; Paget,"—that distinguished officer having succeeded to the earldom since he and Napoleon had met in the Peninsula. To his query of who commanded in chief, being answered Wellington, in evident agitation he observed, "No, that cannot be, for he is sick." This last instance of the extraordinary ingenuity of the French in the organization of spies,

exceeds all that we have recorded during the Spanish campaign. On the fourteenth, the Duke of Wellington, at all times rather a careless rider, had a fall from his horse, and received a slight injury, so insignificant, that the troops were not acquainted with it, but it was known of course to his staff, the general officers, and persons of rank in Brussels. With this fact the emperor was acquainted, and from its recent occurrence, he was inclined to believe that the great duke was unable to head his army in the field.

In all his difficulties, in all the perplexity arising from the frustration of his operations, Napoleon did not appear to have meditated a retreat: had he fought less desperately, the battle might have been prolonged until night separated the combatants; but there is no reason to suppose that he was prepared to accept anything but victory, to accomplish anything less than the annihilation of the English and Prussians; for that alone could replace him in security upon the imperial throne. It was now, at seven o'clock, that, impelled by such resolutions, he called on his imperial guards to finish the dreadful tragedy; and, disposing this fine corps in two columns, and bringing up part of Reille's corps to their support, he organized a grand phalanx for the last great effort, on which the issue of the battle must finally depend.

Wellington, in the same anxious period, was conducting his corresponding arrangements, uninfluenced by the giddy glare of victory, a result with which he too had been familiar; undeterred by any apprehension of defeat, a consequence that never hitherto had attended his counsels in the day of battle; and provided with a safe retreat for his army in the event of final failure. Remembering that he had detached General Byng's brigade of the guards to the support of Hougomont, and perceiving that his right flank was now in no danger of annoyance, his grace brought forward two brigades of Lord Hill's corps, under General Clinton and Colonel Mitchell, to strengthen the right centre. This was not all; the division posted at Braine le Leud was called in, and formed into a third line on the same point, and Generals Vivian and Van-

deleur were ordered to contribute the aid of their cavalry, in further strengthening this important part of the allied line. While this reception was preparing for the chosen band of Napoleon, the thunder of artillery continued uninterrupted, and more decisive measures, for still more awful carnage, progressed under the hands of the great heroes of the age, whom Providence had thus pitted against each other, and, by the abandonment of one, secured the peace and liberty of Europe.

Leaving his second position in the field, the emperor descended to his third and last, which was on the road from Mont St. Jean to Waterloo, about a quarter of a mile from the British line. In changing stations, the emperor was exposed to the fire of the enemy's guns, and a shot struck off the pommel of an aide-de-camp's saddle, who rode beside him,—still he continued to head the guards, calling out, "Let every one follow me," and, to animate the splendid array by his personal example. Reaching the spot just noticed, he turned aside from the chaussee, drew up between the shelter of two rising grounds, caused his favourite legion to defile before him, then entrusting the future leadership to Marshal Ney, said, "There, gentlemen, is the road to Brussels." This conduct reminded all of General Buonaparte, when he led his victorious troops across the bridge of Lodi, and rode through a storm of bullets on the plains of Marengo; but, at Waterloo, Napoleon left the part of a great hero incomplete.—"All indeed expected an attack headed by Buonaparte in person; and in failing upon this instant and final crisis to take the command of his guards, whom he destined to try the last cast of his fortune, he disappointed both his friends and his enemies;"\* although "Vive l'Empereur" resounded through the ranks of his multitudinous army.

Four battalions of the guard remained still in reserve at La Belle Alliance; this devoted band had advanced under the personal conduct of the emperor; and, at the same instant, D'Erlon, as remarkable on this day for his ubiquity as the Duke of Wellington, was now seen leading on his infantry

\* Scott.

with a courage and mind that merited a nobler cause ; a battery of artillery moved along with him, and skirmishers preceded the march of his heavy column. This dense and well-equipped body, passing La Haye Sainte, menaced the allies' left centre, but in vain ; for thither the duke proceeded in person, brought up the Brunswick infantry to oppose them, and, when that body had fallen back under the close fire of the enemy, the duke himself rallied, re-formed, and led them to victory. The Prince of Orange (William II. of Holland) gallantly followed the illustrious commander-in-chief, and was slightly wounded in this affair, being much exposed during his exertions to keep his soldiers steady. Having by his presence saved the left centre, the duke now found that the desperation of the enemy superseded the necessity of any other defensive operations.

The attack of the imperial guards was now obviously directed against that part of the line in which Maitland's brigade stood ; having crossed the open ground between the armies, they ascended the slope on which the allies were posted, between La Haye Sainte and Hougomont,\* under a fire from the artillery, as hot and well-directed as the British guns had

\* *The following anecdote of the Duke of Wellington and Sir James Macdonell is taken from the United Service Gazette, 1839.*—A friend has related to us an anecdote, illustrative not only of the high opinion entertained by his grace of this distinguished general, but of the delicate generosity displayed by Sir James to a non-commissioned officer of his regiment. Some three years ago the Duke of Wellington was waited upon at Apsley-house by two gentlemen, who announced to him that, as executors of the will of a deceased friend, of eccentric habits, who had left £500 to the bravest man in the British army, they had called for the purpose of handing his grace a check for that amount ; being fully satisfied that in so doing they should religiously fulfil the duty imposed on them by the testator. The duke thanked them for the compliment they had paid him, but resolutely declined to receive the money, alleging that the British army contained many as brave men himself. After several pressing remonstrances, his grace's visitors earnestly requested that he would become arbitrator in the matter, and indicate the individual on whom the bequest should be conferred. To this appeal he acceded ; promising, in the course of two or three days, to give the matter his consideration, and to report to them the result. At the appointed time they again made their appearance at Apsley-house. The duke received them with great courtesy, but he assured them that he had found the task a great deal more difficult than he had anticipated. After enumerating to

poured that day; but, to the astonishment of the allies, it was disregarded. When the battle began in the morning, the form of the British line, generally, was convex towards the position of the enemy, but from the advantages gained on the right of the allies, that wing having shaken off its encumbrances, now drew round more towards the centre, rendering the whole line a concave outwards. This new position placed Lord Hill's division in such a position, that he was able, with his sharp-shooters and artillery, to rake the columns of the enemy as they debouched upon the chaussee. "It was a general order, that the British artillery should not exchange shots with the heavy guns of the enemy, but, leaving their batteries unanswered, fire incessantly upon the columns of

them the various battles in which he had been engaged, and some of the most striking feats of heroism he had witnessed, he suggested that, if they had no objection, he would make his selection from the battle of Waterloo; that being the last, the greatest, and most important action of the war:

This point being adjusted, his grace proceeded to state, that Hougoumont having been the key to his entire position, and that post having been defended not only with the most complete success, but with the most chivalrous bravery, by Major Sir James Macdonell, who commanded there, he could point out no one so fully entitled to the legacy as that officer. The executors repaid accordingly to Sir James Macdonell, and having acquainted him with the decision of the Duke of Wellington, tendered him the money. Sir James expressed himself highly flattered by so distinguished a mark of his grace's approval, and observed that, although he should not attempt to dispute altogether the propriety of his decision; yet, as he knew a man who had conducted himself with at least equal gallantry in the same battle, he must insist on sharing the prize with him. He then went on to say, that at one period of the battle the French troops rushed upon Hougoumont with such irresistible force, that the gates of the farm were burst open,\* and, for a moment, the fate of the position appeared doubtful; when a powerful serjeant-major of the Coldstream guards, of the name of Fraser, assisted him in closing the gates, which they did by dint of sheer physical strength, upon the enemy. Shortly afterwards the French were driven back with great slaughter, and the fate of Hougoumont was decided. Sir James added, that the Duke of Wellington had evidently selected him because he was able to make good a post which was a key to his position; and he could not, on the same principle, withhold from the gallant soldier, who assisted him at so critical a moment in forcing out the enemy, his proper share of the reward. He would, therefore, accept the £500, and divide it with Serjeant-Major Fraser, to whom he accordingly paid £250, of the money.

\* Vide p. 555, Vol. iii.

cavalry and infantry; and with such accuracy and destructive-ness were these orders obeyed, that the heads of the French attacking columns were enfiladed, and in a manner annihilated, before they could advance upon the high road. 'Those who witnessed the fire and its effects, describe it to me\* as if the enemy's columns kept perpetually advancing from the hollow way, without ever gaining ground upon the plains, so speedily were the files annihilated as they came into the line of the fire." The enthusiasm, however, of the French nation is proverbial; it is the most conspicuous trait in the character of that fine people; and never were they so extravagantly romantic as in the support of the military glory of Napoleon. Even now and for ages yet to come, the glory of his reign will continue to shed its rays, neither few nor feeble, upon the history of that country which he had raised to the proudest elevation amongst the kingdoms of the world. Enthusiasm, then, led the imperial guards, even after their master had fallen back from the head of their columns, through a thick and tremendous fire of artillery, up the front of the enemy's position, with as exact attention to order as if on the daily parade; death arrested numbers in the progress, but the gaps were closed up deliberately, and without any apparent disturbance to the column.

The duke had observed attentively the working of every part of the destructive mechanism, both of the emperor and himself; he saw the gallant veterans of the enemy exchange life for death, as if some destroying angel was passing over the field, and withering humanity by his touch: this, unhappily, was the completion of his object, but the dreadful necessity was not of his creating. To save his own men from the calamitous consequences of such a fire, he withdrew them a few yards from the crown of the hill, and placed them, as previously described, in a reclining attitude, on the reverse slope of the ridge. Awaiting now, not with breathless anxiety, but with the most deliberate self-possession, the moment when the enemy should come within a few yards of the uppermost ridge, at that

\* Sir Walter Scott.

dreadful crisis, he called aloud, "Up, guards, and at them!" This monosyllabic sentence produced such an effect, as never before had responded to the orders of a general. In an instant, and that instant of the utmost value, the British guards stood upon the ridge, which the imperial soldiers had occupied by anticipation, and then an awful pause occurred, more terrible in its character than the deep sounds of the heaviest artillery, or clashing of small arms in the closest conflict. The silence was first broken by shouts of "Vive l'Empereur!" sounds well known but little respected by the stout-hearted British. Again silence reigned for a second, when the war-cry of the enemy was suddenly replied to by a volley of musketry, which literally laid the whole of their first rank prostrate. From such a shock, the bravest and best disciplined troops alone could be expected to recover, and such were the valour and intrepidity of this fine body of men, that they almost instantly rallied, and attempted to deploy, but were checked in their operations by a second tempest of bullets, that wasted their ranks with even greater destruction than before. For some minutes, the spirited officers of the French guard endeavoured to sustain the faltering courage of their men, they were themselves astonished at their discomfiture, for this was the body of men whom their countrymen thus described, "the guard never surrenders, if called on it dies;" but neither example nor military skill were of the smallest value, the enemy recovered from the paralysis of its ranks, not to resume, but to relinquish a contest, in which all hopes of success had early been extinguished. The resistance of their columns prolonged their sufferings, for Maitland clearly perceiving the murderous effects of our grape-shot, and the panic which the quickly repeated volleys from his brigade spread amongst their ranks, now led a charge with so much fury, that a frightful massacre was made amongst the bravest veterans of the imperial army. To turn, to rally, to resist, prolonged the havoc, without checking the ferocity of the pursuers; so, finding resistance vain, the whole body that survived the slaughter, a body on whom Napoleon rested his right to the throne, a body

that had been mainly instrumental in the subjugation of Europe, now, broken, terrified, and in ruinous confusion, turned, and fled to shelter themselves under the shield of their commander. This last dreadful scene was the immediate consequence of a charge with the bayonet by the British guards, the very dignity of whose appearance so much appalled the enemy, that they dared not cross points with such antagonists. While the British, like a devastating whirlwind, were sweeping the sloping ground, and increasing in ferocity as they went forward in the charge, the cuirassiers had been ordered to advance, watch a favourable moment, and, taking advantage of their impetuosity fall on the flank of the British guards.

This movement was ably and admirably designed, but in no instance, great or trivial, were the enemy superior to Wellington in penetration, foresight, rapidity, or tactical knowledge: for, before any flank attack could possibly be made, his grace had cautioned Maitland against pursuing the enemy too far, and ordered Hill's infantry to be brought forward. The guards took advantage of these new movements to retire to their original position, while the fifty-second and seventy-first regiments, with a brigade of rifles, formed four deep, (as the guards had been to receive the first attacks of the imperial troops,) advanced to the assistance of their comrades, and to the frustration of the cuirassiers. By the change in their position they had placed the attacking body in a situation of imminent hazard, occupying the central area of a crescent formed by the British line. The toils in which this second column of the enemy were insnared were inextricable, their fate was rendered certain by the great judgment and activity of Wellington. Permitting the chasseurs to advance to the same fatal summit of the ridge, they were then received by one of those grand discharges of fire-arms, made with the precision of the most accurate marksmen: a battery, placed between the guards and General Adams's brigade, swept down their lines, while the regiments recently brought up opened with a most tremendous effect upon their flanks. This was, in fact, the most fatal blow that was inflicted, for, the second column, sharing a fate not



different from that of the first, fled with like precipitation, and confirmed the enemy in the distrust they had begun to feel in their own resources, as well as in the rising suspicion that the English were of a different material, and superior possibly in moral excellence, to those nations they had fought and conquered. Terror now spread with the rapidity of flame through the enemy's ranks; the flying cavalry, infantry, artillery, and troops of all descriptions, lost their discipline, disregarded their officers, and imploring mercy, in tones that elsewhere must have found respect, now poured in one great mingled mass towards the French lines, pursued with impetuosity by Adam's brigade and the guards. Not too soon dazzled by the light of dawning victory, but still accurately observant of every incident, Wellington resolved to strengthen that which seemed assured; he brought up the light dragoons, under Vivian and Vandeleur, to join in the pursuit, and giving them the usual caution against that excess of manly daring which had often been fatal to English cavalry, released them to the chase.

There was now no difficulty in perceiving the irretrievable confusion into which the enemy were thrown by the repulse and flight of the imperial guards: to Napoleon it was the presage of those misfortunes which he too late perceived were to be his portion; by Wellington the scene was beheld as one that every man of feeling must deplore, one which had never been occasioned by his wily ambition, and the repetition of which would, in all human probability, be rendered impracticable by his services to his country on that memorable day. Now the advance of the Prussians was not to be misunderstood, they were arriving rapidly, in great strength, and closing in the enemy's right flank; and such was the extraordinary sagacity and attention bestowed upon every point by Lord Wellington, that having overheard the firing of the Prussians, before his officers knew anything certain of their arrival, he had prepared to advance against the enemy, and adopt offensive measures before his object was understood even by those around him.

Having formed his infantry in line four deep, supported by the cavalry and artillery, the last signal, one never to be forgotten by the British soldier, was given from the lips of Wellington. "Now, every man must advance." From this moment each man knew his duty: regiments from the respective countries that contributed to the composition of the British force, rushed forward with their peculiar war-shouts,\* and with ardour or with coolness, whichever was their national peculiarity. This movement, at such a period of the day, when it might naturally have been expected that the human frame, exhausted by the most painful and trying species of labour to which it can be subjected, and for so many consecutive hours had rendered the allies incapable of exertion, increased the panic amongst the enemy. Every Briton felt that this was the final scene, the consummation of their glory, attainable, by one tremendous, voluntary, simultaneous effort, which, the haven now made, the storm ridden out, was gained, and liberty and glory awaited on the shore to welcome him. To those who told the emperor of the still increasing number of the Prussians, he paid but an indifferent attention, fixing his pale countenance, with steadfast look, upon every advance and retreat of his guards; but when he observed at last, the mass recoil, as if a single blow had struck it, and dislodged it from its absolute space—when he observed, that, unable to regulate their movements, they now became mixed with their own infantry, and were actually trampling them to death, he burst into a passionate exclamation, "*ils sont mêlés ensemble !*" For the remainder of the day, until he abandoned his brave army, dejection was seated on every feature of his countenance.

\* The Irish howl, set up by the Inniskillen dragoons and other Irish regiments, is said to have carried almost as much dismay into the ranks of the enemy, as their swords. The stubborn bravery and conduct of these regiments contributed much to the success of the day, it having been their lot to find themselves in the hottest part of the action. Innumerable opportunities, (particularly to the Inniskilleners,) were afforded, of observing their devotion to their country's honour, and exalted sense of gallantry and duty. An officer of the Inniskillen's said, "Our brigade charged, upset, and completely destroyed, three large columns of infantry, at least nine thousand. The old Inniskillen's behaved most gallantly."—*Particulars of the Battle of Waterloo.*

The catastrophe now rapidly drew near, the last day of Napoleon's power was now just expiring, when his irreconcilable enemies, taking advantage of his overthrow, which British valour had accomplished, aimed a fatal blow at the hero as he fell. The Prussians were now in force sufficient, and in position also, to outflank the enemy's right wing, when the grand assault of the Anglo-allied army had totally routed the enemy, put his guards to flight, and were in the act of throwing the shattered fragments of Napoleon's great military structure before them upon his position of La Belle Alliance. The emperor made a feeble essay to stem the ebbing current, but, like the tide of his own fortunes, its efflux was now inevitable. The English cavalry rode about, over, and amongst, the confused and fallen heaps, "slaying their thousands." The army of Napoleon, actuated by a sudden spontaneous influence, like an accumulation of waters, burst, and divided into innumerable torrents, flowing from the eruption in every direction. The guns were abandoned in their positions; the traces of the waggons cut, and the horses freed, to assist their riders in escaping, and all distinctions of rank, cavalry, infantry, arms of every kind, obliterated. There were troops still to be found in the ranks of the enemy, who placed a sincere value upon the glory of France, and were prepared to sustain it with the gallantry of ancient Gaul; and four battalions of "the old guard," firmly maintained themselves, and presented a noble spectacle of discipline and devotion to their country, by resisting the fury of the *Red Lions*,\* as they called the British guards, and endeavouring to cover the retreat of the infantry at the risk of perishing to a man.—These fine fellows 'exposed their breasts, "brave in vain," to their infuriated opponents, and with considerable

\* "The Life Guards, the foremost in this decisive battle, by their physical power and courage, appalled the veteran enemy, although clad in mail, and in possession of that *grande pensée* which devoted them to honour and their country. Often in the conflict of La Belle Alliance did the gallant Earl of Uxbridge turn towards them, and exclaim, "Now for the honour of the household troops!" and as often was he solaced by the brightest efforts of glory under his eye. Captain Kelly, of the Life Guards, having encountered and slain the colonel of the first regiment of French cuirassiers, stripped him of his epaulets, and carried them as *spolia opima*. Shaw, a private in the guards, but of pugilistic

effect, until the infantry came up to the contest, when the equilibrium was so completely destroyed, that perseverance would have been insanity. It only remained for them therefore, to obey the last signal, then running along their broken line, *sauve qui peut*.

The British cavalry did fearful execution during the whole of the day, but still more terrible in the confusion of the enemy's troops at the close of the battle. The Earl of Uxbridge, (Marquis of Anglesea), led this force in person, and while the Prussians were engaging the enemy's rear, advancing with a large body of cavalry he had nearly acquired the glory of making Napoleon his prisoner on the field, but his destiny had reserved him for a different, and probably a less happy doom,—for at this moment Lord Uxbridge was wounded so severely in the knee by a cannon shot, that his further progress was arrested. Turning to Bertrand, Napoleon now expressed his apprehensions for their safety, and concluded with these words: "*A présent c'est fini—sauvons nous.*" Following the steps of his guide, like some few of the fallen monarchs of by-gone time, he requested to be conducted along a by-road to the nearest town. But, La Coste, not sufficiently acquainted with the country, led the emperor through the narrow and crowded streets of Genappe, instead of crossing the bridge of Ways. Pursuing his route at a rapid pace through Quatre Bras and Gosselies, he there alighted and walked from thence to Charleroi. In the field adjoining this town, he accepted some refreshment from the hand of Bertrand, the first he had taken that day, and, having made some preparations for resuming his flight, set off in the direction of Paris.

fame, after fighting full seven hours, was then observed defending himself against six of the imperial guards: with one cut he divided the helmet and head of an opponent, then slew three more of the number, but was at last overthrown by the remainder. This brave fellow was not killed on the spot, and it is supposed that his life would have been saved, had the allies been enabled to collect all their wounded in reasonable time, but many were left for two days upon the field, and when poor Shaw was discovered, he appeared to have bled to death from want of assistance, none of his wounds being otherwise mortal."—*Vide Circumstantial Detail of the Battle of Waterloo.*

The last charge of the Anglo-allies, headed by Wellington in person, closed the fatal fight of Waterloo; and, as the illustrious commander advanced, waving his hat, every sweep of which gave redoubled ardour to one of the bravest little armies that ever existed, the sun of Waterloo, which had hitherto disdained to shine on either, now shed his glorious beams upon the bared head of the warrior. The sequel of this charge has been related; one interesting anecdote may yet be added, on the faith of Sir Walter Scott.—“The last gun fired was an howitzer, which the French had left upon the road. It was turned upon their retreat, and discharged by Captain Campbell, aide-de-camp to General Adam, with his own hand; who had thus the honour of concluding the battle of Waterloo, which, it is asserted, Buonaparte himself commenced.”

The pursuit was persevered in with an obstinacy that might be expected from the previous conduct of the allies; and the miserable fugitives having gained a little advantage of time, by the brave attempt of the guard to cover their flight, reached Genappe without much additional loss of life—all other considerations were totally abandoned; but from the exhausted state of the English cavalry, the ardour of the pursuit must soon have subsided. The Prussians under Bulow had succeeded, after severe chastisement from the enemy, in getting into their rear, and were, therefore, advantageously situated for co-operation with the allies in the extermination of the imperial force; besides, when Wellington reached the hamlet of La Belle Alliance,\* he was met, and joined by Marshal Blücher. The loss of his brave followers, the cruelties perpetrated upon the Prussian prisoners, and the signal disgrace inflicted upon the Prussian arms by the enemy, exasperated the marshal to a degree of frenzy; and when his friend Wellington spoke of the hardships his men had endured, and their total inability to pursue, the marshal's looks anticipated his

\* So called in ridicule of an alliance between the widow of a respectable yeoman, who had just then united herself in marriage with her own ploughman.

words "O give him to my rage." Another consideration gave a zest for vengeance to the Prussian—the prospect of plunder, which opened most auspiciously for the marshal and his army, with the capture of "all the household carriages of Napoleon, with mountains of other baggage;" and, as a French historian confesses, that "the whole *materiel* of our army disappeared in less than half an hour," the Prussians would appear to have been more than commonly diligent in this branch of the campaign.

The bright gleam of sunshine was now succeeded by the chaste cold light of the moon—fitting season for reflection upon the fortunes of our fellows!\*—when Wellington was retracing the field of Waterloo, and by its trembling light was permitted to discover the sad spectacle that accompanied his glory; the moans of the wounded fell upon his ear, the rays of a flashing lamp, carried by some faithful friend in search of his companions, or some remorseless camp-follower plundering the dead, attracted his wandering eye:—he thought of the brave companions of his youth, and their chivalrous achievements; he felt the anguish of the bereavement most powerfully; and surrendering himself to the strong feelings by which the hero was subdued, he burst into a flood of tears. The tear of the soldier was brushed away, but the sincerity of his grief was attested by the sentiments of his various letters to the relatives and friends of those brave fellows who had been immolated to the cruel ambition of Napoleon. He declared that "he had never before fought such a battle; and prayed to God that he might never fight such another." He indulged in this sense of sorrow most undisguisedly in writing to Lord Aberdeen, whose brother was amongst the slain "I cannot," says his grace, "express to you the regret and sorrow with

\* "After the battle of Waterloo, the Duke joined in the pursuit, and followed the enemy for some miles. Colonel Harvey, who was with him, advised him to desist, as the country was growing less open, and he might be fired upon by some stragglers from behind the hedges: 'Let them fire away; the battle is won, and my life is of no value now!'—*Vox magnifica et tanto viro digna, quâ se non sibi sed reipublice soli natum profectus est.*—Lord Dudley's Letters to the Bishop of Landaff.

which I look round me, and contemplate the loss which I have sustained, particularly in your brother. The glory resulting from such actions, so dearly bought, is no consolation to me; and I cannot suggest it as any to you and his friends; but I hope it may be expected that this last one has been so decisive, as that no doubt remains that our exertions and our individual losses will be rewarded by the early attainment of our just object. It is then that the glory of the actions in which our friends and relations have fallen, will be some consolation for their loss."

Another instance of the duke's strong susceptibility of affectionate attachment to his associates is given in his letter to the Duke of Beaufort, dated the day after the great battle, in which he offers him every consolation that the warmest heart could dictate, on the occasion of his brother Fitzroy's misfortune. Having described the nature of his severe wound, attended with the loss of his right arm, he proceeds: "You are aware how useful your brother has always been to me, and how *much* I shall feel the want of his assistance, and what a regard and affection I feel for him; and you will easily believe how much concerned I am for his misfortune. Indeed, the losses I have sustained have quite broken me down, and I have no feeling for the advantages we have acquired. I hope, however, that your brother will soon be able to join me again; and that he will long live to be, as he is likely to become, an honour to his country, as he is a satisfaction to his family and his friends." That his sorrow was sincere, his bitterest political enemies are compelled to acknowledge, but the way in which the same sentiment appears to have forced itself into every communication he made at that period, is perhaps more fully developed in his letter to General Charles Kent, than any in other: "Would you credit it, Napoleon overthrown by the gallantry of a British army! *But I am quite heart-broken by the loss I have sustained: my friends—my poor soldiers! How many of them have I to regret!* I shall follow up this tide of success, and I shall not be satisfied even with this victory, if it be not followed by the total overthrow of Buonaparte.—Wellington."

Every hour of our existence unhappily presents some remarkable specimen of mental deformity amongst our species, how few supply so striking an example of its beauty and sublimity ; and amongst the limited exceptions, history furnishes no fairer model for our imitation, than the hero of Waterloo, weeping over the graves of his companions, uninfluenced by the sounds of joy that burst forth from all the liberated nations of Europe. Leaving the fugitive army to their fate, an unerring one when pursued by such vindictive enemies as the soldiers of Blücher, the duke returned to Brussels, and thence forwarded that celebrated despatch, as remarkable for the splendid achievements it related, as for the brief and modest language in which they were described.

The battle of Waterloo was one of the most obstinately contested that we read of in history, and more decisive in its consequences than any that ever preceded it, accomplishing the object of the allied powers by a single blow, as entirely as if the whole French people had been annihilated. Xerxes lost his army, escaped only with his life, but did not lose his empire ; Darius made a persevering resistance to the powerful arms of his conqueror ; Hannibal was overthrown by a general, in whose virtuous character moderns have found the prototype of our Wellington, but the government of Carthage was not obliterated at Zama ; and Napoleon himself, once conquered by the elements, not the arms of Russia, resumed his seat upon the imperial throne. But, at Waterloo, the sword and the sceptre were struck from the hand of the vanquished ; his chivalrous race was run and concluded, and his throne was given to another. And all the glory of the day belongs to Wellington : he dared to stand between the people and the plague, and stay it effectually : he resisted an army whose cause and whose chief alike were desperate : he hoped, but could not calculate upon the aid of the Prussians, for, once beaten by the French, they might possess less alacrity in encountering an enemy flushed with victory : he fought Napoleon fairly, on equal ground, but with unequal numbers and artillery, and succeeded, with the army of a limited, well-regulated, but hereditary mo-



narchy, in conquering one of the greatest warriors that ever lived; who had the inclination, wherever he possessed the power, of rewarding his soldiers by the most unlimited leave to plunder—his generals, by the titles and estates of vanquished princes.

We have alluded to the sorrow of Wellington for the loss of his friends and fellow-soldiers, let us also remember the joy to which so great a triumph must have given birth in the heart of the hero, as the issue of so great and memorable a victory; and this will be better told by those who profess to have been witnesses of his conduct, immediately after his return to Brussels, than by a condensation of facts, however careful and accurate. "Upon the night of the memorable battle," writes one of his military biographers,\* "of which these were the early fruits, the words and emotions of the conqueror will long be remembered by those who sat with him at supper, after the anxious and awful day had closed. The fountain of a great heart lies deep, and the self-government of a calm mind permits emotions. But this night, Wellington repeatedly leaned back upon his chair, and, rubbing his hands convulsively, exclaimed aloud: "Thank God, I have met him—Thank God, I have met him." And ever as he spoke, the smile that lighted up his eye was immediately dimmed, by those few and big tears that gush warm from a grateful heart. Those many and deep anxieties, to which all his late heavy responsibility of necessity gave birth; his noble desire, as a patriot, to defeat the most powerful and most implacable enemy of his native country; his rational doubts of success against a general of experience so great, genius so acknowledged, (and by none so truly estimated as by himself), and fortune so singular, all that cannot be known to any one, of the fears and hopes which had been pent up in his own bosom:—all these were now resolved and dissipated by a result sudden, full, and glorious beyond any expectation he could possibly have formed, or any hope could have admitted. The foe of England and of liberty was again

\* Captain Moyle Sheerer.

a fugitive, his power prostrate, his brave and devoted legions destroyed. England, which Wellington had served so faithfully, and loved so well, placed upon the very pinnacle of glory; and her valiant army, which he had disciplined to conquest on the battle-fields of Spain, and which upon this day he had commanded with a moral firmness never surpassed, was the honoured instrument of her elevation."

In the description of those mingled feelings of joy and sorrow, here attributed to the duke, by those who witnessed them, we entirely agree; from that which follows, as entirely dissent: there is no reason to suppose that Wellington ever doubted his own experience, calm courage, or ability, still less the discipline and valour of a British army; it is a fair and just conclusion for posterity to draw, that the allied kingdoms of Europe elected him to the chief command, from a conviction, that in him Napoleon would find a rival, most worthy of his great renown; and he accepted the high trust, with a consciousness of his ability to discharge it successfully. He never had been vanquished, therefore dreaded nothing from the superior fortune of his adversary,\* and Marshal Soult had justly described the character of a British army to the emperor, as troops that never dreaded difficulties, and to whom he might apply the comprehensive motto, "*possunt quia posse videntur.*"

\* "The *Quotidienne* instituted a comparison between the military career of Soult and of the Duke of Wellington, and maintained that the comparison was in favour of Soult. It was, however, in the second rank that the marshal distinguished himself, and not as commander-in-chief or principal. For instance, at Flenrus he assisted the victory of Jourdan—at Stockach he covered his retreat—at Genes he was associated in the glory of Massena—and at Austerlitz, Jena, Eylau, Burgos, and Corunna, he powerfully contributed to the success of the plans of Buonaparte. But when he carried, or attempted to carry, his plans into execution, with the exception of the defeat of the rear-guard of the Duke of Wellington at the bridge of Arzobispo, there is really no remarkable success to be recorded as gained by Marshal Soult. At Oporto he was surprised, and lost, in his retreat on Galicia, his artillery and his baggage. At Albuera he was defeated by Beresford, when his victory appeared certain. At Zubiri, Irun, and Orthez, all his combinations failed, and he was defeated by the English generals and army. At Toulouse he has the honour of the combat, according to some, but, according to all, he lost the field of battle. He took a part in twenty victories, but he only gained

If a fearful account of deaths give proof of a determined courage, surely greater valour was never exhibited than by the English on this awful day; of thirteen thousand men, who were slain upon the field, about nine thousand were British, and amongst them many of Wellington's best and bravest officers, for such were Picton, Ponsonby, De Lancey, Ellis, Gordon, and Canning: while the list of wounded, headed by the Earl of Uxbridge, included the Prince of Orange, Generals Cook, Alten, Kempt, Park, Barnes, Adam, Halkett, Domberg, and other officers of rank. The enemy lost nearly twenty thousand slain upon the field, and seven thousand who were made prisoners; but the fortune of their officers was more propitious, not one of superior rank being killed in the battle; and two only, Lobau and Cambronne, who commanded a division of the guards, were amongst the prisoners.

one.—Now, then, compare this with the career of the Duke of Wellington. At Viniera the kingdom of Portugal was delivered from a first invasion. At Oporto it was preserved a second time. At Arapiles the gates of Madrid were opened in consequence to the English army. At Zubiri, Irun, &c. the keys of the French frontiers were, so to speak, delivered into the hands of Wellington. At Orthez he secured La Guienne. At Toulouse he got possession of Languedoc. And at Waterloo, the defeat of Napoleon still further raised the reputation of the duke."

END OF VOL. III.



